Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SEVENTY-THIRD CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HELD AT

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

SEPTEMBER 20 TO 27, INCLUSIVE

1954

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1955

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Washington, D. C.

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Indianapolis, Ind.

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Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES

TO THE

SEVENTY-THIRD CONVENTION

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Actors and Artistes of America	5	65	Paul Dullzell, 45 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y.
		65	George Heller, 15 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.
		65	H. O'Neil Shanks, 723 N. Western Ave., Hollywood, Calif.
		65	Pat Somerset, 7046 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif.
		65	Edd X. Russell, 6636 Hollywood Blvd. care Actors' Equity Association, Los Angeles, Calif.
		*	Richard H. Gordon, 723 North Western Ave., Hollywood, Calif.
Agricultural Workers' Union, National	2	35	H. L. Mitchell, 825 Victor Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		35	Ernesto Galarza, 1031 Franquette Ave., San Jose, Calif.
Air Line Dispatchers' Association	1	6	Henry G. Andrews, 15052 Voso St., Van Nuys, Calif.
Air Line Pilots' Association	2	42	Clarence N. Sayen, 55th St. and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
		42	Francis A. Spencer, 55th St. and Cicero Ave., Chicago 38, Ill.
Aluminum Workers' International Union	2	95	Eddie R. Stahl, 119 North 7th St., St. Louis, Mo.
		94	William L. Cowley, 119 North 7th St., St. Louis, Mo.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	3	25	Joseph A. Mullaney, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		25	C. W. Sickles, 211 Machinists Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		25	Hugh E. Mulligan, 1170 N. Linden Ave., Oak Park, Ill.
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United	3	257	Earl Heaton, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		257	George Grisham, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		257	Anthony Doria, 429 W. Michigan St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.

* Richard H. Gordon substituted for Paul Dullzell, Actors, September 23.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	7	193	Herman Winter, 6900 James Reed Road, Kansas City, Mo.
		193	Wm. F. Schnitzler, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		193	James G. Cross, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		192	Curtis R. Sims, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		192	Archie Goodman, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
		192	James Landriscina, 315 Vanderbilt Ave., Brooklyn 5, N. Y.
		192	Daniel E. Conway, 2719 N. Wilton Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeymen	6	107	William C. Birthright, 1141 N. Delaware St., Indianapolis 7, Ind.
		107	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Ave., Dallas 6, Tex.
		107	Fred Scafidi, 1739 Boston Road, New York 60, N. Y.
		107	George Husk, 601 AFL Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich.
		107	Edgar M. Sanders, 1672 25th St., Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio
		107	Charles T. Crane, 407 Labor Temple, Portland 4, Oreg.
Boilers Makers, Iron Ship Builders' Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers International Brotherhood of	7	216	Charles J. MacGowan, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	William A. Calvin, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	William J. Buckley, 565 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	A. J. Eberhardy, 570 New Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	Thomas J. Crowe, 243 W. 108th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		215	Arthur P. Smith, 570 Brotherhood Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		215	George Nolan, 36 S. Peoria St., Chicago, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	164	Robert E. Haskin, 302 AFL Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		164	Joseph Denny, 302 AFL Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		163	Bette Bell Hogan (Mrs.), 250 Point Lobos Ave., Apt. 102, San Francisco, Calif.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	4	100	John J. Mara, 246 Summer St., Boston 10, Mass.
		100	Frank W. Anderson, 5734 Belle Plaine Ave., Chicago 34, Ill.
		100	George W. Lawson, 552 S. Fairview Ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		100	Tom Cory, 990 Fulton St., San Francisco 17, Calif.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America	5	247	Harry C. Bates, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		247	A. J. Cleland, 5700 Cedar Parkway, Chevy Chase 15, Md.
		247	John J. Murphy, 8100 Kerry Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
		247	Thomas F. Murphy, 5509 Park St., Chevy Chase, Md.
		246	Thomas H. O'Donnell, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	3	81	H. R. Flegal, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago Ill.
		81	Wm. Tracy, 1550 W. 95th St., Chicago, Ill.
		80	Paul Pelfrey, 3730 San Fernando Road, Glendale 4, Calif.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	7	194	J. H. Lyons, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		193	J. R. Downes, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		193	Wm. F. Bauers, 15 Olcott Place, Buffalo 25, N. Y.
		193	Jos. F. Boyen, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
		193	Stanley Rounds, Suite 300, Continental Bldg., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		193	E. M. Woods, 995 Market St., Room 915, San Francisco 3, Calif.
		193	Paul C. Allen, 3711 Fenkell, Detroit, Mich.
Building Service Employes' International Union	7	283	William L. McFetridge, 318 W. Randolph St., Chicago 6, Ill.
		282	Wm. H. Cooper, 749 N. 2nd St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
		282	David Sullivan, 1 E. 35th St., New York 16, N. Y.
		282	George Hardy, 240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco 2, Calif.
		282	John Coleman, 812 N. Dearborn St., Chicago 10, Ill.
		282	Albert E. Perry, 250 W. 57th St., Room 719, New York 19, N. Y.
		282	Thomas Burke, 509 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 5, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	6	202	Irvin Barney, 4929 Main St., Kansas City 12, Mo.
		202	A. J. Bernhardt, 4929 Main St., Kansas City 12, Mo.
		202	Jos. Duffin, 269 Post Ave., Battle Creek, Mich.
		201	Edward C. Doll, 1423 Taylor Ave., Utica 4, N. Y.
		201	Raymond McElroy, 1616 Pennsylvania Ave., West Sacramento, Calif.
		201	Lucien Denis, 362 2nd Ave., Verdun, Montreal 19, Que., Canada
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	9	834	M. A. Hutcheson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		834	John R. Stevenson, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		834	Albert E. Fischer, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		833	Ted Kenney, 12 E. Erie St., Chicago Ill.
		833	Charles W. Hanson, 444 4th Ave., New York, N. Y.
		833	Herbert C. Skinner, P. O. Box 276, Savannah, Ga.
		833	Ivor T. Jones, Labor Temple, Salem, Oreg.
		833	T. A. Pitts, 1317 Homeview Drive, Louisville, Ky.
		833	Earl E. Thomas, 2200 W. 7th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers' International Union, United	5	70	William Schoenberg, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		70	Toney Gallo, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		70	Felix C. Jones, 3329 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		70	Reuben Roe, Box 191, Buffalo, Iowa
		69	Melvin Ferron, 28638 Sound View Blvd., Redondo, Wash.
Chemical Workers' Union, International	6	152	H. A. Bradley, 1659 W. Market St., Akron 13, Ohio
		152	Marshall Shafer, 1643 23rd St., Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio
		152	Edw. R. Moffett, P. O. Box 1141, Freeport, Tex.
		152	Marshall J. McClure, Rt. 2, Box 193, Portland, Oreg.
		151	Jack T. Swift, 5922 Homewood Ave., Buena Park, Calif.
		151	John Gernak, 3725 E. 5th St., Long Beach 14, Calif.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	3	32	Mario Azpeitia, 1003 K St., N. W., Room 604, Washington 1, D. C.
		31	Ernest Campo, 2103 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
		31	Sarah Haines (Mrs.), 174 S. Harrison St., York, Pa.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	4	44	William S. Gross, 1 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		44	John Zitello, 1771 E. 12th St., Cleveland 14, Ohio
		44	Michael J. Minaden, 1771 E. 12th St., Cleveland 14, Ohio
		43	John Kramer, 947 S. Alvarado St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	6	169	Leo E. George, 4121 31st St., Mt. Rainier, Md.
		169	E. C. Hallbeck, 5303 Dorsett Place, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		169	Ralph B. Williams, Box 744, Tallahassee, Fla.
		169	Thomas Quinn, 731 River St., Scranton, Pa.
		168	Arthur E. Harriman, 168 A Street, Lowell, Mass.
		168	F. B. Marble, 1117 S. Xantlius, Tulsa, Okla.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	8	367	Geo. M. Harrison, Room 701, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio
		367	Phil E. Ziegler, Room 600, 1015 Vine St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio
		367	J. H. Sylvester, 1808 Consumers Bldg., 220 S. State St., Chicago 4, Ill.
		367	Lyle McKinney, 2038 West 66th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		367	S. J. Rosborough, 1105 S. 3rd St., Alhambra, Calif.
		367	Floyd Ricketts, 961 Winchester Place, Los Angeles 19, Calif.
		367	R. V. Rachford, Room 772 Pacific Electric Bldg., Los Angeles 14, Calif.
		366	C. A. Post, 1255 W. 71st Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Clerks' International Association, Retail	7	353	Vernon A. Housewright, De Sales Bldg., 2nd Fl., De Sales and Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		352	James A. Suffridge, De Sales Bldg., 2nd Fl., De Sales and Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		352	Guy A. Sackett, 419 E. 22nd St., Pittsburg, Kans.
		352	Frank C. Shea, 125 W. Granite St., Butte, Mont.
		352	Samuel J. Meyers, 1015 Chestnut St., Rms. 910-11, Jefferson Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
		352	A. B. Crossler, 434 Pacific Bldg., 821 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
		352	Paul LaFayette, 250 W. 57th St., Suite 1222-26, New York 19, N. Y.
Coopers' International Union of North America	1	34	James J. Doyle, Room 345, Park Square Bldg., Boston 16, Mass.
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers' International Union	2	126	Joseph O'Neill, 320 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		126	Mort Brandenburg, 707 Summit Ave., Union City, N. J.
Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada, International Union of	3	40	Harry O. Damino, 215 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.
		40	Milton Gordon, 215 Lafayette St., New York, N. Y.
		39	Sam Russo, 2925 Morgan Drive, Wautagh, L. I., N. Y.
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	6	766	D. W. Tracy, Park Sheraton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
		766	J. Scott Milne, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		766	Joseph D. Keenan, 1200 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		766	Frank Riley, 17195 Evergreen St., Detroit 19, Mich.
		766	O. G. Harbak, 910 Central Tower, 703 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.
		766	Griffith Ace, 15 18th Ave., Paterson, N. J.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	3	34	John C. MacDonald, 571 Centre St., Milton, Mass.
		34	Edward A. Smith, 20 Second St., Saratoga Spa, N. Y.
		34	Richard W. Williams, 2500 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 57, Calif.
Engineers, International Union of Operating	7	286	Wm. E. Maloney, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Chas. B. Gramling, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Joseph J. Delaney, 111 8th Ave., Room 1567, New York, N. Y.
		286	Frank P. Converse, 3515 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		286	Victor S. Swanson, 474 Valencia, San Francisco, Calif.
		285	Wm. J. Stuhr, 2301 State St., E. St. Louis, Ill.
		285	Ralph B. Bronson, 2323 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Engineers, American Federation of Technical	1	101	Russell M. Stephens, 900 F St., N. W., Washington 4, D. C.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	3	51	Matthew Woll, 200 E. 70th St., New York 21, N. Y.
		51	Ariel C. Cotton, 406 S. Main St., Los Angeles 18, Calif.
		51	Wilfrid T. Connell, 405 Old South Bldg., 204 Washington St., Boston 8, Mass.
Fire Fighters, International Association of	5	133	John P. Redmond, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		133	George J. Richardson, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		133	S. H. Shawver, 1125 Savoy St., San Diego 7, Calif.
		133	Robert C. Beale, 17510 Bentler, Detroit 19, Mich.
		132	Scott Peffenberg, 11616 Chenault St., Los Angeles 49, Calif.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	5	119	Anthony E. Matz, 330 S. Wells St., Rm. 1510, Chicago 6, Ill.
		118	George Wright, 330 S. Wells St., Rm. 1510, Chicago 6, Ill.
		118	Robert J. Tormey, 100 N. La Salle St., Rm. 1510, Chicago, Ill.
		118	James M. Kennedy, 100 N. La Salle St., Rm. 1510, Chicago, Ill.
		118	John Casselman, 2886 Jefferson Ave., Ogden, Utah.
Flight Engineers' International Association	1	12	William D. Kent, 91 Park View Drive, Searingtown, L. I., Albertson P. O., N. Y.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	80	Joseph P. McCurdy, 1505 Riverside Ave., Baltimore, Md.
		80	W. R. Brooks, 6030 Truman Road, Kansas City, Mo.
		80	Madge King (Miss), 534 Maple Ave., Galesburg, Ill.
		80	Emily Jordan (Miss), 926 E. Cincinnati Ave., San Antonio, Texas.
		80	A. Berkson, 200 E. Mosholu Parkway, South, Bronx, N. Y.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	8	466	David Dubinsky, 1710 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
		466	Luigi Antonini, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		466	Isidore Nagler, 22 W. 38 St., New York, N. Y.
		466	Charles S. Zimmerman, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		466	Julius Hochman, 218 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.
		466	Jennie Matyas, 345 Mason St., San Francisco, Calif.
		466	Harry Greenberg, 100 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y.
		466	Benjamin Kaplan, 242 W. 36th St., New York, N. Y.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	5	90	Lee W. Minton, Rm. 501, 226 S. 16th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		90	Raymond H. Dalton, Rm. 501, 226 S. 16th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		89	J. Belton Warren, Rm. 501, 226 S. 16th St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.
		89	Gratalee Reese (Miss), 1419 40th Ave., Oakland, Calif.
		89	Adam Nava, 144 Railroad Ave., Brockway, Pa.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	1	16	Marcel Boucher, 1078 S. High St., Columbus 6, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	98	Harry H. Cook, 204 Huron St., Toledo, Ohio
		97	Charles R. Lantz, 129 Arnold Ave., Lancaster, Ohio.
		97	Lloyd F. Stewart, Highland Ave., Point Marion, Pa.
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	1	30	Thomas Durian, 5328 N. 39th St., Milwaukee 9, Wis.
Government Employees, American Federation of	3	164	James A. Campbell, 900 F St., N. W., Rm. 716, Washington 4, D. C.
		164	Henrietta E. Olding, 900 F St., N. W., Rm. 716, Washington 4, D. C.
		164	I. W. Kirkpatrick, 1136 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	1	40	Costanzo Pagnano, 18 Federal Ave., Quincy, Mass.
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International	2	122	Ossip Walinsky, 1733 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
		121	Norman Zukowsky, 1733 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United	5	64	Alex Rose, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		64	Marx Lewis, 245 5th Ave., New York 16, N. Y.
		64	Samuel Hershkowitz, 104 E. 9th St., New York 3, N. Y.
		64	A. Mendelowitz, 31 W. 37th St., New York 18, N. Y.
		64	James V. Novaco, 4 Lowe St., South Norwalk, Conn.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	8	463	Jos. V. Moreschi, 821 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		463	Charles J. Sullivan, 55 W. 42nd St., Rm. 731, New York 36, N. Y.
		463	Robert B. Sheets, 207 Lloyd Bldg., Seattle, Wash.
		463	Lee Lalor, 25 Taylor St., San Francisco, Calif.
		463	Peter Fosco, 821 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		463	John W. Garvey, 821 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		463	*A. C. D'Andrea, Beverly Shores, Ind.
		463	Albert Smith, 2334 W. 21st St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1	3	Wallace S. Rohrer, 977 Cordilleras Ave., San Carlos, Calif.

* Patrick Waldron substituted for A. C. D'Andrea, September 21, Second Day.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	4	52	Alexander McKeown, 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
		51	Fred G. Held, 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
		51	Andrew J. Janaskie, 2319 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 32, Pa.
		51	Joseph P. Kline, 2530 N. 4th St., Philadelphia 33, Pa.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes and Bartenders' International Union	8	370	Ed. S. Miller, 525 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		370	Jack Weinberger, 525 Walnut St., Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
		370	Dave Siegal, 218 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.
		370	Laurence H. Sarricks, P. O. Box 1615, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		370	Thomas C. Rogan, 5 W. Grand Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.
		370	Louis Koenig, 1442 Griswold St., Detroit 26, Mich.
		369	Reva Walterskirchen (Mrs.), P. O. Box 349, Missoula, Mont.
		369	Sam Taback, 1040 Geary St., San Francisco 9, Calif.
Insurance Agents' International Union	3	40	George L. Russ, 420 Victor Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		40	Lew Fink, 748 Niagara, Burbank, Calif.
		40	Herbert Guthmann, 2083 Fidler Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	3	58	Joseph Morris, 89 Meadow St., Wallingford, Conn.
		57	Hyman J. Powell, 390 W. End Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
		57	David Levine, 514 County City Bldg., Seattle 4, Wash.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	3	49	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Ave., Cleveland 13, Ohio.
		49	Norman Donnely, 341 W. 102nd Street, Los Angeles, Calif.
		48	Walter M. Matthews, 1322 3rd Ave., New York, N. Y.
Laundry Workers' International Union	6	120	Sam J. Byers, 30 W. Washington St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		120	E. C. James, 30 W. Washington St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
		120	Charles R. Goldstein, 2207 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
		120	Lawrence R. Palacios, 355 Hayes St., San Francisco, Calif.
		120	James B. Matthews, 345 Washington St., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
		120	Charles Naddeo, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	6	164	William C. Doherty, 100 Indiana Ave., Washington 1, D. C.
		164	Peter J. Cahill, 100 Indiana Ave., Washington 1, D. C.
		164	J. Byron Merritt, care Post Office, Columbus, Ga.
		164	James Stocker, care Post Office, St. Louis, Mo.
		164	William Farrell, care Post Office, Springfield, Mass.
		163	Henry Anderson, care Post Office, Perth Amboy, N. J.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Longshoremen, International Brotherhood of	1	10	Larry Long, 1439 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis 3, Mo.
Machinists, International Association of	9	720	A. J. Hayes, 10206 Greenacre Drive, Hillandale, Silver Spring, Md.
		720	Eric Peterson, 10204 Lorain Ave., Silver Spring, Md.
		720	Elmer E. Walker, 10106 Pierce Drive, Silver Spring, Md.
		720	J. L. McBreen, 7935 N. E. Oregon St., Portland 16, Oreg.
		720	Roy M. Brown, 10410 S. Bellman, Downey, Calif.
		720	Don M. Burrows, 133 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		720	Thomas Carey, 4320 Liberty Ave., North Bergen, N. J.
		720	William Paulbitske, Labor Temple, 723 Cromwell Ave., St. Paul 14, Minn.
		719	John Snider, 12324 Tiara, North Hollywood, Calif.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of	7	267	T. C. Carroll, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich.
		267	A. Shoemake, 12050 Woodward Ave., Detroit 3, Mich.
		266	M. G. Plunk, P. O. Box 1007, Jackson, Tenn.
		266	J. P. Wilson, Box 268, New Hampton, Iowa.
		266	J. A. Huneault, Box 433, Billings Bridge, Ottawa, Ont., Can.
		266	R. Freccia, 610-11 Montague Court Bldg., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.
		266	C. L. Lambert, 717 Missouri Insurance Bldg., St. Louis 1, Mo.
Marble Slate and Stone Polishers, Buffers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	2	28	William McCarthy, Rm. 306, 815 15th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		28	John J. Conway, 1105 Ridge Ave., Philadelphia 23, Pa.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	3	32	C. T. Atkins (Capt.), 105 Washington St., New York 6, N. Y.
		31	John M. Bishop (Capt.), 1420 New York Ave., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		31	C. F. May (Capt.), 209 California St., San Francisco 11, Calif.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	7	345	Earl W. Jimerson, 2800 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago 14, Ill.
		345	Patrick E. Gorman, 2800 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago 14, Ill.
		345	Milton S. Maxwell, 3012 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.
		345	T. J. Lloyd, 239 E. 3rd, South, Salt Lake City, Utah.
		344	Joseph Belsky, 113 W. 42nd St., New York 36, N. Y.
		344	R. Emmett Kelly, 128 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
		344	Max Osslo, 227 E St., San Diego, Calif.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	5	76	Robert Byron, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.
		76	J. F. Burke, 5923 Loretto Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		76	A. H. Cronin, 3350 Jackson Blvd., Chicago 24, Ill.
		76	Frank Bonadio, 500-504 A. F. of L Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
		76	C. D. Bruns, 642 Transportation Bldg., Washington 6, D. C.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Millers, American Federation of Grain	4	77	S. P. Ming, 916 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn.
		77	H. A. Schneider, 916 Metropolitan Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn.
		76	W. R. Benesch, 3827 S. Perry St., Spokane, Wash.
		76	J. A. Leveridge, 928 Main St., Kansas City, Mo.
Molders and Foundry Workers' Union of North America, International	6	109	Chester A. Sample, 1225 E. McMillan St., Cincinnati 6, Ohio.
		109	Virgil Bryan, 321 N. 10th St., Atchison, Kans.
		108	Edw. J. Doran, 84-104 Austin St., Kew Gardens, Queens, N. Y.
		108	Don Lemond, 1401 N. 7th St., Terre Haute, Ind.
		108	Gaston Parent, 3859 Lafontaine St., Montreal 4, Que., Can.
		108	Edward Wulf, 612 E. Grove St., Bloomington, Ill.
Musicians, American Federation of	7	352	James C. Petrillo, 570 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
		351	Edward Charette, 1440 St. Catherine St., W., Montreal, Que., Can.
		351	Edward P. Ringius, 436 Wabasha St., St. Paul 2, Minn.
		351	Harry J. Steeper, 220 Mt. Pleasant Ave., Newark 4, N. J.
		351	Frank B. Field, 76 King St., "Brooklawn," Bridgeport 4, Conn.
		351	Charles L. Bagley, 900 Continental Bldg., 408 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
		351	Hal C. Davis, 709 Forbes St., Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
Office Employes' International Union	3	143	Howard Coughlin, 707 Continental Bldg., 1012 14th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		143	J. Howard Hicks, 707 Continental Bldg., 1012 14th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		142	Max J. Krug, 7268½ Sunset Blvd., Hollywood 46, Calif.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	6	309	L. M. Raftery, 850 Elm Tree Lane, Kirkwood 21, Mo.
		308	Wm. H. Rohrberg, 217-219 N. 6th St., Lafayette, Ind.
		308	Peter Yablonsky, 14 Yates St., Newark, N. J.
		308	Frank Owens, 1705 Bell Ave., Houston, Texas.
		308	James Meehan, 79 Pearl St., Lawrence, Mass.
		308	Herbert Baker, 1770 Neale St., San Diego 3, Calif.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	5	117	Paul L. Phillips, Paper Makers Bldg., Albany 1, N. Y.
		117	John R. Jones, Paper Makers Bldg., Albany 1, N. Y.
		117	Joseph Addy, Paper Makers Bldg., Albany 1, N. Y.
		117	John W. Bailey, 206 Capitol Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo 5, Mich.
		116	Al. E. Brown, 614 Henry Bldg., Portland 4, Oreg.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Pattern Makers' League of North America	1	110	George Q. Lynch, 304 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
Plasterers and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	5	118	John E. Rooney, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		117	Ben A. Martinez, 2917 S. Mansfield Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
		117	Walter A. Redmond, 200 Fidelity Bldg., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
		117	Edward J. Leonard, 3620 Longridge Ave., Sherman Oaks, Calif.
		117	Benedict, Tantillo, 2237 Kingsland Ave., Bronx 69, N. Y.
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	7	286	Martin P. Durkin, 502 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		286	George Meany, 901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		286	Peter Schoemann, 502 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		286	Edward J. Hillock, 502 Ring Bldg., 1200 18th St., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		286	Harry J. Ames, 2714 38th Ave., S. W., Seattle 6, Wash.
		285	Dan MacDonald, 1452 N. 4th St., San Jose 18, Calif.
		285	John W. Bruce, C. B. E., Route 1, Richmond Hill, Ont., Can.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal	4	42	Ray Muehlhoffer, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		42	Dennis J. Oates, 5578 Montgomery Road, Cincinnati 12, Ohio.
		42	Rollis B. Watson, Rm. 207, South Loma Dr., Los Angeles, Calif.
		41	Lewis G. Hines, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	3	34	A. Philip Randolph, 217 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y.
		33	M. P. Webster, 3947 Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		33	C. L. Dellums, 1716 Seventh St., Oakland, Calif.
Postal Supervisors, The National Association of	3	39	Jesse V. Horton, Box 2013, Washington, D. C.
		39	Frank Huber, care Post Office, Los Angeles, Calif.
		39	Jack W. Riordan, care Post Office, San Jose, Calif.
Postal Transport Association, National	3	73	W. M. Thomas, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		72	J. L. Reilly, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N. W., Washington 6, D. C.
		72	Harold G. McKellips, 2165 Portola Way, Sacramento, Calif.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	4	62	Frank Hull, P. O. Box 752, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		62	Arthur Devlin, 203 Ashmore Ave., Trenton, N. J.
		61	David Knoblett, 306 Railroad St., Robinson, Ill.
		61	Victor A. Mills, 1610 National Ave., New castle, Pa.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	1	8	Daniel Bradley, 6826 Chester Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	6	138	Thomas E. Dunwody, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		138	George L. Googe, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		138	Walter J. Turner, 1830 E. Florence Ave., Los Angeles 1, Calif.
		138	T. Q. McCollem, P. O. Box 388, Palmdale, Calif.
		137	Donald P. McCaughan, 1830 E. Florence Ave., Los Angeles 1, Calif.
		137	Clarence G. Smith, Rms. 417-418, I. W. Hellman Bldg., 411 S. Main St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	7	205	John P. Burke, 118 Broadway, Fort Edward, N. Y.
		205	Elmer P. Meinz, 343 Cooper Ave., N., St. Cloud, Minn.
		205	Charles E. Stewart, 6721 Canal Blvd., Shreveport, La.
		205	John Sherman, 821-822 Puget Sound Bank Bldg., Pacific Ave., Tacoma 2, Wash.
		204	W. E. Riggs, P. O. Box 349, Oregon City, Oregon.
		204	Ivor D. Isaacson, 4314 S. Broadway St., Los Angeles 37, Calif.
		204	Raymond D. Bradford, 1461 136th Ave., San Leandro, Calif.
Radio and Television Directors' Guild	1	8	Morris Novik, 300 W. 23rd St., New York, N. Y.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	6	223	A. L. Spradling, 6925 Dianna Dr., Cincinnati 24, Ohio.
		222	Daniel J. McNamara, 9014 S. May St., Chicago, Ill.
		222	Loren Hargus, 1506 W. 27th Terrace, Independence, Mo.
		222	Thomas Meaney, 698 E. 120th St., Cleveland, Ohio.
		222	S. T. Wybourn, 388 E. 40th St., Vancouver 15, B. C., Can.
		222	Otto Hauser, 244 Ocean Ave., Sea Bright, N. J.
Railway Patrolmen's International Union	1	29	Joe C. Reber, 787 Edgehill Road, San Bernardino, Calif.
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	3	55	Charles D. Aquadro, 6 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
		54	Homer J. Meyers, 6 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
		54	Ben D. Vetter, 6 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Seafarers' International Union of North America	5	89	Harry Lundeberg, 450 Harrison St., San Francisco 5, Calif.
		89	John Hawk, 450 Harrison St., San Francisco 5, Calif.
		89	Andrea Gomez, 450 Seaside Ave., Terminal Island, Calif.
		88	Matthew Dushane, 1424 K St., N. W., Rm. 601, Washington, D. C.
		88	Robert Matthews, Wardman Park Hotel, Suite 600-F, Washington, D. C.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad	3	54	Jesse Clark, 503 Wellington Ave., Chicago 14, Ill.
		53	Frank R. Edmonson, 2370 Wilson Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
		53	M. S. Mason, Rm 814, Pacific Bldg., 821 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	1	20	George L. Warfel, 112 C St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	5	84	Richard F. Walsh, 1270 6th Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Harland Holmden, 1270 6th Ave., New York, N. Y.
		84	Thomas V. Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, N. J.
		84	Michael J. Mungovan, R. D. No. 1, Albion, N. Y.
		84	James McNabb, 8516 29th Ave., N. W., Seattle, Wash.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of	5	183	Arnold S. Zander, Federation Bldg., Madison, Wis.
		183	Gordon W. Chapman, Federation Bldg., Madison, Wis.
		183	Thomas E. Morgan, Federation Bldg., Madison, Wis.
		182	James L. McCormack, 1119 Santa Barbara Court, Sacramento, Calif.
		182	Daniel J. Scannell, 2847 W. 8th St., Los Angeles 5, Calif.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	1	118	Leo J. Buckley, 475 5th Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	1	19	Paul A. Givens, 324 Insurance Bldg., 8 E. Market St., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Stove Mounters' International Union	3	39	Joseph Lewis, 1710 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 6, Mo.
		39	Kenneth Petro, 14940 E. Ramona Blvd., Baldwin Park, Calif.
		39	A. G. Mendoza, 9535 Sunglow St., Rivera, Calif.
Teachers, American Federation of	5	80	Carl J. Megel, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
		80	Arthur A. Elder, 1710 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
		80	Selma M. Borchardt, 423 Homer Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		80	Herrick S. Roth, 108 A. F. of L. Center, 362 Acoma, Denver, Colo.
		80	Edward A. Irwin, 3006 Royal St., Apt. 32, Los Angeles 7, Calif.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	10	1,162	Dave Beck, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		1,162	John F. English, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		1,162	Daniel J. Tobin, 5102 Park Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		1,162	Robert Lester, 720 5th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
		1,162	John L. Biggers, 1191 Linden Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
		1,162	John Duffy, 29 Plain St., Dorchester, Mass.
		1,162	John F. Ryan, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago 7, Ill.
		1,162	Roy Williams, 116 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
		1,162	Peter J. Postma, 516 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.
		1,161	J. W. Estabrook, 1020 N. E. Third Ave., Portland, Oreg.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad....	2	150	G. E. Leighty, 3860 Lindell Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.
		150	E. J. Manion, 106 Palisades Ave., Santa Monica, Calif.
Telegraphers' Union, The Commercial...	1	302	W. L. Allen, 5913 Georgia Ave., N. W., Washington 11, D. C.
Textile Workers of America, United....	5	107	Anthony Valente, 818 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		107	Lloyd Klenert, 818 13th St., N. W., Washington 5, D. C.
		107	Joseph Jacobs, Wigwam Bldg., 160 Central Ave., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
		106	Joseph Krause, 7 Church St., Paterson, N. J.
		106	Philip Salem, 575-A Essex St., Lawrence, Mass.
Tobacco Workers' International Union..	2	136	John O'Hare, Rm. 801, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
		136	R. J. Petree, Rm. 801, 1003 K St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.
Typographical Union, International....	6	126	Woodruff Randolph, 2820 N. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		126	Ernest M. Hathaway, 5903 Upham Dr., Richmond, Va.
		126	Wallace C. Reilly, 1727 Young St., Dallas, Tex.
		125	Lewis M. Hermann, 624 Sanford Ave., Newark 6, N. J.
		125	J. Arthur Moriarty, 711 Exchange Bldg., 53 State St., Boston 9, Mass.
		125	Fred H. Brigham, 40 Lenox Ave., East Orange, N. J.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	5	105	Sal B. Hoffmann, 1500 N. Broad St., Philadelphia 21, Pa.
		104	R. Alvin Albarino, 10 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y.
		104	Tony Remshardt, 4249 Gibson Ave., St. Louis 10, Mo.
		104	George Bucher, 2132 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
		104	Reed J. Stoney, 200 Guerrero Ave., San Francisco 3, Calif.
Yardmasters of America, Railroad.....	1	37	Milton G. Schoch, 41 North Madison Ave., La Grange, Ill.

DEPARTMENTS

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Building and Construction Trades	1	1	Richard J. Gray, 501 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington 1, D. C.
Metal Trades	1	1	James A. Brownlow, 901 Massachusetts Ave., Room 402, Washington 1, D. C.
Railroad Employes	1	1	Michael Fox, 220 S. State St., Room 1212, Chicago 4, Ill.
Union Label and Service Trades	1	1	Raymond F. Leheney, 100 Indiana Ave., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

Alabama	1	1	W. W. McDuffie, 729 N. 25th St., Birmingham, Ala.
Alaska	1	1	Cledamae Cammock Seaman, P. O. Box 2601, Juneau, Alaska.
Arizona	1	1	Elmer F. Vickers, Sr., 512 W. Adams St., Phoenix, Ariz.
Arkansas	1	1	S. V. Zinn, 1017 Pyramid Life Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.
California	1	1	C. J. Haggerty, 995 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.
Colorado	1	1	George A. Cavender, 360 Acoma, Denver 23, Colo.
Connecticut	1	1	Joseph M. Rourke, 65 Spring St., New Haven, Conn.
Florida	1	1	Frank G. Roche, 2500 N. W. 26th St., Miami, Fla.
Georgia	1	1	Henry W. Chandler, 1684 Stanton Road, S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
Idaho	1	1	Elmer F. McIntire, P. O. Box 269, Boise, Idaho.
Illinois	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 503 Security Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Indiana	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Bldg., Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Iowa	1	1	Ray Mills, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.
Kansas	1	1	F. E. Black, 1510 W. 17th St., Topeka, Kans.
Kentucky	1	1	Sam Ezelle, 312 Armory Place, Louisville 2, Ky.
Louisiana	1	1	E. J. Bourg, 743 Napoleon St., Baton Rouge, La.
Maine	1	1	B. J. Dorsky, 199 Exchange St., Bangor, Me.
Maryland-District of Columbia	1	1	Harry Cohen, 39 South St., Baltimore, Md.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Massachusetts	1	1	Kenneth J. Kelley, 11 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
Michigan	1	1	John H. Thorpe, 312 North Capitol, Lansing, Mich.
Minnesota	1	1	William D. Gunn, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
Mississippi	1	1	W. L. Hines, 410 First Federal Bldg., Jackson, Miss.
Missouri	1	1	Floyd Early, 116 W. Linwood Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
Montana	1	1	James S. Umber, P. O. Box 1176, Helena, Mont.
Nebraska	1	1	Gordon C. Preble, 7221 N. 35th St., Omaha, Nebr.
Nevada	1	1	James G. Ryan, P. O. Box 495, North Las Vegas, Nev.
New Jersey	1	1	Louis P. Marciante, 119 Morningside Drive, Trenton, N. J.
New Mexico	1	1	J. B. McCoy, 604 Third St., S. W., Albuquerque, N. Mex.
New York	1	1	Thomas A. Murray, 265 W. 14th St., Room 902, New York 11, N. Y.
Ohio	1	1	Phil Hannah, 273 E. State St., Columbus 15, Ohio.
Oklahoma	1	1	Dean Baugh, 703 Wright Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Oregon	1	1	James T. Marr, 506 Labor Temple, Portland 1, Oreg.
Pennsylvania	1	1	Joseph A. McDonough, Federation Bldg., Front and Pine Sts., Harrisburg, Pa.
Puerto Rico	1	1	Hipolito Marcano, Box 1648, 252 Tanca St., San Juan 8, P. R.
South Carolina	1	1	James M. Wood, 452 Colton St., Spartanburg, S. C.
Tennessee	1	1	Stanton E. Smith, 540 Vine St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Texas	1	1	Jerry R. Holleman, 412 Littlefield Bldg., Austin 15, Tex.
Utah	1	1	David S. Turner, 151 S. 2nd East, Salt Lake City, Utah.
Virginia	1	1	J. S. Smith, 109 W. Grace St., Richmond, Va.
Washington	1	1	E. M. Weston, 2800 First Ave., Seattle 1, Wash.
West Virginia	1	1	E. A. Carter, 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin	1	1	George W. Hall, 1012 N. 3rd St., Room 321, Milwaukee 3, Wis.

CENTRAL BODIES

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Akron, Ohio	1	1	Sam Pollock, 2921 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
Albany, N. Y.	1	1	Joseph P. Cerutti, 35 Turner Place, Albany, N. Y.
Alton, Ill.	1	1	Paul McCormick, Weber Place, Godfrey, Ill.
Altoona, Pa.	1	1	Lawrence Schrenk, 1111 12th Ave., Altoona, Pa.
Amarillo, Tex.	1	1	L. A. Wilson, 212 W. 7th St., Amarillo, Tex.
Anchorage, Alaska	1	1	Robert E. McFarland, Box 487, Anchorage, Alaska.
Ashland County, Ohio	1	1	James D. Highman, R. D. 3, Ashland, Ohio.
Astoria, Oreg.	1	1	L. E. Egan, 500 Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.
Atlanta, Ga.	1	1	James G. Moore, 928 Aliene Ave., S. W., Atlanta, Ga.
Atlantic City, N. J. (Atlantic County)	1	1	William Abramoff, 15 S. North Carolina Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.
Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner, Me.	1	1	Thomas F. Flynn, 7 Valley St., Augusta, Me.
Bakersfield, Calif.	1	1	Floyd J. White, P. O. Box 1108, Bakersfield, Calif.
Balboa, C. Z.	1	1	Walter Wagner, Box 123, Balboa, Canal Zone, Panama.
Baltimore, Md.	1	1	Francis S. Filbey, 1131 Harford Ave., Baltimore 2, Md.
Baton Rouge, La.	1	1	Perry A. Turner, 2525 Seneca St., Baton Rouge, La.
Beaver County, Pa.	1	1	James Russo, 4730 5th Ave., Beaver Falls, Pa.
Birmingham, Ala.	1	1	Mattie H. Jones, 4608 N. 11th Ave., Birmingham, Ala.
Bloomington, Ind.	1	1	Ray M. Bouvier, 1003 N. Walnut Grove, Bloomington, Ind.
Boston, Mass.	1	1	John F. Donovan, 25 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.
Brockton, Mass.	1	1	Henry J. Brides, 325 N. Warren Ave., Brockton, Mass.
Buffalo, N. Y.	1	1	John J. Higgins, 310 Blue Cross Bldg., Buffalo 2, N. Y.
Calumet, Ill.	1	1	Jos. C. Moenich, 300 W. 111th Place, Chicago, Ill.
Cambridge, Mass.	1	1	Joseph Stefani, 30 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Camden, N. J.	1	1	Joseph J. McComb, 3837 Myrtle Ave., Camden, N. J.
Canton, Ohio	1	1	Austin A. Andrews, 1019 8th St., N. E., Canton 4, Ohio.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa	1	1	Ethan M. Akin, 720 3rd St., S. W., Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Charleston, W. Va. (Kanawha Valley)	1	1	Romaine Carter (Mrs.), 362 Fairview Drive, Charleston, W. Va.
Chattanooga, Tenn.	1	1	Brownie Cuthbert (Mrs.), 608 Mabel St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Thomas J. Haggerty, 9255 S. Winchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio	1	1	John J. Hurst, 1739 Northcut Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clark County, Nev.	1	1	Thomas H. Meehan, 420 S. 2nd St., Las Vegas, Nev.
Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash.	1	1	Beatrice Rice, 401 W. 31st St., Vancouver, Wash.
Cleveland, Ohio	1	1	William Finegan, 1248 Walnut Ave., Cleveland 14, Ohio.
Clinton County, Ill.	1	1	Edgar F. Smith, 75 S. Cherry St., Breese, Ill.
Contra Costa County, Calif.	1	1	Bernice A. Cooper, 607 Macdonald Ave., Richmond, Calif.
Corpus Christi, Tex.	1	1	Sebastian Krauss, Corpus Christi, Tex.
Corvallis, Oreg.	1	1	James M. Stewart, 190 Park Drive, Corvallis, Oreg.
Council Bluffs, Iowa	1	1	Leonard Mundy, 1821 California St., Omaha, Nebr.
Cumberland County, N. J.	1	1	Leon B. Schachter, P. O. Box 44, Millville, N. J.
Dade County, Fla.	1	1	Ben C. Williams, 833 N. E. 1st Ave., Miami, Fla.
Dallas, Tex.	1	1	John W. Hays, 2903 Kendale Ave., Dallas 20, Tex.
Dayton, Ohio	1	1	John E. Breidenbach, 901 W. Hillcrest Ave., Dayton 6, Ohio.
Des Moines, Iowa	1	1	Edric C. Greaves, 412 Paramount Bldg., Des Moines 9, Iowa.
Detroit and Wayne Counties, Mich.	1	1	Frank X. Martel, 82 West Montcalm, Detroit 1, Mich.
Duluth, Minn.	1	1	Robert A. Olson, 4517 W. 7th St., Duluth 7, Minn.
East Liverpool, Ohio	1	1	John Weber, 931 Lisbon St., East Liverpool, Ohio.
El Centro, Calif. (Imperial Valley)	1	1	Walter I. Welden, 690 Broadway, El Centro, Calif.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Elizabeth, N. J. (Union County)	1	1	George F. Cushing, 639 Salem Ave., Elizabeth, N. J.
Everett, Wash.	1	1	James H. Thompson, Labor Temple, 2812 Lombard, Everett, Wash.
Fairbanks, Alaska	1	1	George W. Davis, Northward Bldg., Fairbanks, Alaska.
Fayette County, Pa.	1	1	Harry R. Mitchell, 250 Crossland Ave. Uniontown, Pa.
Flint, Mich.	1	1	Gilbert R. Clark, Otter Lake, Mich.
Fort Worth, Tex.	1	1	E. Langston, 415 W. 7th St., Fort Worth, Tex.
Fresno, Calif.	1	1	Wallace D. Henderson, 323 Anglo Bank Bldg., Fresno 21, Calif.
Galesburg, Ill.	1	1	William H. Moon, 56 N. Cherry St., Galesburg, Ill.
Honolulu, T. H.	1	1	Edward J. Kovack, 211 McCandless Bldg., Honolulu 13, Territory of Hawaii.
Houston, Tex.	1	1	Joe Marasek, 2501 Crawford, Houston, Tex.
Hudson County, N. J.	1	1	Joseph G. Quinn, 583 Summit Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
Humboldt County, Calif.	1	1	Albin J. Gruhn, Box 259, Eureka, Calif.
Hutchinson, Kans.	1	1	Kenneth D. Piatt, 2424 Apple Lane, Hutchinson, Kans.
Indianapolis, Ind.	1	1	Vance Runyon, 3518 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Jackson, Miss.	1	1	L. E. Holt Ross, 130 Woodrow Wilson Ave., Jackson, Miss.
Joliet, Ill. (Will County)	1	1	S. P. Miller, 68 W. Van Buren St., Joliet, Ill.
Joplin, Mo.	1	1	Otto Bowles, care Wm. Jacks, Sec., 719½ Main St., Joplin, Mo.
Kalamazoo, Mich.	1	1	Florence H. Bailey, 206 Capitol Theatre Bldg., Kalamazoo, Mich.
Kansas City, Kans.	1	1	Geo. J. Harrison, 1818 Freeman Ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo.	1	1	Hugh L. Raymond, 101 E. Armour Blvd., Kansas City, Mo.
Kenosha, Wis.	1	1	Paul Whiteside, 7600 10th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.	1	1	William T. Koester, 217 W. 12th St., Cincinnati 10, Ohio.
Klamath Falls, Oreg.	1	1	Fred Manish, 220 Main St., Klamath Falls, Oreg.
Lake Charles, La.	1	1	Malcolm L. Prater, 533 11th St., Lake Charles, La.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Lake County, Ind.	1	1	Harold P. Hagberg, 2835 165th St., Hammond, Ind.
Lake County, Ohio	1	1	Victor I. Bukky, 126 Willowbrook Drive, Painesville, Ohio.
Laramie, Wyo.	1	1	W. J. Walter, 916 S. 17th St., Laramie, Wyo.
Lawrence, Kans.	1	1	Paul F. Clark, 1021 Rhode Island St., Lawrence, Kans.
Leavenworth, Kans.	1	1	George Townsend, 611 N. Esplanade, Leavenworth, Kans.
Lebanon County, Pa.	1	1	George McCarten, 2036 Berryhill St., Harrisburg, Pa.
Little Rock, Ark.	1	1	Odell Smith, 308 Reigler Bldg., Little Rock, Ark.
Long Beach, Calif.	1	1	M. R. Callahan, 3454 Bellflower Blvd., Lakewood, Calif.
Lorain, Ohio	1	1	A. C. Shibley, 112 W. 18th St., Lorain, Ohio.
Los Angeles, Calif.	1	1	W. J. Bassett, 108 W. 6th St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Lowell, Mass.	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 18 Prescott St., Lowell, Mass.
Lynn, Mass.	1	1	Louis R. Govoni, 25 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.
Memphis, Tenn.	1	1	C. R. Collins, 3669 Douglas Ave., Memphis, Tenn.
Milwaukee, Wis.	1	1	Stanley T. Joers, 1012 N. 3rd St., Milwaukee 3, Wis.
Minneapolis, Minn.	1	1	Walter R. Cramond, 115 S. E. 4th St., Minneapolis 14, Minn.
Modesto, Calif.	1	1	W. J. Kiser, 217 Maze Blvd., Modesto, Calif.
Monterey Peninsula, Calif.	1	1	George J. Wilson, 920 Margaret St., Monterey, Calif.
Montgomery, Ala.	1	1	Ted Williams, 10 Brantwood Drive, Montgomery, Ala.
Muncie, Ind.	1	1	George McMahan, 308 W. Washington St., Muncie, Ind.
Munising, Mich.	1	1	John M. Pater, P. O. Box 251, Munising, Mich.
Nampa, Idaho	1	1	F. T. Baldwin, 608 Shoshone, Boise, Idaho.
Newark, N. J.	1	1	Morris Fuchs, 102 Astor St., Newark 5, N. J.
New Bedford, Mass.	1	1	S. P. Jason, 129 Union St., New Bedford, Mass.
New Orleans, La.	1	1	Robert L. Soule, 1919 St. Claude Ave., New Orleans 16, La.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
New York, N. Y. (Greater New York and Vicinity)	1	1	William Kohn, 265 W. 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.
Niagara Falls, N. Y.	1	1	Harry S. Jordan, 204 5th St., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Oakland, Calif. (Alameda County)	1	1	Robert S. Ash, 17456 Almond Road, Castro Valley, Calif.
Oklahoma City, Okla.	1	1	W. T. Delaney, 321 N. W. 8th St., Oklahoma City, Okla.
Olean, N. Y. (Cattaraugus and Alleghany Counties)	1	1	Osborn Myrick, Box 279, Olean, N. Y.
Omaha, Nebr.	1	1	David J. Majors, 415 Karbach Block, Omaha, Nebr.
Orange County, Calif.	1	1	Charles E. Devine, 1058 E. First St., Santa Ana, Calif.
Oregon City, Oreg. (Clackamas County)	1	1	Frank Schmitz, Route 1, Oregon City, Oreg.
Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif.	1	1	Arthur K. Hutchings, 42 E. Walnut St., Pasadena 1, Calif.
Pasco-Kennewick, Wash.	1	1	O. R. Brand, 417 W. 11th Ave., Kennewick, Wash.
Passaic County, N. J.	1	1	Sal Maso, 45 E. 21st St., Paterson 4, N. J.
Philadelphia, Pa.	1	1	Norman Blumberg, 1008 City Centre Bldg., 121 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Pittsburgh, Pa.	1	1	Clifton C. Caldwell, 700 Clark Bldg., Pittsburgh 22, Pa.
Placer, Nev., and El Dorado Counties, Calif.	1	1	Ralph Reynolds, 522 Forrest Hill, Auburn, Calif.
Pomona, Calif.	1	1	Edwin M. Greenwald, 1609 Gordon St., Pomona, Calif.
Portland, Oreg.	1	1	Gust Anderson, 2426 N. E. Ainsworth St., Portland, Oreg.
Portsmouth, N. H.	1	1	Marshall A. Siteman, N. Beach, Rye, N. H.
Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	1	1	William Sorenson, Sr., Overooker Road, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Providence, R. I.	1	1	Edward R. Quirk, 34 Osceola Ave., Providence 5, R. I.
Reading and Berks County, Pa.	1	1	John T. Halestky, 113 N. 8th St., Reading, Pa.
Reno, Nev.	1	1	Paula May Day, 320 Colorado River Blvd., Reno, Nev.
Renton, Wash.	1	1	Francis L. Lang, 1953 26 N., Seattle, Wash.
Richmond, Va.	1	1	W. H. C. Murray, 400 N. Tilden St., Richmond, Va.
Riverside, Calif.	1	1	L. L. Carlile, R. 1, Box 108, Colton, Calif.
Sacramento, Calif.	1	1	Harry Finks, 2525 Stockton Blvd., Sacramento, Calif.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Salem, Oreg.	1	1	O. J. Falkenberg, 1809 S. W. 11th, Portland, Oreg.
Salt Lake City, Utah	1	1	Don R. Evans, Labor Temple, 151 S. 2nd St., E., Salt Lake City, Utah.
St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	Larry Connors, 3547 Olive, St. Louis 3, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn.	1	1	E. D. McKinnon, Labor Temple, 418 Auditorium St., St. Paul 2, Minn.
San Angelo, Tex.	1	1	W. S. East, 33 E. 23rd St., San Angelo, Tex.
San Diego County, Calif.	1	1	John W. Quimby, Room 206, 525 E St., San Diego, Calif.
San Francisco, Calif.	1	1	Jack Goldberger, 240 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, Calif.
San Mateo County, Calif.	1	1	Thomas A. Small, 114 B St., San Mateo, Calif.
San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif.	1	1	Richard J. Seltzer, 1239 Locust Ave., Long Beach, Calif.
Santa Barbara, Calif.	1	1	Charles J. Jossa, 620 W. Cota St., Santa Barbara, Calif.
Santa Clara County, Calif.	1	1	Earl A. Moorhead, 45 Santa Teresa St., San Jose, Calif.
Santa Cruz, Calif.	1	1	Joseph Vierra, 307 Younglove Ave., Santa Cruz, Calif.
Santa Monica, Calif.	1	1	Thomas L. Pitts, 848 S. Union Ave., Los Angeles 17, Calif.
Savannah, Ga.	1	1	John Wesley "Whitey" Cain, 34 Drayton St., Savannah, Ga.
Schenectady, N. Y.	1	1	R. J. Carmichael, 1568 Kingston Ave., Schenectady 8, N. Y.
Scranton, Pa.	1	1	William J. McGrath, 432 Colfax Ave., Scranton, Pa.
Seattle and Vicinity, Wash.	1	1	Harry L. Carr, 336 N. 78th St., Seattle, Wash.
South Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 S. Coles Ave., Chicago 49, Ill.
Springfield, Ill.	1	1	Sam N. Bonansinga, 2140 E. Jackson, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mo.	1	1	Mary A. Bowles (Mrs.), 321 S. Dollison Ave., Springfield 4, Mo.
Springfield, Ohio	1	1	George E. McKenna, 119 E. Clark St., Springfield, Ohio.
Stockton, Calif.	1	1	Edward Doran, 805 E. Webber Ave., Stockton, Calif.
Texarkana, Ark.	1	1	Haskell H. Scoggins, 2306 W. 8th St., Texarkana, Tex.
Trenton, N. J.	1	1	Thomas J. Dunn, 64 Mercer St., Hamilton Square, N. J.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
Tri-City, Davenport, Iowa, Rock Island and Moline, Ill.	1	1	Howard Druckmiller, 211½ 18th St., Rock Island, Ill.
Tucson, Ariz.	1	1	Fred J. Brown, 502 S. Belvedere, Tucson, Ariz.
Tulsa, Okla.	1	1	W. G. Pendergrass, 1130 N. New Haven, Tulsa, Okla.
Urbana-Champaign, Ill.	1	1	Clifford H. James, 708 S. Grove St., Urbana, Ill.
Utica, N. Y.	1	1	Samuel Talerico, 1008 Cornelia St., Utica, N. Y.
Ventura, Calif.	1	1	Al. Whorley, 1019 Chapala St., Santa Barbara, Calif.
Visalia, Calif. (Tulare County)	1	1	C. J. Hyans, 3009 Atlantic St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Washington, D. C.	1	1	J. C. Turner, 1311 L St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
White Pine County, Nev.	1	1	J. R. Morrison, P. O. Box 644, McGill, Nev.
Yuma County, Ariz.	1	1	Mason M. Warren, 4328 E. Lewis, Phoenix, Ariz.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

9049, San Francisco, Calif.	1	1	Wm. J. Williams, 2292 16 Ave., San Francisco 16, Calif.
15834, Seattle, Wash.	1	1	Frank L. Turco, 3rd and Pike, Seattle, Wash.
16303, New York, N. Y.	1	8	Anthony Varrone, 1335 85th St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
18007, Chicago, Ill.	1	23	James E. Fitzpatrick, 8041 S. Dante Ave., Chicago 19, Ill.
18032, New York, N. Y.	1	4	Milton Weintraub, 141-15 73rd Ave., Flushing, L. I., N. Y.
18205, New York, N. Y.	1	4	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
18267, Cleveland, Ohio	1	5	Esther Schueller, 3496 W. 120th St., Cleveland 11, Ohio.
18456, Kenosha, Wis.	1	25	Howard Colby, 7954 29th Ave., Kenosha, Wis.
18524, Richmond, Calif.	1	2	Gilbert R. Bjerke, 568 5th St., Richmond, Calif.
18671, Cleveland, Ohio	1	3	Wm. R. McCourt, 3691 Wooster Road, Rocky River, Ohio.
18887, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	26	Alex I. Dever, 28 Melrose Ave., East Lansdowne, Pa.
19388, Louisville, Ky.	1	15	Matthew W. Davis, 316 S. 42nd St., Louisville, Ky.
19806, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	56	Wilbur Le Clair, 3310 W. 27th St., Milwaukee 16, Wis.

Organizations	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	Names and Addresses of Delegates
19897, Jersey City, N. J.	1	1	George J. Kane, 777 Bergen Ave., Jersey City, N. J.
20037, Crockett, Calif.	1	12	Benny Wagner, Crockett, Calif.
20467, Chicago, Ill.	1	6	Paul J. Dorfman, 130 N. Wells St., Chicago, Ill.
20572, Toledo, Ohio	1	6	James M. Flynn, 2354 Tremainsville Road, Toledo, Ohio.
20610, Woodland, Calif.	1	2	J. J. Strelo, 2445 Park Blvd., Oakland, Calif.
20711, St. Louis, Mo.	1	1	Maury E. Rubin, 4903 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis 8, Mo.
21241, Los Angeles, Calif.	1	2	Ralph Roddy, Room 904, 108 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 14, Calif.
21479 (3 votes), 21480 (3 votes), 21481 (2 votes), Toronto, Ont., Canada	1	8	Max Federman, 547 Douglas Ave., Toronto, Ont., Can.
21538, Blackwell, Okla.	1	9	O. C. Campbell, 222 West Kansas Ave., Blackwell, Okla.
21625, New York, N. Y.	1	11	Silvio Prezioso, 673 Broadway, New York 12, N. Y.
21664, Syracuse, N. Y.	1	3	Frank Galuski, Frederick St., East Syracuse, N. Y.
21877, Chicago, Ill.	1	1	Irwin E. Klass, 5209 Ingleside Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.
22116, St. Paul, Minn.	1	2	Ray F. Wentz, 576 Montcalm Place, St. Paul, Minn.
22177, Detroit, Mich.	1	23	Charles F. Shipp, 3140 Hobson St., Detroit 1, Mich.
22454, New Orleans, La.	1	3	Claude P. Babin, 4421 Iberville St., New Orleans 19, La.
22519, Mobile, Ala.	1	1	Stanton Dann, P. O. Box 949, Mobile 5, Ala.
22623, Philadelphia, Pa.	1	20	Domenic Capitolo, 1239 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia 23, Pa.
19340 (5 votes), 22631 (23 votes), Milwaukee, Wis.	1	28	John E. Cudahy, 2658 N. Bremen St., Milwaukee, Wis.
22694, Brockton, Mass.	1	4	Joseph A. Picone, Plymouth St., Middleboro, Mass.
23122, Seattle, Wash.	1	1	E. G. Lange, 1953 26th Ave., North, Seattle, Wash.
23181, New York, N. Y.	1	1	William Wolpert, 175 Broadway, New York 2, N. Y.
23773, Dayton, Ohio	1	1	James R. Anderson, 425 Elmhurst Road, Dayton, Ohio.
23974, Galesburg, Ill.	1	8	John Fairow, 477 E. North St., Galesburg, Ill.
23823, Newark, Ohio	1	3	Derrell Johnson, Route 4, Newark, Ohio.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. Delegates	No. of Votes of each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
23843, St. Paul, Minn.	1	1	Loren E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul 2, Minn.
24116, San Francisco, Calif.	1	1	Lew C. G. Blix, 23 Gloriette Court, Grinda, Calif.
24410, Leadville, Colo.	1	10	Jess A. Larch, 144 W. 7th St., Leadville, Colo.
24411, Bridgeport, Conn.	1	22	Frank Mazzabufi, 475 Vicellette St., Bridgeport, Conn.
24866, Washington, D. C.	1	1	James E. Weber, 810 Rhode Island Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.

FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

British Trades Union Congress	2	1	James Gilroy Baty, 9 Awkright Road, Hemstead, London, N. W., No. 3, England.
		1	Arthur E. Tiffin, Transport House, Smith Square, London, W. 1, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	Vern Metheral, 2831 Cameron St., Regina, Sask., Can.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
100	National and International Unions	415	92,860
4	Departments	4	4
42	State Branches	42	42
154	Central Labor Unions	154	154
45	Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions	42	365
2	Fraternal Organizations	3	3
347		660	93,428

DELEGATES AND FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909	Samuel Gompers.	1911 1913	James Duncan. George W. Perkins.	*1915 *1917	

To British Trades Union Congress

1895	Samuel Gompers P. J. McGuire	†1915	W. D. Mahon Matthew Woll	1935	Henry F. Schmal Denis Lane
1896	J. W. Sullivan Adolph Strasser	1916	W. D. Mahon Matthew Woll	1936	William J. McSorley Edward Canavan
1897	Martin Fox Geo. E. McNeill	1917	John Golden James Lord	1937	William C. Birthright John B. Haggerty
1898	James Duncan Harry Lloyd	1918	J. A. Franklin Wm. J. Bowen	1938	P. J. Morrin Daniel J. Tobin
1899	James O'Connell Thomas F. Tracy	1919	*Wm. L. Hutcheson John J. Hynes	1939	Felix H. Knight James Maloney
1900	J. M. Hunter Sidney J. Kent	1920	Timothy Healy Mrs. Sarah Conboy	**1940	
1901	Daniel J. Keefe Eugene F. O'Rourke	1921	Wm. J. Spencer James J. Forrester	**1941	
1902	Patrick Dolan Henry Blackmore	1922	Benjamin Schlesinger E. J. McGivern	1942	Daniel J. Tobin
1903	Max S. Hayes Martin Lawlor	1923	Peter Shaughnessy Anthony J. Chlopek	1943	Isidore Nagler Harold D. Ulrich
1904	W. D. Ryan D. D. Driscoll	1924	Peter J. Brady Edward J. Gainor	1944	Hugo Ernst Holt Ross
1905	John A. Moffitt James Wood	1925	A. Adamski Edw. J. Evans	1945	W. C. Doherty George Meany
1906	Frank K. Foster James Wilson	1926	†Frank Farrington Wm. L. Hutcheson	1946	Ed. J. Brown Thos. Kennedy
1907	John T. Dempsey W. E. Klapsetzky	1927	John Coefield Michael Casey	1947	George Richardson Arnold S. Zander
1908	Andrew Furuseth James J. Creamer	1928	Michael F. Greene Wm. B. Fitzgerald	1948	Edward J. Volz Patrick E. Gorman
1909	John P. Frey B. A. Larger	1929	William J. Rooney William P. Clarke	1949	H. C. Bates Dave Beck
1910	W. B. Wilson T. V. O'Connor	1930	John J. Manning Thomas E. Maloy	1950	Alex Rose Joseph P. McCurdy
1911	Wm. B. Macfarlane Daniel J. Tobin	1931	Joseph P. Ryan Joseph V. Moreschi	1951	Chas. J. MacGowan Richard J. Gray
1912	George L. Berry John H. Walker	1932	Joseph A. Franklin E. E. Milliman	1952	Richard F. Walsh John R. Stevenson
1913	Charles L. Baine Louis Kemper	1933	Thomas E. Burke Christian M. Madsen	1953	Scott W. Milne Wm. A. Lee
*1914	W. D. Mahon Matthew Woll	1934	Michael J. Colleran Edward Flore	1954	James A. Suffridge Paul L. Phillips

From British Trades Union Congress

1894	John Burns David Holmes	1907	David J. Shackleton John Hodge	1920	J. W. Ogden J. Jones
1895	Edward Cowey James Mawdsley	1908	John Wadsworth H. Skinner	1921	J. H. Thomas James Walker
1896	Sam Woods John Mallinson	1909	A. H. Gill J. R. Clynes	1922	E. L. Poulton H. Smith
1897	Edward Harford J. Havelock Wilson	1910	W. Brace Ben Turner	1923	R. B. Walker W. C. Robinson
1898	William Inskip William Thorne	1911	G. H. Roberts J. Crinion	1924	C. T. Cramp A. B. Swales
1899	James Haslam Alexander Wilkie	1912	J. A. Seddon R. Smillie	1925	Ben Smith A. A. Purcell
1900	John Weir Pete Curran	1913	I. H. Gwynne T. Greenall	1926	J. Bromley G. Hicks
1901	Frank Chandler Ben Tillett	**1914		1927	Arthur Pugh W. Sherwood
1902	M. Arrandale E. Edwards	1915	C. G. Ammon E. Bevin	1928	John Marchbank E. Edwards
1903	William Mullin James O'Grady	1916	H. Gosling W. Whitefield	1929	J. T. Brownlie J. Bell
1904	William Abraham James Gignall	1917	John Hill Arthur Hayday	1930	A. A. Findlay A. Shaw
1905	William Mosses David Gilmour	1918	F. Hall Miss M. Bondfield	1931	F. Wolstencroft J. Beard
1906	Allen Gee J. N. Bell	1919	S. Finney Miss M. Bondfield	1932	W. Holmes Charles Duke

From British Trades Union Congress (Continued)

1933	James Rowan J. A. Hall	1941	George W. Thompson Edward Hough	1948	H. L. Bullock W. Hutchinson
1934	A. G. Walkden John Stokes	1942	Jack Tanner Arthur Bryn Roberts	1949	Lincoln Evans T. Williamson
1935	Andrew Conley Andrew Naesmith	1943	Harry N. Harrison W. Bayliss	1950	Florence Hancock Sir William Lawther
1936	William Kean George Gibson	1944	John Brown Arthur Horner	1951	Thomas Yates James Kelly
1937	William R. Townley John C. Little	*1945		1952	Alfred Roberts, G.B.E. †William M. Arthur
1938	Joseph Jones J. W. Stephenson	1946	Tom O'Brien Sam Watson	1953	Edwin Hall Charles Geddes
1939	Herbert Henry Elvin †John Brown	1947	Arthur Deakin Robert Openshaw	1954	James G. Baty Arthur E. Tiffin
1940	Rt. Hon. Sir W. Citrine				

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898	Thomas I. Kidd	1917	Emanuel Koveleski	1936	M. J. Gillooly
1899	James H. Sullivan	1918	Stuart H. Hayward	1937	R. A. Henning
1900	W. D. Mahon	1919	Sam Griggs	1938	Joseph J. Kehoe
1901	John R. O'Brien	1920	W. G. Shea	1939	E. L. Wheatley
1902	D. D. Driscoll	1921	John O'Hara	1940	Claude O'Reilly
1903	John Coleman	1922	William E. Hulsbeck	1941	Harry Stevenson
1904	John H. Richards	1923	Walter N. Reddick	1942	Thomas J. Lyons
1905	Frank Feeney	1924	Walter W. Britton	1943	Arnold S. Zander
1906	Thomas A. Rickert	1925	James Duncan	1944	Anthony Valente
1907	Robert S. Maloney	1926	James B. Connors	*1945	
1908	Hugh Frayne	1927	Thos. J. McQuade	1946	Matthew Woll
1909	Jerome Jones	1928	Joseph W. Morton	1947	Leo George
1910	John J. Manning	1929	John D. Haggerty	1948	Richard Walsh
1911	Wm. J. Tracy	1930	Adolph Kummer	1949	H. A. Bradley
1912	John T. Smith	1931	Charles J. Case	1950	Anthony Valente
1913	Wm. J. McSorley	1932	Frank B. Powers	1951	Lee W. Minton
1914	M. M. Donoghue	1933	James C. Quinn	1952	John J. Hauck
1915	H. J. Conway	1934	Joseph P. McCurdy	1953	Toney Gallo
1916	Harry P. Corcoran	1935	James Maloney	1954	Rueben Soderstrom

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898	David A. Carey	1917	Wm. Lodge	1936	George R. Brunet
1899	David A. Carey	1918	Thos. Moore	1937	Rod Plant
1900	David A. Carey	1919	J. M. Walsh	1938	W. G. Russell
1901	P. M. Draper	1920	J. A. McClellan	1939	D. W. Kennedy
1902	John H. Kennedy	1921	M. U. F. Bush	1940	E. A. Jamieson
1903	James Simpson	1922	Ernest Robinson	1941	H. C. Simpson
1904	John A. Flett	1923	James A. Sullivan	1942	Donovan Swailes
1905	William V. Todd	1924	John Colbert	1943	Joseph Matte
1906	Samuel L. Landers	1925	Donald Dear	1944	A. R. Johnstone
1907	W. R. Trotter	1926	Richard Lynch	*1945	
1908	P. M. Draper	1927	Alfred Farmilo	1946	Percy Bengough
1909	F. Bancroft	1928	Wm. Varley	1947	Robert H. Brown
1910	R. P. Pettipiece	1929	James A. Whitebone	1948	Hugh J. Sedgwick
1911	Wm. Glockling	1930	William E. Stephenson	1949	R. P. Rintoul
1912	John W. Bruce	1931	Colin McDonald	1950	Roger Provost
1913	Gus Francq	1932	W. V. Turnbull	1951	Bernard Shane
1914	R. A. Rigg	1933	Fred J. White	1952	J. B. Graham
1915	Fred Bancroft	1934	William Dunn	1953	Gordon Cushing
1916	Thomas A. Stevenson	1935	J. A. P. Haydon, M.C.	1954	Vern R. Metheral

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924	Jose W. Kelly Roberto Haberman	1925	Canuto A. Vargas Roberto Haberman	1926	Ricardo Trevino Jose F. Guiterrez Salustrio Hernandez
		1941	Luis N. Morones Roberto Haberman		

* No convention ** No delegates † Did not attend

Conventions
of the
American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18
1882	Cleveland, Ohio	November 21-24
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11
1886	Columbus, Ohio	December 8-12
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio	December 14-21
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21
1909	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	November 8-20
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23
1920	Montreal, Quebec, Canada	June 7-19
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio	June 12-24
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28
1929	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 7-18
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17
1931	Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada	October 5-15
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio	Nov. 21-Dec. 2
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15
1938	Houston, Tex.	October 3-13
1939	Cincinnati, Ohio	October 2-13
1940	New Orleans, La.	November 18-29
1941	Seattle, Wash.	October 6-16
1942	Toronto, Ontario, Canada	October 5-14
1943	Boston, Mass.	October 4-14
1944	New Orleans, La.	November 20-30
1945	Convention canceled because of wartime conditions	
1946	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-17
1947	San Francisco, Calif.	October 6-16
1948	Cincinnati, Ohio	November 15-22
1949	St. Paul, Minn.	October 3-10
1950	Houston, Tex.	September 18-23
1951	San Francisco, Calif.	September 17-25
1952	New York, N. Y.	September 15-23
1953	St. Louis, Mo.	September 21-25
1954	Los Angeles, Calif.	September 20-27

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1954

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the trade and labor unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I—NAME

This association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the third Thursday in September at such place as the delegates have selected at a preceding convention. If the proper convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations cannot be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. (a) Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council, or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

(b) Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention, together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered, has been given to all affiliated organizations.

(c) Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

(d) Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the convention the President shall take the chair and call the convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh,, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the annual convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 6.[1] All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

[1]All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or

appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

[3]Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

[4]Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

[5]All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall, immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated, be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced and committees to which they are to be referred and all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution at the opening session of the convention.

[6]The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider propsals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition or any other, shall have no place in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding convention shall be in force from the opening of any convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consists of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National and International Unions, less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other trade unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No city or state federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than June 30 preceding the annual convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the convention, and

no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V—Officers

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, 15 Vice Presidents and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the convention on the last day of the session unless otherwise determined by the convention and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the 31st day of December in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI—Duties of President

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations and shall receive for his services $35,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President, by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

SEC. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President, with the approval of the Executive Council, shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Disciplinary action by the President shall consist of "emergency action" and "decisions," the latter being subject to the appeal to the Executive Council hereinbefore provided. "Emergency action" shall be taken when in the opinion of the President it is necessary to preserve the rights of the American Federation of Labor, or of any affiliate mentioned in this section, or of any officers or members thereof, and for the purpose of preserving the status quo. Emergency action shall be effective only for 45 days unless within such 45 days written charges are caused to be served on the affiliate involved, or on the officers or members involved if they are individually charged. If such charges are served then the emergency action shall stand until a trial is had before the President or a representative designated by him to hear them. Such trial shall commence within 45 days after the charges have been served. If the trial is before a representative designated by the President he shall report his findings orally or in writing to the President, who shall within 15 days render a decision in the matter. Such decision shall consist of a dismissal of the charges if found untrue or that they, or part of them, are sustained, whereupon the President shall take such disciplinary action as hereinbefore authorized. Such action shall constitute the President's "decision," but shall be subject to change or modification by him before an appeal to the Executive Council is acted upon. An appeal to the Executive Council shall be in writing and mailed to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor within 15 days after the President has rendered his decision. Pending an appeal, the decision of the President shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VII—Duties of Secretary-Treasurer

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

SEC. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest

period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

SEC. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

SEC. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive $33,000 per annum, payable weekly.

SEC. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on June 30 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated National and International Unions, State federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated Local Unions.

SEC. 9. The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, with the assistance of an auditing department or otherwise, to make an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions, including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan, of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and may make such audit at more frequent intervals at his discretion. Officers and representatives of Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions having the same shall be required to turn over to the Secretary-Treasurer or his duly authorized representative all books, records, accounts and information necessary to make any such audit. If such audit reveals that any financial irregularities have taken place, or that any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union has more members than it is paying per capita tax upon, then the President shall be authorized to take appropriate proceedings under Section 6, Article VI, to discipline for or remedy the same.

SEC. 10. Each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be required to obtain a blanket bond covering such of its officers and representatives who handle any of its funds or assets. Such bond shall be obtained through the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor who shall have the duty to ascertain and prescribe that the blanket bonds thus obtained are in amounts sufficient to afford reasonable protection. The costs and charges for such bonds shall be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE VIII—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

SEC. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall consist of the President, 15 Vice Presidents and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor. All Executive Council members shall function as such until December 31, in the year succeeding the convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the convention may direct.

SEC. 3. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 4. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 5. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the convention), and

no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 6. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 7. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 8. The salaries of organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council in addition to which they shall receive railroad fare and hotel expenses when traveling away from the city in which they reside. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 9. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 10. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 11. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes places before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 12. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affilitaed unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 13. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

A National or International Union chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor can be suspended from membership in the American Federation of Labor only by a majority vote of the duly accredited delegates in attendance at any session of a convention, voting in accordance with the provisions of Section 3 of Article IV of this constitution, except in cases where two (2) or more National or International Unions unite and conspire to launch, create or maintain an organization dual and rival to the American Federation of Labor. In that event, charges may be filed against said organization, or organizations, a hearing shall be held upon said charges by the Executive Council and if found guilty by it, said organization, or organizations, may be suspended from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor by the Executive Council with the right of appealing to the next succeeding annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. If appeal is taken, the suspended union, or unions, will have the right of appearing before the convention committees and the convention itself, but without the right to vote.

SEC. 14. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions, and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of four (4) cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, sixty (60) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be one dollar ($1); from Central and State Bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention or when derived in accordance with the provisions of Section 1, Article XII.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, Sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month and assessment or assessments when due and payable shall be

notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council subject to appeal to the next convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Bodies to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union Movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Unions or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the Unions involved, the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members, or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII—ASSESSMENTS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding twenty-six weeks in any one year when the interests of the American Federation of Labor require and when funds available from per capita tax are insufficient to meet the needs of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1, shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII—Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

Section 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the president of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts shall prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and nonunion; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of ten weeks, an amount equal to ten ($10) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand ($5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall require their members to pay dues of not less than two dollars ($2) per month. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than two dollars ($2) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than $2.00 nor more than $15.00, and that $1.00 of such initiation fee shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax; accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for; on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's dues book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the

current month, and a fee of one ($1.00) dollar for reinstatement stamp.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five ($5) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each Department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each Department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the Department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately

following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation, the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each Department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each Department.

SEC. 10. In the Building and Construction Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their Department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each Department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each Department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the Department, each Department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI—RETIREMENT OF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

The President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, or either of them, may retire after reaching age of 65 years, and after having served 20 years. In such event such officers shall have the title of President Emeritus, or Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, and shall render service to the American Federation of Labor in an advisory and consultative status. They shall be compensated for such service by the American Federation of Labor for life in an amount equal to fifty per centum of the annual salary to which such officer may be entitled at the time of termination of services as such officer and the same shall be payable weekly. Time served as an officer of any organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be included in determining length of service hereunder.

ARTICLE XVII—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION, DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936, AND AMENDED BY CONVENTION ACTION, NEW ORLEANS, LA., NOVEMBER 26, 1940.

"1. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council. In the event the Executive Council finds a State Federation of Labor guilty after hearing of charges filed, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said State Federation of Labor; (b) suspend said State Federation from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said State Federation for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said State Federation of Labor have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter subject to appeal to the next succeeding convention of the American Federation of Labor.

"2. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a prima facie case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

"3. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor."

Approved by 1936 convention held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497, official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLO., OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED

"Whenever a directly chartered Trade or Federal Labor Union or State or City Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor secedes or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved and or recovery thereof the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Seventy-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1954

Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954

Report of

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 20, 1954

Pursuant to law, the Seventy-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Embassy Room of the Ambassador Hotel at 10:00 o'clock, A.M., the Honorable Thomas Ranford, President of Los Angeles Central Labor Council, presiding as temporary Chairman.

While the delegates and visitors were assembling they were entertained with musical selections by Victor Young and his orchestra.

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: Officers of the American Federation of Labor, distinguished guests, delegates, ladies and gentlemen: At this time it gives me a great deal of pleasure to call upon the Most Reverend Joseph T. McGucken, to give the invocation.

INVOCATION
MOST REVEREND JOSEPH T. McGUCKEN, D.D.
Auxiliary Bishop
Archdiocese of Los Angeles

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Almighty God, our Father, Who has given every man a share in the dignity of Thine Own majesty by breathing into him a living soul, created in Thine own image, and endowed with the right and the duty to seek justice and to defend it, we come into Thy presence to dedicate ourselves and this convention to Thee and to the dignity of labor. We who represent Thy sons who subdue the earth unto the use and welfare of all by toil and sweat, by energy and action . . . we turn to Thee with confidence because Thou didst choose to appear on this earth in the family of a laboring man and was Thyself a carpenter.

We ask of Thee the guidance of Thy wisdom and the support of Thy strength to defend those who labor from every danger. May the light of Thy spirit teach us that man does not live by bread alone, so that we may never be deluded by the false promises of an earthly paradise, nor ever tempted to sell our souls for security in a communistic society. Grant that we may possess the fortitude to defend Thy sons from those who would defraud the laborer of his hire and reduce him to any expendable commodity or a beast of burden. Inspire us with wisdom and temperance to use the power we possess for the ends of justice and never to abuse it.

Support us then, all the day long unti the evening comes, and the shadows of life lengthen, and the busy world is hushed, and the labor of life is over; then in Thy mercy give a safe lodging with Thee, a holy rest in heaven, and peace at last.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: Will everyone please remain standing? At this time I feel honored to call upon Victor Young and his Orchestra to play the National Anthem, with Bob London vocalist.

The audience joined in the singing of the National Anthem of the United States.

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: My next introduction brings to you one who represents the California State Federation of Labor, one who is known to all trade unionists in the State of California and elsewhere. He is a great leader and one whose constant efforts are ever

devoted toward the benefit of the trade union movement. Time will not permit my going into detail on his accomplishments over the long period of years that I have known and worked with him. His record speaks for itself.

Now to give you greetings from the California State Federation of Labor, it is a pleasure and a privilege to present to you its Secretary-Treasurer Neil Haggerty.

C. J. HAGGERTY
Secretary-Treasurer, California State Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Governor Knight, Mayor Poulson, distinguished guests of the city, county and state, Officers and members of the American Federation of Labor assembled in the Seventy-Third Convention: It is a distinct honor and a great privilege for me to be assigned to extend to this great conclave and delegation the warm fraternal greetings and welcome to the State of California from the California State Federation of Labor, and my own personal warm greetings. It is really a thrilling sight for me to be here on this platform this morning and to watch the splendid delegation prepared to conduct the business of the convention. We know the business of this convention has a great impact not only upon the State of California, the nation, but the entire wide world.

It has been too long since you came to the city of Los Angeles. I have had the privilege of welcoming you to the city of San Francisco in 1947 and in 1951. This is my first opportunity to present that same welcome to you in the City of the Angels. 1927 is too long a time for you to have missed visiting our city.

You might be interested in some of the figures of this area and the state since your last visit here to the City of Los Angeles. In 1927 the population of this great state numbered some 5,132,000 people. In 1954 the population of California has grown to 12,450,000. In 1927 the union membership in California within the American Federation of Labor totaled 95,000. Today we are happy to announce a membership of the same organization in the State numbering 1,300,000.

You are meeting in one of the largest Counties in the country in area and in population. I am sure you would like to know some of the comparative figures between your last visit here and the present time. In 1927 the population of Los Angeles County was 1,875,000. The population today of the same county is almost five million—to be exact, 4,915,000. The union membership for those same dates and periods is as follows: In 1927 the high figure, I believe, was about 30,000 members within the American Federation of Labor unions. Today the union membership in this same county numbers more than 600,000.

We are happy to see you here because we know that your being here in your business sessions will bring to this great County and this great State much assistance. The figures just given to you indicate many problems which have to be met because of the tremendous growth of population. Because that population has increased rapidly, we in the trade unions have had to meet that impact of this new population and assist management in developing new industries and finding ways and means to find jobs for those incoming persons, and find ways and means of helping the entire economy. The continued influx in California is between 350,000 and 400,000 a year. That is more than one thousand per day. So you see the problems we encounter here are numerous and great and many times new, and so your being here with this great Convention, with your tremendous amount of ability contained within the Convention and its officers and delegates, will undoubtedly render much assistance to us here in this County and the great State.

I bid you welcome again and I sincerely trust that your stay here will be pleasant, constructive and productive.

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: We have with us quite a number of distinguished guests to present to you this morning. To introduce them to you I am going to call on that capable and efficient Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles, W. J. (Bill) Bassett.

W. J. BASSETT
Secretary-Treasurer, Los Angeles Central Labor Council

Thank you, Tommy. I would like to join with Secretary Haggerty in welcoming you to Los Angeles, and to say that we also believe that 27 years is too long for you to have been away. It is a great pleasure to have you here. Our local committee has worked diligently in attempting to make a program to entertain you in your off hours while you are not in convention session. We have a desk in the middle of the lobby where we will attempt to assist you in every possible way. The people out there will help you with housing or any other problem that you have, in addition to your entertainment in the convention.

This morning I take great pleasure, on behalf of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, in presenting to you many of the friends we have in public office in Los Angeles. Even though the general policy of this area among many large groups is still anti-union, we have many friends in public office of whom we are extremely proud, and we are glad to have them with us here.

First I would like to present to you a man who was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor two times for election as Superior Court Judge in Los Angeles County. Later he was elected Lieutenant Governor. He is now the Governor of the State. I might say that in all the time he was on the bench as a Superior Court Judge, and during a period in which there was black-listing and injunctive proceedings going against members and we were harassed continually, this man as a judge never issued an injunction against an American Federation of Labor Union. He has the official endorsement of the State Federation of Labor for reelection as Governor of California.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you the Honorable Goodwin J. Knight, Governor of California.

GOODWIN J. KNIGHT
Governor of California

Thank you, Bill Bassett, President Meany, Secretary Schnitzler, Reverend Clergy, Presidents and Secretaries, Delegates and Friends: It is a pleasure of course, to welcome the great American Federation of Labor and its annual Convention here in our Southern metropolis of California. I want to welcome and extend to you the genuine and sincere welcome for which California is justly famous. We are, of course, immensely pleased that this year you have chosen California for your Convention, and we hope that the next time will not be a period as long as from 1927 to 1954 because here in California we are justly proud of the progress which has been made in the

great area known as labor-management and their affairs.

A lot of differences of opinion may arise from time to time and, of course, they have arisen from time to time. Here we have a sign of the vigor and health and the development of the industrial resources of the state. Contemporaneously with the development and the improvement of the industrial resources of the state there has gone, hand in hand, fair wage scales, good working conditions, and an ever increasing rise in the standards of living of the people. The climate in California has been good in the area of labor and management. The philosophy of "live and let live" and mutual self respect for the problems faced by labor and management have provided a strong foundation for present and future relationships.

At this time I must pause to tell you that the genial, capable, and very efficient Secretary of the State Federation of Labor has swiped the entire middle part of my speech. He has discussed population increase, its relation to labor problems, its relation to industry, and now I find myself in the position of being unable to read it to you. If anyone is really deeply curious to know what is contained on these cards hereafter, if you will call up the Governor's office at the State Building at First and Spring Streets later, I will sit you down in a corner and read it to you. But for the present I must say something else.

Listening to Secretary-Treasurer Haggerty's recitation of the growth of our state and its relation to business and to labor, I merely wish to emphasize that all the statistics and facts which he gave to you were correct. However, the great population increase which he described does mean a serious thing. It means that we must have in California new jobs, more jobs for the 40,000 people every month who are coming here. These must be jobs with decent living wages. These must be jobs which will not be make-work jobs but real jobs, and as such, the finest thing that we are striving towards in that regard is to build and maintain a good climate for industrial relations in our state in order that industry may be attracted here, in order that they may come here with a great new capital investment, which is required, and will actually permanently invest itself in California. I did not mean, when I said a moment ago that labor and management have had no sharp differences, to imply or infer that labor and management have shown weakness in maintaining their particular and special positions, but it does indicate that there was established a way of life here in California which has been strong and constructive. It is the accepted policy of the State of California that the best way to assure conditions, working opportunities for business enterprise which will satisfy all the needs of all the groups within our extending population, is a definite program and policy. It is our conviction that problems of employment relations can be best settled by labor and management themselves, and that it is not the business of government to become forceful in this regard. However, because a free enterprise and a free society demand free collective bargaining, when the parties themselves desire the aid of skilled men and women in the adjustment of their disputes, our state does provide a conciliation service. This agency, under laws passed by the legislature and approved by the governor, is strictly voluntary. Labor and management in California have proven time and time again that their joint efforts bring both of them better pay and more profits as well as better community progress, and our industrial relation problems therefore are solved by the rule of reason and not by brute force.

The system of collective bargaining, which has flowered and bloomed in the United States, has been made possible because of our fundamental doctrine of individual liberty and personal freedom and free enterprise. And to you, the important and trusted delegates of 10,000,000 working men and women all over the United States, I am happy to say that here in California we believe in that policy. Free enterprise is the only major economic system ever devised by mankind which permits management and labor to operate independently of one another, but at the same time independent of government agencies. Free enterprise permits the settlement of differences through discussions, negotiations and bargaining agreements. We cherish this system and we do it at a time when these are troubled times, when subversive elements would infiltrate all of our institutions, and when Communism is no longer an idle threat. If these subversive elements should ever gain control, it would mean the death knell to collective bargaining. It would mean the end to free labor and, of course, it would mean the destruction of free management. These important factors in our American way of life would be the very first to suffer along with the church.

Therefore it is with no use of idle words that I stand this morning and congratulate the officers and the directors and the members of the American Federation of Labor for their great fearless and progressive work in making America a better place to live under freedom.

These are words. Exactly what do I mean when I use these words? Let us be specific and I shall have concluded my remarks.

I think this meeting of free enterprise, free and open bargaining between management and labor, individual liberty, personal freedom, the basis for all of it is grounded in the Constitution of the United States and in the Bill of Rights. It is that fundamental philosophy which says that the most obscure boy or girl, the most poverty-stricken little boy or little child in this state or in this nation shall not be denied the right to succeed because of any artificial thing, like their religion, their politics, their racial extraction, but each shall be guided by merit, by character and by contribution to the community welfare.

That is my definition of individual liberty and personal freedom. It is the guiding star and cornerstone of this great organization which works for and serves ten million men and women working all over the United States.

We in California are happy to welcome you here and extend with the same conviction and the sincere hope that your deliberations will be profitable, beneficial and extremely pleasant.

Thank you.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: Thank you, Governor Knight.

The next man I am going to introduce I think is known by all in the American Federation of Labor. He served in the United States Congress representing California. He is now the Mayor of Los Angeles. Mr. Norris Poulson.

NORRIS POULSON
Mayor of Los Angeles

President Meany, Secretary Schnitzler, and Distinguished Delegates to this great Convention of the American Federation of Labor: It is a distinct pleasure to welcome this, the American Federation of Labor Convention, to Los Angeles. I have learned today that this is the first time in 27 years that you have so honored our City, and you who attended the Convention back in 1927 as delegates doubt-

lessly have been impressed by the contrasting scene, the changes that have taken place.

Here again I must join the Governor in stating that at this point our friend Neil Haggerty has stolen part of my speech. Anyway, I shall continue from that point on and say that today Los Angeles is thriving and looking to the future with no signs of leveling off, industrially or otherwise, on the horizon. In this interim, organized labor has kept pace with our growth, and it has also made significant contributions to our City's economic welfare.

The American Federation of Labor, pioneer that it is in the cause of organized unions, is to be commended for its program dedicated to the working man. Higher wages, the short work week and other benefits—all have helped to better the living standards of us Americans, giving us the best and the fullest measure of life of any peoples in the world.

Unionism is described as "the principle of combination for unity of purpose and action." And the definition of a trade union, as I have it, refers to it as "an organized association of workmen skilled in any trade or industrial occupation, formed for the protection of their common interests." The right to organize is one of the freedoms we share as Americans. And not only does labor avail itself of this right, but management does likewise. In a sense, this brings them together on common ground; it shows they can work together, hand in hand, and jointly make worthwhile contributions to the nation's welfare.

A case in point: The Associated General Contractors—the bargaining agency for local builders—negotiates directly in behalf of its membership, with representatives of the Building Trades, who, in turn, speak for their memberships.

I would be remiss were I to extend a welcome to you without saying something about the position the A. F. of L. has taken in the fight against Communism. You are to be congratulated.

We cannot minimize the Communist threat, as your leaders well know. We must be ever alert to it. The A. F. of L. deserves the highest praise and the gratitude of all Americans for its honest efforts to keep the ranks of labor free of subversives who would, if they could, worm their way into positions of authority.

In coming before you as Mayor, I am representing more than 2,100,000 citizens of Los Angeles, and I know that they stand ready to share their hospitality with you. I want each one of you to feel that you have a special key to the city; I want you to roam around and be right at home, to have fun. Feel free to go anywhere you see the sign, "Los Angeles City Limits." I guess you know that takes in a whale of a lot of territory.

Seriously, may your convention be profitable and rewarding, and may your visit to Los Angeles be pleasant and enjoyable—one that you will cherish in your fondest memories.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: The next man I want to present to you has had many years of public service in the city of Los Angeles serving on the City Council and on the County Board of Supervisors. He has been one of the best friends of the American Federation of Labor throughout his entire career and has been one whom all working men and women have leaned upon as protecting their interest at all times. I might say when he was first elected being friendly with the unions wasn't very popular, but he had the courage to still be friendly with unions and work in the interest of the working men and women.

With great pleasure I present to you Mr. John Anson Ford, Chairman of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

JOHN ANSON FORD
Chairman, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors

Mr. Bassett, distinguished officers of the American Federation of Labor, Reverend Clergy and representatives one of the great organizations of the world: Neil Haggerty has embarrassed the Governor by taking part of his speech; he has embarrassed the Mayor by taking part of his speech. I want to let you in on a little secret. I made a speech a few days ago to the Building and Construction Trades Convention, and I made all the remarks that Neil has given this morning, and he stole them from me.

Seriously speaking, you must have guessed by this time that we Californians do have one weakness, and that is we are mighty proud of our state, our county and great city. Also seriously speaking and very briefly, the significant thing which has taken place in the period of 27 years that has been referred to by these dramatic figures is that the principle of organized labor—and I have seen it with my own eyes—has demonstrated its validity.

When I came to California more than 34 years ago this was a hostile land as far as organized labor is concerned. Today because of the validity of the principle, the great human spiritual truths that underlay this noble effort that workmen everywhere, including this section of California, were striving for has demonstrated itself. I think it is not out of place to say because of this equality which has been achieved between employer and employee—and perhaps this is not emphasized as much as it should be—this is one of the great factors that has helped to build America so strong and so great which is helping America to meet the great crisis of today.

I am not going to give you a lot of figures about what a big county we have, although I should interject and just remind you that nearly 42 per cent of the people of California live in what I call my county. I should remind you also that this county which has become almost a great metropolis by itself with 46 cities in it and a million people who live on the ranches and in the desert and in the mountains—this county is now larger in population and in wealth than 39 different states of the union. There are only nine states that have a greater population or greater wealth than this county.

We welcome you here. We recognize the seriousness of the problems that confront you. We believe you are going to write another great chapter in the history of advancing labor.

Thank you.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: Our next speaker is another special friend of ours and one we all like to stay in good with, and we are fortunate he is friendly with us. He also had the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor when he was first appointed to the job, and in all of his subsequent elections. I might say that in all of his elections he has had absolutely no trouble in getting re-elected because of the job he has done for the people in Los Angeles County.

With pleasure I give you S. Ernest Roll, District Attorney of Los Angeles County.

S. ERNEST ROLL
District Attorney of Los Angeles County

Members of this very splendid organization, Officers and distinguished guests: You have heard three people already complain about having speeches stolen from them. I am in worse shape than any of them because as District Attorney if I would say "Greetings" you would misconstrue it. It usually means a visit to the woodshed up in the Hall of Justice when I say "Greetings," so I will say welcome to this very splendid convention.

May I say that I can give you some figures also. I will only tell you that with the 46 cities that John Anson Ford mentioned and with the four million some nine hundred thousand population that Neil Haggerty mentioned it brings to my office many problems. We have from the volume of business and the standpoint of personnel the largest District Attorney's office in the United States, including New York. Mr. Dubinsky told me he is from Manhattan. There are actually in greater New York five District Attorney offices, and to give you something concerning the volume of work probably one of the most famous ones that is known is the one in Brooklyn. The former District Attorney who is now in the State Supreme Court was out here a couple of years ago. He is Miles McDonald—back there they all come Irish. We were kicking around the volume of business that the respective offices handle. I said "Miles, how many felony cases do you handle a year?"

He said, "About 2500. What do you handle?"

I said, "About 10,000."

He said, "You have quite a segment of your population that lives in what is known as the Central Avenue Area. How do you handle cases down there?"

I said, "The same as the other places in the community." I said, "You have the same problem in New York with some of your population comparable to the Central Avenue situation. How do you handle those cases down there?"

He said, "We have a rule of thumb. Anything under 30 stitches is a misdemeanor."

I said, "Miles, it might work in Brooklyn but it won't work in Los Angeles County."

Seriously, gentlemen, the nature of the District Attorney's office of Los Angeles County can be given to you in a very few words. We follow the principle that innocent people shall not suffer and that the District Attorney shall strike hard blows but he shall strike fairly.

The American Federation of Labor in this area knows the policy of the District Attorney's office and agrees with it entirely. May I say that our office has an open door policy with reference to both labor and management—both can come in and discuss their respective problems. I think in every instance that we have dealt with them they have appreciated the policy of our office.

In conclusion may I say that you are going to be here for some period of time. Not only as District Attorney, but as a native son—and I am stealing something from Eugene Biscailuz when I say this—may you enjoy your trip here and your convention.

There is only one criticism that I have to make of the American Federation of Labor and it is a serious criticism. I wasn't going to mention it, that is the reason I hesitated. But I think that you will take it in the right fashion; this organization believes in fair play and it believes in justice. The only criticism I have to make is that there are not more men and women who belong to the American Federation of Labor on our trial juries throughout the United States and our Grand Juries. Your groups should do something to see that they are on there. Every man is entitled to a fair trial by jury of his peers, and you have the force and the power to see that that is put into existence.

Thank you for your attention.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: I am tempted every time I approach the microphone to say this is a special guest we have this morning to greet you. The gentleman I am about to present to you is really a native son. His ancestors were in this area when the large land grants to the Spanish Dons were in existence. In fact, he comes from the early California families who were here when Los Angeles was just a little pueblo surrounded by the large land grants and the large Spanish Don estates. In fact, when the city of Los Angeles became United States territory a troop of soldiers came into San Pedro Harbor and started to come into the city of Los Angeles to take charge. One of this man's ancestors and other Dons resented the fact that the United States was taking over the territory and they actually drove the soldiers back to the harbor and kept them out of Los Angeles until they could bring reinforcements.

However, after it became United States territory his ancestors and he have become some of the leading citizens. He has served in public office from the time he was a young man. He has also been a friend of the American Federation of Labor since its beginning in public office. He is one of the public officials and we can always count upon him to be right at the head of a Labor Day parade. He wasn't ashamed of his friendship to labor. He has handled his office in a manner that gives justice to everyone. We never have to fear any discrimination or reprisals from the personnel working under him.

It is with sincere and deep appreciation that I present to you Eugene Biscailuz, Sheriff of Los Angeles County.

EUGENE BISCAILUZ
Sheriff of Los Angeles County

Thank you, Bill Bassett. Distinguished Officers of the American Federation of Labor, Reverend Clergy, and my very, very good friends. This is beginning to sound like a mutual admiration society. Had I had rank enough to have been called upon first, there would have been no figure or descriptions left for the Governor, the Mayor, the District Attorney or any of the other speakers to have talked about. But I do want to say to you gentlemen that I am also in business. I am the general manager of the largest hotel in Los Angeles County. It is the Los Angeles County Jail. We do not have to advertise. We do have to listen to complaints, of course. But it is a going concern.

Speaking not facetiously but seriously, we are worried to death all the time because that is a condition that can never be corrected, with our buildings, improvements and all, in the light of 4,000 people coming here daily into the city of Los Angeles.

I might say, however, talking about California, though not going into detail, my grandfather was born in the State of Maine. He migrated to Buffalo, New York, and came around the Horn in 1849. He married my

little Spanish California grandmother in 1859, and he was the first Chief of Police of the city of Los Angeles, when there were only 7,000 people living here 84 years ago. Now that department has grown to be the third largest police department in the country. The sheriff's office had only 27 men in it when I attached myself to that organization. It is now the largest sheriff's office in the United States of America. So we are proud of our progress here.

I am also very proud of the support I have had from your organization in the sheriff's office over the years, from the men and women of labor in Los Angeles County. We have never let you down. We have had the same policy, an open door policy. We like to talk things over. We are happy to know that these same policies go back through our relations with the American Federation of Labor to the time when it really was a pueblo organization. Thank you.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: The next man has served in his office only a few years. However, he was in the same office as one of the staff members many years before that. He also was endorsed by the American Federation of Labor, and there are very few people who do not have occasion to contact this office. Mr. Arnebergh, City Attorney of Los Angeles.

ROGER ARNEBERGH
City Attorney of Los Angeles

Thank you, Mr. Bassett. Distinguished citizens, I consider it a really high honor to have the opportunity of being here and greeting this large Seventy-Third Convention, because the American Federation of Labor has come a mighty long way in those 73 years, and so has labor, largely because of the work of this organization. But more than that. Our country has progressed a great deal in those 73 years and it is because labor has achieved a new dignity and recognition. I want to congratulate this organization and all that it has done for the good of the country and the good of labor.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: The next man I want to introduce also served only a short period of time in public office. However, as a private citizen he is an employer in several large firms, and I am happy to say that he has had American Federation of Labor contracts for many years and has had very friendly relationships with all of the unions that are employed in his plant. I was very happy at the time he received the appointment to know that a man of his caliber received such an appointment. Mr. Otto K. Olesen, Postmaster of Los Angeles.

OTTO K. OLESEN
Postmaster of Los Angeles

Ladies and gentlemen, I haven't any keys to give away to the Committee, nor any statistics. The only thing I would like to tell you is that on behalf of the 8,000 employees of the Los Angeles Post Office, most of them members of the AFL, I bring you our best greetings and assure you all your mail that you are going to send home to your kids, to your sisters or brothers will get the very best of attention.

We have tried to give you a little extra service even at the Ambassador Hotel Post Office.

All I can tell you, on behalf of my boys, is that I hope you have a wonderful time in Los Angeles and that the Mayor and the Governor and all the rest of them back up all their promises.

Thank you.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: The next gentleman I am going to introduce also has had many years of service in public office in the city of Los Angeles and in the State of California. He has worked very closely with the American Federation of Labor throughout this entire period of time. It is with great pleasure I give you William J. Bonelli, Member of the Board of Equalization from the Los Angeles district.

WILLIAM J. BONELLI
Member, Board of Equalization, State of California

Thanks, Bill Bassett. President George Meany, Governor Goodwin J. Knight, distinguished guests, members of the American Federation of Labor: I am happy to be here this day as all the others who have spoken before me have expressed their happiness. However, I am here in a little different position than any of them. I am not like District Attorney Ernie Roll, in an accusatory mood, nor like Governor Knight, in a boastful one. I am not here accusing someone of grand theft or of piracy. Nobody stole my speech—I didn't have any.

Now, the fact that I do not appear on the program might make me appear as being here not in the position of a friend, but a little bit on the side of a trespasser. But Tommy Pitts called me up Saturday morning and said, "Bill, the printer made two mistakes on the Monday morning menu, and you are one of them." He said, "You know, you are supposed to be there." I said, "I've got news for you, Tommy, I know who runs the American Federation of Labor and I am going to be there."

Tommy doesn't make many mistakes, but when he does, he does it deluxe, you know.

I am in a little better position than my friend Neil Haggerty. He had to get up before you and confess to all his importance in this organization, with his great breadth of friendship and his wide field of service. He hadn't been important enough 27 years ago to participate in that previous convention.

I am more important than that. As Acting Mayor of the city of Los Angeles I did participate on that occasion and had the honor of welcoming this great organization to the grandest part of the greatest state in the United States.

I am going to be brief. I am going to be prophetic. I am going to prophesy that 27 years from now we will again have the honor of welcoming the American Federation of Labor to Los Angeles. I am also going to prophesy that by that time the State of California will again have multiplied its population in 27 years by two and one-half times. I am going to prophesy that the great American Federation of Labor will again have multiplied its membership by 20 times. And I am going to prophesy that I will again be here to welcome you.

May your Seventy-Third Convention be the greatest of all your conventions and may you continue to represent the rights and the hopes and the security of the working man and woman of America.

God bless you.

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN BASSETT: We regret that Chief of Police Parker is out of

the city. Chief Parker is another public official who has worked very close to the American Federation of Labor and has overcome many problems that we have had under previous chiefs of police. Let me say that Neil Haggerty had a great deal to do with the selection of Chief Parker when he was appointed to that office, so you can readily see how much we think of him.

However, he has sent his Deputy Chief, Richard Simon to extend his greetings.

Mr. Simon.

RICHARD SIMON
Deputy Chief of Police

Thank you, Bill. Members of the Convention, I am very much in the same position as Bill Bonelli—I have no speech either. And I am the second mistake on the program, my name wasn't spelled right.

You and the Federation are interested in your rights and we are interested in your rights, too. Law enforcement is founded in this country for the purpose of the preservation of the rights of each and every citizen of the community, not for the furthering of the special rights of any particular group. That is the difference between the Anglo-Saxon type police force we find in the English speaking countries, and the police departments we find in most of the rest of the world where they are organized for the protection of special interests which are then running the government.

We hope that law enforcement in this country will continue and progress and be better able to protect the rights of each and every citizen. In Los Angeles that is our aim. That is the reason that we get along very well with the American Federation of Labor, that is the reason we get along very well with the CIO, because we believe in that principle that every man and every woman has the right under the law, and we seek to preserve that right.

I hope you will be pleased by our city, I hope this smog won't get too thick, and that you will come back again.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: I would like to announce that Bishop Manning was to give the invocation this morning. However, he has been taken to the hospital. I don't know how serious it is, and on behalf of the Central Labor Council and its affiliates who have worked with Bishop Manning for many years, we wish to extend our deepest regrets.

I notice there are two present, one on the floor and one on the rostrum, and I would be remiss in my duties if I did not present them to you for a bow.

On my left over here we have the spiritual advisor of California for the Federation of Labor, the job that he has been in for approximately 15 years, loved by everyone in the State of California in the American Federation of Labor. At no time have his services been denied or even delayed when anyone of the American Federation of Labor is in need of them. I would like to present to you Father Keadin.

And on my right on the rostrum I would like to present to you the President of the California State Federation of Labor, who is doing a swell job on behalf of that organization, Tommy Pitts. Would you please rise?

Now, on behalf of the Officers and affiliated local unions of the Central Labor Council I would like to add my word of welcome to you upon your visit to our fair City of the Angels.

Let me say our Convention Committee has been very busy for the past several weeks preparing for your visit. Its aim is for you to have the finest time you have ever had in any convention. I might say there are lots of places to visit in and around Los Angeles, historical and otherwise. Perhaps it would be advisable for you to visit the historical ones first. There are other places.

We want you to take full advantage of the program that has been arranged for your enjoyment. No, we haven't forgotten the ladies. I am sure they are going to enjoy themselves thoroughly. One of the committeemen told me they even arranged the weather to suit them. But don't believe any of these stories you hear about smog; there is none in the city of Los Angeles. If you do feel your eyes beginning to smart a little, nobody knows where it comes from, but my guess is that the horses are running up around the San Francisco Bay area and the dust is coming in from there.

We hope that you have a very successful convention and that your deliberations will be constructive and of benefit to all.

Now, it is my pleasant duty to present the gavel to President Meany, if he will please come forward.

Presentation of Gavel to President Meany

CHAIRMAN RANFORD: President Meany, I cannot express my feelings at the honor that has been bestowed upon me in presenting you with this gavel. This gavel was made by a skilled craftsman, a member of the American Federation of Labor. You will note that it bears the label of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It was given to the Los Angeles Central Labor Council by the District Council of Carpenters of Los Angeles County to be presented to you with their very best wishes. We know that you will wield this gavel to the best interests of all those who toil throughout this great nation of ours, and in a manner that we know you are capable of during this Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Before President Meany takes over, I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to all those who have participated in this morning's affair, to Victor Young and his Orchestra, to Bob London, the vocalist, and the Committee on Arrangements.

GEORGE MEANY
President, American Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Governor Knight, Mayor Poulson, Brother Haggerty, Brother Bassett, Brother Pitts, Secretary Schnitzler and my colleagues on the Executive Council, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. I sincerely appreciate the warmth of the welcome which the delegates to this Convention have received this morning from the Governor of the State, the City Officers, and our own Trade Union colleagues. Yes, 27 years is a long time, I agree. I am certainly convinced by the warm welcome we received this morning that we stayed away too long.

I am also very much impressed, I might say, by the statistics as to the size of this great area, its wealth, population, its jail, the size of the District Attorney's office, the number of cases, and so on and so forth. I am

also impressed by bigness. I would be overwhelmed by those statistics this morning except for one fact and that is I have been in Texas.

We meet here this morning as free workers, as representatives of ten million American citizens, under a system of government which we are unanimously interested in preserving, to discuss the problems that come into the daily lives of our members and to bring those problems, through the machinery of the American Federation of Labor, to this Convention, which in the final analysis is the supreme authority in our organization.

We approach these problems in a spirit of the American Federation of Labor, dedicated as it has been during all its history, to a better life, to human liberty and freedom and to the preservation of this great nation of ours.

There have been great changes in the past 27 years not only in the structure of the American Federation of Labor and in the set-up here in Los Angeles, but there have been great changes in world affairs. As you know, during that intervening period we went through the Great Depression and we found the world during World War II has grown a great deal smaller. We are now in an atomic age, in an age where there is one conflict on a world basis of tremendous importance—not a conflict between two great powers for selfish motives, the acquisition of territory and prestige that motivate wars generally, but this is a conflict between a godless ideology dedicated to the degradation of human nature and our free way of life. In this conflict we find that our country is the leader, and it must be the leader, of those who believe in the free way of life.

Looking over this situation, this grave continuing crisis the past year or so, we find no change whatsoever in the objectives of those who dominate the Communist conspiracy. We find no change in their basic objective—to dominate the entire world. We as workers have a tremendous stake in this problem. We cannot accept, we cannot be deluded, by the illusions of peaceful intent which are part of the Communist propaganda today. We can't fall victim to this feeling of neutrality and false security to which some of our neighbors across the water have fallen victim. We must be realists on this question; we must be practical.

So in looking at the world situation, in carrying out our duty, I might say—not a privilege—as American citizens, to make our contribution to the thinking that goes into any policy of our government, we have got to warn against this neutralism, acceptance of this propaganda of co-existence, and all the other things that come out of Moscow, which indicate no change in objective, just a change in methods, and are designed to bring about eventual victory for this philosophy.

This is bound up, of course, with our problems here at home. It overshadows everything else that we think of, because anything we might achieve at home and the advance we might make could very well be cancelled out by the collapse of our friends abroad.

In final analysis, looking at this from a very practical point of view, if we seek peace with the Russians under their present road of procedure, the road of procedure which they have followed for many, many years, under their present plan of destruction by aggression, of infiltration, there are two ways in which we get this peace. One is surrender to those who speak so glibly of co-existence with the Communists, who look for a peace with people who are dedicated to war, who seek to find co-existence with a group that spend every bit of energy, every bit of their time trying to destroy the existence of the very countries to whom they are making peace suggestions.

Yes, they can get peace with Russia by being enfolded in behind the Iron Curtain, to become one of the satellite nations; they will get that peace the satellites now have, the peace of slavery, the peace that Latvia has, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Lithuania, Esthonia. Yes, they have peace, but it is the peace of the slave camp, the peace of surrender.

Then, there is another way for the free world, and that is to build up our strength militarily, socially, economically, bind together all of those who are still dedicated to freedom, and build up our strength to the point that we will deter these people from further aggression.

This is the task for our nation. This is the task for the free world today, and we of labor have a real stake in this task.

May I point out, however, and make an observation. I am sure that all will agree that the international situation has deteriorated in the last few months and that our position of leadership—and if we do not lead, if the United States does not lead the free world, there is not going to be a free world—our position of leadership has been somewhat toned down. We find anti-American sentiment in various parts of the world, from people who should know better, who should know about friendship, and of course, this is due to the propaganda. We cannot be presented to the peoples of the world as a progressive country unless we are progresssive also at home. The propaganda is that America now is reactionary. This propaganda is going all over the world. Whether true or not, it is making some progress, making some great impression among war weary people, people who are seeking peace and who are perhaps ready to appease in order to get peace.

However, there are some bright spots, and one came to my attention in just the last few days. That was the action of the British Trades Union Congress in rejecting the offer of co-existence with the pseudo-trade union group known as the World Federation of Trade Unions. They were asked to exchange delegations with the so-called Russian trade unions which are not trade unions at all, but instrumentalities of the government, instrumentalities used to impose every type of restriction, every type of oppression that a tyrannical form of government cares to put on its people, and the British Trade Unions refused to exchange delegations with this group. So that, of course, is encouraging, because we know from experience beyond any doubt that no country can be infiltrated that has a strong and free trade union movement. The communists cannot subvert Britain as long as the British Trades Union Congress stands firm.

This is, of course, in contrast to some of the stunts of British politicians in the last few weeks with their visits to China, visits to Moscow, when they should have known better. They should have known that those visits would have been used as they were used, to build up anti-American sentiment. I am sorry to say that two of the prominent gentlemen who went on that trip themselves helped to build up this anti-American sentiment in the Orient. And in the very nature of things today, any encouragement of anti-American sentiment means encouragement of pro-Communist sentiment. There can be no middle ground. If Nye Bevan is anti-American, then he is pro-Communist. I do not think, however, that this repre-

sents the feeling of the British people. It is rather discouraging though to see this anti-American propaganda in the Orient encouraged by people who call themselves statesmen.

I think what happened is that Mr. Atlee and Mr. Bevan in their interviews and speeches in China and the Far East are indulging in a subtle form of appeasement and certainly doing no service to the cause of peace.

I remember in 1945 leaving Southampton in September of that year and coming back to the United States on a ship that had on it 16,000 people, 14,000 of them American soldiers who were returning. Bill Doherty was with me at that time and we were both very much impressed by a sign that was alongside the dock at the Southampton pier, a sign written in that simple prose which the British use so very beautifully. It merely said, "To our American friends: goodby and good luck. We shall not soon forget you."

I still think that that is the sentiment of the British people, despite the things that we hear from some of their so-called statesmen in the Far East.

Mr. Atlee says that, after all, what happened in China from the Chinese Communist view is that they just had a civil war like our Civil War—meaning the United States Civil War. Well, I would like to state that that is indeed an odious comparison. Our Civil War was a war between Americans. It was a war over a principle. It was not financed, fostered and agitated by outside power. The Chinese Civil War was financed, fostered and instigated by Russia. We had no outside financing. Oh, yes, we had a little outside interference. If Mr. Atlee will read his history he will find that some of our British friends were very much interested in continuing the supply of cheap cotton. Of course, the continuation of the source of supply of cheap cotton to the mills in Britain depended upon the existence of slave labor in the South. However, I would like to point out that when our Civil War ended, it ended with the abolition of slavery in this country; but the Civil War that Mr. Atlee speaks of in China, Mao Tse-Tung's Civil War, has brought about the enslavement of 350,000,000 Chinese.

We, too, are having some disappointing events in France. We were making quite a bit of progress in France. The American Federation of Labor, of course, has had a long-time relation with the French labor movement. We have had a close association with Force Ouvriere, the anti-Communist organization, and I can say that we were making progress against the Communists in France until recently. Then we find the Indo-China fiasco, the surrender by Mendes-France of 12,000,000 more souls to the Russian satellites. We find the sabotage of the EDC, and I might suggest—maybe it is impertinent to suggest it—but I might suggest that some of our diplomats ask Mr. Mendes-France which side he is on, whether he is with the United States of America or whether he is with the Communists.

Thus we look at this whole situation with some disappointment. However, I don't think we should be too pessimistic about it. I think there is still time for a reappraisal of our foreign policy and a look at it in its true light, tearing away all the subterfuge; look at it in the light of the record of Russia since the last war, the vast expansion of territory they have taken in, the millions of people they have brought in under their banner. Let us rely not on diplomatic niceties, not on promises and speeches, but rather on a system of international relations under which the Free World is dedicated, one to another, to protect the national security of each group, promote economic progress, raise the living standards with the growing world population.

I think that our country can take the lead in that sort of foreign policy so that we can, perhaps, hold back any further progress by the advocates of this ruthless ideology that spells out nothing but ruin for the entire world.

Let us put our faith in those alliances, alliances with free people, not alliances with vassals or satellites; but into all of this policy, any policy of dealing with the Soviets, must go the basic ingredients of strength, military, social and political strength.

(Applause.)

I am sure that if our people in Washington will look at this thing from a realistic and practical viewpoint we can come up with a policy that will attract those in the free world who, like ourselves, are determined to remain free.

As far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, I can say to you, we will do our part. The history of this organization indicates beyond question that its first loyalty is to its country; we will do our part, not only here, but we will do our part in association with the other free movements of the world in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an organization dedicated to the preservation of trade union freedom throughout the entire world, an organization encompassing 70 million workers in 50 nations.

But in all these issues and all these speculations we cannot lose sight of the fact that our economy here at home enters into this picture. We can't make our contribution to the free world unless we can keep an effective economy, dynamic economy here at home, because if we should have an economic collapse—and I am making no such prophecy—but if we should, it would bring a victory to Moscow without firing a shot that they have long looked forward to.

It is to our interest, not only from the bread-and-butter viewpoint of our workers, who are always seeking employment, who we always want to see fully employed, but from the point of view of our country itself, and our national security and the security of the free world, it is essential that we do have full employment, that we should have an economy that can enable us to discharge the responsibility of leadership, which is ours, whether we will it or not.

The number one problem that we still have here at home is the problem of unemployment. Now, of course, this is a very touchy subject: this is a subject that becomes political if you say too much about it, but I would like to point out that the Administration and the Government itself has a duty in regard to this question, that you just don't sit and adopt a bluebird philosophy: "Well, everything is going to be all right tomorrow, just wait a little."

I call attention to the declaration of policy in the Employment Act of 1946. Section 2 of that Act says that Congress declares that:

> "It is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practical means consistent with its needs and obligations and other essential considerations of national policy to coordinate and utilize all plants, functions and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining conditions under which they will be afforded useful employment possibilities for those able, willing and seeking to work, and to promote

maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

That is what we want, maximum employment, maximum production and maximum purchasing power.

So when we make our complaint, it might seem, and join the ranks of those who are classified as the prophets of gloom and doom, we at least try to make a case.

What did Congress do in regard to unemployment? There are still, according to the official figures, 3,400,000 officially unemployed and two million more under-employed, and unemployed in the sense that they have no income, unemployed in that they are out of the market as far as purchasing is concerned, but they are not on the list because of the ruling that you have got to be fully employed. If you are working part time, or if you are temporarily laid off, your employer says, "I am going to shut down for four months," then you are not unemployed. Your job is still there. But even if you accept the narrow confines of the definition of unemployment, there are still 3,400,000 unemployed.

What did Congress do? Nothing. Just nothing.

What could they have done? Well, they could have given some tax relief to those in the lower income brackets. They could have raised the exemption. They could have lowered the rate in the lower brackets. No. They gave tax relief, all right, Seven-and-a-half-billion dollars of tax relief, six-and-a-half-billion dollars to the great corporations and to those who perhaps have more than they need most of the time.

What did Congress do about raising the minimum wage of 75 cents, which would affect millions of people who are struggling to get by on a very poor wage? Nothing.

What about building schools? We are told, of course, that schools are a local problem. Well, if you went over the statistics of General Hershey when people are examined for their eligibility and availability for military service, you would find that schools are a national problem, that the welfare of the children of this country, their education, certainly should be the concern of the national government; but there is no Federal aid to education, despite the fact that communities from one end of this country to the other are unable, because of the local tax load, to build schools to adequately house the children. So we obtained no help there from Congress.

We received no help on low cost public housing. We had an impotent bill passed, but for all practical purposes we might just as well have not had any bill passed at all, this despite the fact that there is every indication that the slum areas of the country are increasing rather than decreasing. So when we make a complaint about unemployment and join the ranks of the prophets of doom and gloom, we at least say that there was something that could have been done.

We live in an age of slogans. When you have a problem that you can't meet in a practical way, get up a slogan. That will take care of it. Of course, keep this in mind: the slogan is just a variation of the big lie technique that the dictators, Hitler, Stalin and the rest, have used so effectively. Yes, you have heard some of the slogans. Now it is "Gloom and doom." A short time ago it was "Great crusade." Going back a little further, "Two chickens in every pot," "Return to normalcy," "Peace and Prosperity," "Healthy readjustment." This unemployment is just a "healthy readjustment." And now we have one, "This is our second-best year." That is another one. Then there is another one going around, and I hate to mention it, but I see people with buttons on their coats, "Don't blame me. I voted Democrat."

So, as I said, we meet a problem with a slogan. This unemployment problem is just nonsense. It is political to talk about it. In fact, it is almost treason to say anything about unemployment. I was a little surprised to see that there was mention made of a wage cut-back. That seems also wrong when you think in terms of gloom and doom, but still it received quite a bit of notice. In fact, some of the officials in government said it demonstrated a good philosophy when they viewed the Studebaker agreement, very fine. I wonder what it did for purchasing power? But it got quite a bit of notice. I would estimate that there were tens of thousands of collective bargaining agreements in that year, and this was the first one that I have ever seen that got such national attention. The union officials were real philosophers. They took a 14 per cent wage cut. Of course, that most likely was necessary, but I do not see why it should be applauded and that it should be said it was such a wonderful thing. If necessary, they did it, and it was all right.

Finally we are accused in the newspapers, Bill Birthright, Al Hayes, and myself, of being Labor Day demagogues and playing (Republican) politics because we were unhappy over the failure of the Administration to act on the economic situation. We are unhappy about it. The Baltimore Sun had this to say in an editorial on September 8th about these labor demagogues, we were accused of being a part of the Democratic scheme against the Republicans, as if the Republicans and Democrats did not have enough schemes without adding us to them.

Then the editorial wound up and said, "A great many ordinary people are quite happy and satisfied with things."

Well, on page 11 of the same paper, however, there was a news item the same day as the editorial. The Baltimore City Department of Welfare was demanding a 60 per cent increase in its funds to cope with hardships caused by "growing unemployment."

The sad part of this is that there seems to be a definite campaign on throughout the United States of slogans to get the American people to believe that millions of people out of work is not important, that it doesn't stand out as a very important factor. Of course, we know the old theory of some of our friends in big business that millions of people out of work is nothing to worry about, but it is a good thing to keep the boys that are working on edge; let them know that there is somebody to take their job if they get too obstreperous.

Well, we don't believe that, because that theory was exploded a good many years ago. That theory was exploded when we found that, despite two chickens in every pot, despite the paper millionaires which were being made every day in Wall Street, we couldn't stand even a little unemployment; despite all we could make, all that American ingenuity could turn out and put on the shelves, that didn't keep us, didn't help us unless there was somebody to buy it, there was somebody to consume it.

We can produce and we can bring in the profits, but that doesn't add up unless we have somebody to consume our production. I think this was proven beyond a question of doubt about 24 years ago when we found

unemployment feeding on unemployment. The lack of purchasing power on the part of those unemployed, their failure to purchase, meant unemployment and layoffs for more. Of course, we went down and down and down until we had not three or four million unemployed, but we had twelve or fourteen million unemployed.

This old theory that four or five million unemployed is good for business is not so. It is just not good for business; it is not good for one. I would like to see someone try to sell that idea to people who are unemployed.

Now, I would like to recommend that the sloganeers, those who make up these slogans, these bluebird slogans that everything is going to be all right,—let them go to the cotton mills of New England, let them go down to the mining communities of Pennsylvania, Kentucky and West Virginia where they will find far too many unemployed and far too few jobs available. Maybe they will get a load of some real gloom. Then let them get an earful of the pessimism and the philosophy that some of our trade union officials get from the employer at the bargaining tables these days. They will tell you how bad things are. Let the sloganeers talk to them and they will get some real gloom.

Then let them talk to some of the families whose only food is that which comes from the government surplus food supplies. They will get a little more gloom there.

We can't cancel out the effects of unemployment, loss of jobs on the part of millions of workers by rosy profit statements. They do not balance one another off. The rosy profit statement placed alongside of thousands and thousands of unemployed, called by a researcher a return to normalcy or a healthy readjustment, just does not add up from the point of view of the unemployed. It still represents to them catastrophe. You can't cancel out the workers' loss by the stockholders' gain. Nor can you balance the hardship of millions out of work by adding to them the profits of General Motors Corporation and then arrive at a statistic which says prosperity is here. It just doesn't work that way.

In this particular case, what happens to be good for GM is not good for the millions of workers affected by this loss of purchasing power. I would like to point out to the sloganeers who are talking about the second best year that for the unemployed millions this is not the second best year but this is the worst year of their time. We find that the anthracite production is at its lowest figure since 1881, so by that measuring rod this is not the second best year; it is the 72nd best year out of 73, or the 72nd worst—any way you want to look at it. In hard coal, on the basis of hours worked, this is the worst year in the last 22. According to Dun and Bradstreet, business failures are higher this year since 1941.

So again it is not the second best year, but 13 on that list in the last 14. But suppose we just forget the facts and say that second best is all right. Do we want a second-rate Congress or a second-rate administration at a time when America has responsibilities, its needs and its opportunities which are greater than ever before? What promise can we find in a slogan that really means, "It is bad, but it could be worse."

The cost of this second-best year up to now is two million jobs and seven billion dollars less on the tables and wage lists of the country. Could we have won the last war with a second best Navy and a second best Army and second best Air Force?

I have had many a second best hand in a poker game but I cannot recall making any money on them.

Let me make a suggestion on the political campaign to those who advocate a second best philosophy as being good enough for America. Let us see that they emerge from the political campaign second best.

We have had recessions, we have had a depression, we have these setbacks, and lulls, and we hear about them, we have had unemployment before, but this is the first time in my experience where we have had widespread unemployment and been asked by our government to be happy about it. We do not fear the facts of life and we are not discouraged by any dangers we face; but we never found any advantage in adopting the bluebird philosophy of 1929 to 1933 which said, "Sit and wait, things are going to be all right, something is just coming around the corner."

The trouble is that those who ignore the lessons of history are condemned to a repetition of their errors.

We do not preach, we do not peddle, nor do we prophesy depression, and we do not speak about or prophesy a recession or readjustment, whether it is stabilized or otherwise. We have faith in America, we have always had faith in America, and we have faith that this country can keep pace with its growth in population, that it can find a permanent, durable system of full employment in which you will not only have the right to seek work, but you will have the right to find work.

The real prophets of doom, the real purveyors of gloom are those who feel that a small economy is inevitable for America and accept this unemployment situation with smugness and complacency. Past-normalcy is not enough for America. In these days we must move on, we must move forward. This dynamic economy of ours, just can not stand still. It must move forward at a certain pace every year, and if you are just as good as last year, then you are at least three or four per cent behind, and if you are six or seven points off last year, you are perhaps ten points behind where you should be.

We believe in moving forward. That is why the American Federation of Labor was formed, that is why we are in business.

Now, I want to turn my attention to a gentleman who made a speech the other day which might give you an idea of the Administration's attitude toward the things in which we have a vital interest. This man's name is Teetor, former president of the Perfect Circle Manufacturing Company—manufacturers of piston rings. He says that the people who are opposed to a cut in the higher income tax rates are followers of Karl Marx, or fellow travellers or socialists, and that those who are opposed to the idea of States' rights—in this case, as they apply to State laws similar to the Taft-Hartley Law—are either fellow travellers or Fabians or followers of Karl Marx. Now, of course, that means us.

As it presently stands now, Taft-Hartley says to the worker, "These are shackles we put on you and they stay on you; but if your state should get some tougher shackles, we add them on too." Now, we protest against that and according to Mr. Teetor we are Communists or worse.

It wouldn't be important what Mr. Teetor said, former president of the Perfect Circle Manufacturing Company, manufacturer of piston rings—I hope he appreciates that little commercial—but Mr. Teetor happens to be

Assistant Secretary of Commerce, and Mr. Teetor is speaking as an official of your government, my government, the government of all of us. He is speaking for the Administration. Of course, he is speaking to a group, the Chamber of Commerce. At one time he says in one of his opening lines: "I just want you to know that people like me appreciate people like you."

Well, I would like to say to Mr. Teetor and the representatives of big business, who, I might say in passing, looking back to the '20's, brought us down into the gutter of the early '30's, I might say to Mr. Teetor, who puts the Communist label on those who believe in progressive ideas, and who believe in people before profits, I might say to him that he should study up a little on the Communist method of procedure, and he will find that employers have no meaning to Communists, that when they plan to infiltrate they do not take employers into their consideration at all, because they are completely and absolutely unimportant. We know from experience and have proof from experience that where they can take over the labor movement they can take over the Nation.

I would like to advise this Assistant Secretary of Commerce to do a little studying. Maybe he will work up some sense of humility and then go down on his knees and thank God for the American Federation of Labor as a bulwark against Communism.

I would like to say, however, a little about labor unity. That is a problem we have had for many years. It runs back practically 19 years now as a part of the labor movement. At this convention, one year ago, the plan was approved for a no-raid pact with the CIO, a pact which was designed to end senseless and useless raiding of one trade union upon another, and to see if we could bring about an atmosphere of harmony in which rational discussion of unity could take place. I can report to you that the pact was signed. It has been in operation since June 9th of this year. It encompasses 29 of the National unions of the CIO and more than 70 unions of the American Federation of Labor and, of course, it is completely voluntary. It can work if only two unions are in it. It presents no hardship on those who for any reason feel they do not want to sign. But it has been signed by the AFL and CIO Officers, by 29 unions of the CIO and by 71 or 72 of the AFL, and it is working and there have been no raids between those unions in the last 90 days since the pact was signed. So I can report progress.

I also say to you that we now expect to go ahead and see if we cannot find the solution to this question of trade union unity. I do not think that we should spend a great deal of time on it. I do not think the subject should be talked or conferenced to death. I think it is quite open and shut as to what we must do, and I think we should get to it as soon as possible after this convention when the CIO Officers can clear their calendars, and get right into this question and see if we cannot bring real unity to the American trade union movement.

We need it. We have many problems to face that we could well face in a better way if we had trade union unity.

Then, of course, I want to mention the vexing problem of internal disputes within the American Federation of Labor. You will recall last year the convention directed that a plan be drawn up by the Executive Council, presented to a conference, and then the matter reported back to the convention. That plan was drawn by he Council, presented last May to a conference of representatives and that plan has now, after many, many months, been brought into this convention. It is again a voluntary plan. It will work if only two sign it, it will work if only 40 sign it, it will work if 100 sign it or if all sign it. It will be presented to the convention, and I am sure it provides the means by which we can prevent this waste of time, energy and money that is spent in fighting one another, and we can adopt an intelligent system of adjusting our disputes.

In that connection I would like to say this. I would like to take my hat off to Maurice Hutcheson and Al Hayes for the splendid job they have done. After perhaps more than a year of constant effort they have brought about a solution of the jurisdictional fight which started in 1914, 40 years ago, and they have found a solution and have signed an agreement ending that dispute.

Then I would like to say something which I haven't time to go into now, but I want to talk later to this convention about the security and sanctity of Welfare and the Pension Funds.

And just a little about politics. You know all about the LLPE and you know the importance of it. From time to time, however, you will hear people tell you that labor has no place in politics. You are working men, and you should leave politics to the politicians and the professionals. Well, I would like to point out, number one, that in 1881, when this organization was formed, they came up with 14 proposals, 14 things that they felt should be done for American workers in those days. Thirteen of those fourteen called for legislation —back in 1881.

Well, how do you get legislation and stay out of politics and refrain from political action?

We are not going to refrain from political action. We are not going to be the tail to the Democratic kite or the Republican kite. We are going ahead under Gompers' philosophy by any method by which we feel we can make progress which is legal to carry out the purpose for which we are organized. Just so long as they can place a right-to-work law on the statute books as an obstruction in our way to further progress, or a Taft-Hartley Act on the National statute books, then we have to go into that field to protect ourselves. To those who say we shouldn't do this politically, how else? If we need legislation we need friendly legislators, and if we don't go into politics to the extent of trying to elect friendly legislators and defeat unfriendly legislators how else can we get action? We can get it by begging. We can beg for the crumbs, stay out of politics and say, "Oh, please."

Well, to those who hold we shouldn't be in politics let me just say, we do not beg.

Today we open this Convention dedicated to the American way of life, dedicated to an ever better day socially, economically and culturally for all the people of America. We like this system under which we live. We believe in it. We have no quarrel with the so-called profit system, no quarrel with the idea of a fair return on capital investment; no quarrel with the idea of enterprising men getting a return for their enterprise and their ingenuity. We merely say that we as workers want a fair share of the wealth that we help to produce, and that we are organized and are going to continue to stay organized to get that fair share.

Above all we know that without this form of government, without a free government, we would not have the opportunity to join one with another in labor organizations to pre-

sent our demands and our complaints and our problems and bring them to the bargaining table.

Perhaps our first job, so that we can carry out our objective, is to preserve that system under which it is possible to keep trade unions alive. The American Federation of Labor has been dedicated to the principle of good citizenship and loyalty to country from the days of its inception. I do not think it is going to change and I do not think it is going to display any less its ardor and its adherence and its loyalty to this, the greatest nation on earth.

Thank you.

At this time I recognize Secretary Schnitzler for an announcement.

CONVENTION OFFICERS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler announced the appointment of the following Convention officers:

William J. Bassett, Assistant Secretary

William J. Mulligan, Sergeant at Arms
(Waiters & Bartenders No. 500, San Diego)

John W. Filipoff, Sergeant at Arms
(Freight Drivers No. 208)

C. J. Hyans, Messenger
(Bill Posters No. 32)

Paul Ornburn, Messenger

. . . Following announcements concerning arrangements by the Local Committee, the Convention recessed at 12:10 o'clock p.m. until 2 o'clock p.m.

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:15 o'clock p.m.

APPOINTMENT OF ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am going to announce the appointment of the escort committee to escort Governor Stassen to the platform this afternoon, the Committee to consist of Vice President Harrison, Vice President Tracy and Vice President Hayes.

The escort committee to escort the Secretary of Labor to the platform this afternoon, Mr. Martin P. Durkin, John Rooney and Lee Minton.

The Chair recognizes now Chairman Stephens of the Committee on Credentials.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN STEPHENS: The Committee on Credentials has been in session for the past four days and has a preliminary report to offer to the Convention. The report will be delivered by the Secretary of the Committee, Delegate Elmer Meinz.

. . . Committee Secretary Elmer P. Meinz submitted the following report:

To President Meany, Officers and Delegates to the Seventy-Third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee on Credentials, who, in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Meany, herewith submit the following partial report:

We have examined the Credentials of 647 Delegates, representing 100 National and International Unions, 4 Departments, 42 State Branches, 145 Central Bodies, 44 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEINZ: In view of the fact that the Credentials Committee's report has been printed and distributed, I move we dispense with the reading of the names and accept the report of the Committee.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried, and the following list of Delegates were seated:

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Actors and Artistes—Paul Dullzell, George Heller, H. O'Neil Shanks, Pat Somerset, Ed X. Russell, 325 votes.

Agricultural Workers—H. L. Mitchell, Ernesto Galarza, 70 votes.

Air Line Dispatchers—Henry G. Andrews, 6 votes.

Air Line Pilots—Clarence N. Sayen, Frances A. Spencer, 84 votes.

Aluminum Workers—Eddie R. Stahl, William L. Cowley, 189 votes.

Asbestos Workers—Joseph A. Mullaney, C. W. Sickles, Hugh E. Mulligan, 75 votes.

Automobile Workers—Earl Heaton, George Grisham, Anthony Doria, 771 votes.

Bakery Workers—Herman Winter, Wm. F. Schnitzler, James G. Cross, Curtis R. Sims, Archie Goodman, James Landriscina, Daniel E. Conway, 1,347 votes.

Barbers—William C. Birthright, John B. Robinson, Fred Scafidi, George Husk, Edgar M. Sanders, Charles T. Crane, 642 votes.

Boilermakers—Charles J. MacGowan, William A. Calvin, William J. Buckley, A. J. Eberhardy, Thomas J. Crowe, Arthur P. Smith, George Nolan, 1,506 votes.

Bookbinders — Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Bell Hogan, 491 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers—John J. Mara, Frank W. Anderson, George W. Lawson, Tom Cory, 400 votes.

Bricklayers—Harry C. Bates, A. J. Cleland, John J. Murphy, Thomas F. Murphy, Thomas H. O'Donnell, 1,234 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers—H. R. Flegal, Wm. Tracy, Paul Pelfrey, 242 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—J. H. Lyons, J. R. Downes, Wm. F. Bauers, Jos. F. Boyen, Stanley Rounds, E. M. Woods, Paul C. Allen, 1,352 votes.

Building Service Employees—William L. McFetridge, Wm. H. Cooper, David Sullivan, George Hardy, John Coleman, Albert E. Perry, Thomas Burke, 1,975 votes.

Carmen, Railway—Irvin Barney, A. J. Bernhardt, Joe Duffin, Edward C. Doll, Raymond McElroy, Lucien Denis, 1,209 votes.

Carpenters—M. A. Hutcheson, John R. Stevenson, Albert E. Fischer, Ted Kenney, Charles W. Hanson, Herbert C. Skinner, Ivor T. Jones, T. A. Pitts, Earl E. Thomas, 7,500 votes.

Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers—William Schoenberg, Toney Gallo, Felix C. Jones, Reuben Roe, Melvin Ferron, 349 votes.

Chemical Workers—H. A. Bradley, Marshall Shafer, Edw. R. Moffett, Marshall J. McClure, Jack T. Swift, John Gernak, 910 votes.

Cigarmakers—Mario Aspeitia, Ernest Canpo, Sarah Haines, 94 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers—William S. Gross, John Zitello, Michael J. Minaden, John Kramer, 175 votes.

Clerks, Post Office—Leo George, E. C. Hallbeck, Ralph B. Williams, Thomas Quinn, Arthur E. Harriman, F. B. Marble, 1,012 votes.

Clerks, Railway—Geo. M. Harrison, Phil E. Ziegler, J. H. Sylvester, Lyle McKinney, S. J. Rosborough, Floyd Rickets, R. V. Rachford, C. A. Post, 2,935 votes.

Clerks, Retail — Vernon A. Housewright, James A. Suffridge, Guy A. Sackett, Frank C. Shea, Samuel J. Meyers, A. B. Crossler, Paul La Fayette, 2,465 votes.

Coopers—James J. Doyle, 34 votes.

Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers—Joseph O'Neill, Mort Brandenburg, 252 votes.

Doll and Toy Workers—Harry O. Damino, Milton Gordon, Sam Russo, 119 votes.

Electrical Workers—D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, 4,596 votes.

Elevator Constructors—John C. MacDonald, Edward A. Smith, Richard W. Williams, 102 votes.

Engineers, Operating — Wm. E. Maloney, Chas. B. Gramling, Joseph J. Delaney, Frank P. Converse, Victor S. Swanson, Wm. J. Stuhr, Ralph B. Bronson, 2,000 votes.

Engineers, Technical—Russell M. Stephens, 101 votes.

Engravers' Union, Photo—Matthew Woll, Ariel C. Cotton, Wilfrid T. Connell, 153 votes.

Fire Fighters—John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, S. H. Shawver, Robert C. Beale, Scott Poffenberg, 664 votes.

Firemen and Oilers — Anthony E. Matz, George Wright, Robert J. Tormey, James M. Kennedy, John Casselman, 591 votes.

Flight Engineers—William D. Kent, 12 votes.

Garment Workers, United—Joseph P. McCurdy, W. R. Brooks, Madge King, Emily Jordan, A. Berkson, 400 votes.

Garment Workers, Ladies—David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman, Julius Hochman, Jennie Matyas, Harry Greenberg, Benjamin Kaplan, 3,728 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers—Lee W. Minton, Raymond H. Dalton, J. Belton Warren, Gratalee Reese, Adam Nava, 447 votes.

Glass Cutters, Window—Marcel Boucher, 16 votes.

Glass Workers, Flint — Harry H. Cook, Charles R. Lantz, Lloyd F. Stewart, 292 votes.

Glove Workers' Union—Thomas Durian, 30 votes.

Government Employees—James A. Campbell, Henrietta E. Olding, I. W. Kirkpatrick, 492 votes.

Granite Cutters—Costanzo Pagnano, 40 votes.

Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers—Ossip Walinsky, Norman Zukowsky, 243 votes.

Hatters—Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, A. Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, 320 votes.

Hod Carriers—Jos. V. Moreschi, Charles J. Sullivan, Robert B. Sheets, Lee Lalor, Peter Fosco, John W. Garvey, A. C. D'Andrea, Albert Smith, 3,704 votes.

Horse Shoers—Wallace S. Rohrer, 3 votes.

Hosiery Workers—Alexander McKeown, Fred G. Held, Andrew J. Janaskie, Joseph P. Kline, 205 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees—Ed. S. Miller, Jack Weinberger, Dave Siegal, Laurence H. Sarricks, Thomas C. Rogan, Louis Koenig, Reva Walterskirchen, Sam Taback, 2,958 votes.

Insurance Agents—George L. Russ, Lew Fink, Herbert Guthmann, 120 votes.

Jewelry Workers—Joseph Morris, Hyman J. Powell, David Levine, 172 votes.

Lathers—William J. McSorley, Norman Donnely, Walter N. Matthews, 146 votes.

Laundry Workers—Sam J. Byers, E. C. James, Charles R. Goldstein, Lawrence R. Palacios, James B. Matthews, Charles Naddeo, 720 votes.

Letter Carriers—William C. Doherty, Peter J. Cahill, J. Byron Merritt, James Stocker, William Farrell, Henry Anderson, 983 votes.

Longshoremen—Larry Long, 10 votes.

Machinists—A. J. Hayes, Eric Peterson, Elmer E. Walker, J. L. McBreen, Roy M. Brown, Don M. Burrows, Thomas Carey, William Paulbitske, John Snider, 6,479 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees—T. C. Carroll, A. Shoemake, M. C. Plunk, J. P. Wilson, J. A. Buneault, R. Freccia, C. L. Lambert, 1,864 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers—William McCarthy, John J. Conway, 56 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots—C. T. Atkins, John M. Bishop, C. F. May, 94 votes.

Meat Cutters—Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Max Osslo, 2,412 votes.

Metal Workers, Sheet—Robert Byron, J. F. Burke, A. H. Cronin, Frank Bonadio, C. D. Bruns, 380 votes.

Millers, Grain—S. P. Ming, H. A. Schneider, W. R. Benesch, J. A. Leveridge, 306 votes.

Molders—Chester A. Sample, Virgil Bryan, Edw. J. Doran, Don Lemond, Gaston Parent, Edw. Wulf, 650 votes.

Musicians—James C. Petrillo, Edward Charette, Edward P. Ringius, Harry J. Steeper, Frank B. Field, Charles L. Bagley, Hal C. Davis, 2,458 votes.

Office Employees—Howard Coughlin, J. Howard Hicks, Max J. Krug, 428 votes.

Painters—L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, 1,849 votes.

Paper Makers—Paul L. Phillips, John R. Jones, Joseph Addy, John W. Bailey, Al. E. Brown, 584 votes.

Pattern Makers—George Q. Lynch, 110 votes.

Plasterers—John E. Rooney, Ben A. Martinez, Walter A. Redmond, Edward J. Leonard, Benedict Tantillo, 586 votes.

Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry—Martin P. Durkin, George Meany, Peter T. Schoemann, Edward J. Hillock, Harry J. Ames, Dan MacDonald, John W. Bruce, 2,000 votes.

Polishers, Metal—Ray Muehlhoffer, Dennis J. Oates, Rollie B. Watson, Lewis V. Hines, 167 votes.

Porters, Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, 100 votes.

Postal Supervisors—Jesse V. Horton, Frank Huber, Jack W. Riordan, 117 votes.

Postal Transport Association—W. M. Thomas, J. L. Reilly, Harold G. McKellips, 217 votes.

Potters—Frank Hull, Arthur Devlin, David Knoblett, Victor A. Mills, 246 votes.

Printers, Plate—Daniel Bradley, 8 votes.

Printing Pressmen—Thomas E. Dunwody, George L. Googe, Walter J. Turner, T. Q. McCollem, Donald P. McCaughan, Clarence G. Smith, 826 votes.

Pulp and Sulphite Workers—John P. Burke, Elmer P. Meinz, Charles E. Stewart, John Sharman, W. E. Riggs, Ivor D. Isaacson, Raymond D. Bradford, 1,432 votes.

Radio and Television Directors Guild—Morris Novik, 8 votes.

Railway Employees, Street and Electric—A. L. Spradling, Daniel J. McNamara, Loren Hargus, Thomas Meaney, S. T. Wybourn, Otto Hauser, 1,333 votes.

Railway Patrolmen—Joe C. Reber, 29 votes.

Roofers—Charles D. Aquadro, Homer J. Meyers, Ben D. Vetter, 163 votes.

Seafarers—Harry Lundberg, John Hawk, Andrea Gomez, Matthew Dushane, Robert Matthews, 443 votes.

Signalmen—Jesse Clark, Frank R. Edmonson, M. S. Mason, 160 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers—George L. Warfel, 20 votes.

Stage Employees, Theatrical—Richard F. Walsh, Harland Holmden, Thomas V. Green,

Michael J. Mungovan, James McNabb, 420 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employees—Arnold S. Zander, Gordon W. Chapman, Thomas E. Morgan, James L. McCormack, Daniel J. Scannell, 913 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers—Leo J. Buckley, 118 votes.

Stone Cutters—Paul A. Givens, 19 votes.

Stove Mounters—Joseph Lewis, Kenneth Petro, A. G. Mendoza, 117 votes.

Teachers—Carl J. Megel, Arthur A. Elder, Selma M. Borchardt, Herrick S. Roth, Edward A. Irwin, 400 votes.

Teamsters—Dave Beck, John F. English, Daniel J. Tobin, Robert Lester, John L. Biggers, John Duffy, John F. Ryan, Roy Williams, Peter J. Postma, J. W. Estabrook, 11,619 votes.

Telegraphers, Railroad—G. E. Leighty, E. J. Manion, 300 votes.

Telegraphers, Commercial—W. L. Allen, 302 votes.

Textile Workers—Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salen, 533 votes.

Tobacco Workers—John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, 272 votes.

Typographical—Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, 753 votes.

Upholsterers—Sal B. Hoffmann, R. Alvin Albarino, Tony Remshardt, George Bucher, Reed J. Stoney, 521 votes.

Yardmasters—Milton G. Schoch, 37 votes.

DEPARTMENTS

Building and Construction Trades Department—Richard J. Gray, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—James A. Brownlow, 1 vote.

Railroad Employees' Department—Michael Fox, 1 vote.

Union Label and Service Trades Department—Raymond F. Leheney, 1 vote.

STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR

Alabama—W. W. McDuffie, 1 vote.

Alaska—Cledamae Cammock Seaman, 1 vote.

Arizona—Elmer F. Vickers, 1 vote.

Arkansas—S. V. Zinn, 1 vote.

California—C. J. Neil Haggerty, 1 vote.

Colorado—George A. Cavender, 1 vote.

Connecticut—Joseph M. Rourke, 1 vote.

Florida—Frank G. Roche, 1 vote.

Georgia—Henry W. Chandler, 1 vote.

Idaho—Elmer F. McIntire, 1 vote.

Illinois—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.

Indiana—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.

Iowa—Ray Mills, 1 vote.

Kansas—F. E. Black, 1 vote.

Kentucky—Sam Ezelle, 1 vote.

Louisiana—E. J. Bourg, 1 vote.

Maine—B. J. Dorsky, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia — Harry Cohen, 1 vote.

Massachusetts—Kenneth J. Kelley, 1 vote.

Michigan—John H. Thorpe, 1 vote.

Minnesota—William D. Gunn, 1 vote.

Mississippi—W. L. Hines, 1 vote.

Missouri—Floyd Early, 1 vote.

Montana—James S. Umber, 1 vote.

Nebraska—Gordon C. Preble, 1 vote.

Nevada—James G. Ryan, 1 vote.

New Jersey—Louis P. Marciante, 1 vote.

New Mexico—J. B. McCoy, 1 vote.

New York—Thomas A. Murray, 1 vote.

Ohio—Phil Hannah, 1 vote.

Oklahoma—Dean Baugh, 1 vote.

Oregon—James T. Marr, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania—Joseph A. McDonough, 1 vote.

Puerto Rico—Hipolito Marcano, 1 vote.

South Carolina—James M. Wood, 1 vote.

Tennessee—Stanton E. Smith, 1 vote.

Texas—Jerry R. Holleman, 1 vote.

Utah—David S. Turner, 1 vote.

Virginia—J. S. Smith, 1 vote.

Washington—E. M. Weston, 1 vote.

West Virginia—E. A. Carter, 1 vote.

Wisconsin—George W. Hall, 1 vote.

CENTRAL LABOR UNIONS

Akron, Ohio—Sam Pollock, 1 vote.

Albany, N. Y.—Joseph P. Cerutti, 1 vote.

Alton, Ill.—Paul McCormick, 1 vote.

Altoona, Pa. (Blair County) — Lawrence Schrenk, 1 vote.

Amarillo, Tex.—L. A. Wilson, 1 vote.

Anchorage, Alaska—Robert E. McFarland, 1 vote.

Ashland County, Ohio—James D. Highman, 1 vote.

Astoria, Oregon—L. E. Egan, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga.—James O. Moore, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J. (Atlantic County)—William Abramoff, 1 vote.

Augusta, Hallowell and Gardiner, Me.—Thomas F. Flynn, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Calif. (Kern County)—Floyd J. White, 1 vote.

Balboa, Canal Zone—Walter Wagner, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md.—Francis S. Filbey, 1 vote.

Baton Rouge, La.—Perry A. Turner, 1 vote.

Beaver County, Pa.—James Russo, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala.—Mattie H. Jones, 1 vote.

Bloomington, Ind.—Ray M. Bouvier, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass.—John F. Donovan, 1 vote.

Brockton, Mass.—Henry J. Brides, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y.—John J. Higgins, 1 vote.

Calumet, Ill.—Jos. C. Moenich, 1 vote.

Cambridge, Mass.—Joseph Stefani, 1 vote.

Camden, N. J.—Joseph J. McComb, 1 vote.

Canton, Ohio—Austin A. Andrews, 1 vote.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa—Ethan M. Akin, I vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn.—Brownie Cuthbert, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill.—Thomas J. Haggert, 1 vote.

Charleston, W. Va. (Kanawha Valley)—Romaine Carter, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.

Clark, Skamania and West Klickitat Counties, Wash.—Beatrice Rice, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio—William Finegan, 1 vote.

Clinton County, Ill.—Edgar F. Smith, 1 vote.

Contra Costa County, Calif.—Bernice A. Cooper, 1 vote.

Corpus Christi, Tex.—Sebastian Krauss, 1 vote.

Corvallis, Ore.—James M. Stewart, 1 vote.

Council Bluffs, Iowa—Leonard Mundy, 1 vote.

Cumberland County, N. J.—Leon B. Schachter, 1 vote.

Dade County, Fla.—Ben C. Williams, 1 vote.

Dallas, Tex.—John W. Hays, 1 vote.

Dayton, Ohio—John E. Breidenbach, 1 vote.

Des Moines, Iowa—Edric C. Greaves, 1 vote.

Detroit and Wayne County, Mich.—Frank X. Martel, 1 vote.

Duluth, Minn.—Robert A. Olson, 1 vote.

East Liverpool, Ohio—John Webber, 1 vote.

El Centro, Calif. (Imperial Valley)—Walter I. Welden, 1 vote.

Elizabeth, N. J. (Union County)—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.

Everett, Wash.—James H. Thompson, 1 vote.

Fairbanks, Alaska—George H. Davis, 1 vote.

Fayette County, Pa.—Harry R. Mitchell, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex.—E. Langston, 1 vote.

Fresno, Calif.—Wallace D. Henderson, 1 vote.

Galesburg, Ill.—William H. Moon, 1 vote.

Honolulu, T. H.—Edward J. Kovack, 1 vote.

Houston, Tex.—Joe Marasek, 1 vote.

Hudson County, N. J.—Joseph G. Quinn, 1 vote.

Humboldt County, Calif.—Albin Gruhn, 1 vote.

Hutchinson, Kan.—Kenneth Piatt, 1 vote.

Indianapolis, Ind.—Vance Runyon, 1 vote.

Jackson, Miss.—L. E. Holt Ross, 1 vote.

Joliet, Ill. (Will County)—S. P. Miller, 1 vote.

Joplin, Mo.—Otto Bowles, 1 vote.

Kalamazoo, Mich.—Florence H. Bailey, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kan.—Geo. J. Harrison, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo.—Hugh L. Raymond, 1 vote.

Kenosha, Wis.—Paul Whiteside, 1 vote.

Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky.—William T. Koester, 1 vote.

Klamath Falls, Oregon—Fred Manash, 1 vote.

Lake Charles, La.—Malcolm L. Prater, 1 vote.

Lake County, Ind.—Harold P. Hagberg, 1 vote.

Lake County, Ohio—Victor J. Bukky, 1 vote.

Laramie, Wyo.—W. J. Walter, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Kan.—Paul F. Clark, 1 vote.

Leavenworth, Kan.—George Townsend, 1 vote.

Lebanon County, Pa.—George McCarten, 1 vote.

Little Rock, Ark.—Odell Smith, 1 vote.

Long Beach, Calif.—M. R. Callahan, 1 vote.

Lorain, Ohio—A. C. Shibley, 1 vote.

Los Angeles County, Calif.—W. J. Bassett, 1 vote.

Lowell, Mass.—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.

Lynn, Mass.—Louis R. Govoni, 1 vote.

Memphis, Tenn.—C. R. Collins, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis.—Stanley T. Joers, 1 vote.

Minneapolis, Minn.—Walter R. Cramond, 1 vote.

Modesto, Calif.—W. J. Kiser, 1 vote.

Monterey Peninsula, Calif.—George J. Wilson, 1 vote.

Montgomery, Ala.—Ted Williams, 1 vote.

Muncie, Ind.—George McMahan, 1 vote.

Munising, Mich.—John M. Pater, 1 vote.

Nampa, Idaho—F. T. Baldwin, 1 vote.

Newark, N. J.—Morris Fuchs, 1 vote.

New Bedford, Mass.—S. P. Jason, 1 vote.

New Orleans, La.—Robert L. Soule, 1 vote.

New York and Vic., N. Y.—William Kohn, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls, N. Y.—Harry S. Jordan, 1 vote.

Oakland, Calif. (Alameda County)—Robert S. Ash, 1 vote.

Oklahoma City, Okla.—W. T. De Laney, 1 vote.

Olean, N. Y. (Cattaraugus and Allegany Counties)—Osborn Myrick, 1 vote.

Omaha, Neb.—David J. Majors, 1 vote.

Orange County, Calif.—Charles E. Devine, 1 vote.

Oregon City, Ore. (Clackamas County)—Frank Schmitz, 1 vote.

Pasadena-San Gabriel Valley, Calif.—Arthur K. Hutchings, 1 vote.

Pasco-Kennewick, Wash.—O. R. Brand, 1 vote.

Passaic County, N. J.—Sal Maso, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Norman Blumberg, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa.—Clifton C. Caldwell, 1 vote.

Placer, Nevada, and El Dorado Counties, Calif.—Ralph Reynolds, 1 vote.

Portland, Ore.—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.

Portsmouth, N. H.—Marshall A. Siteman, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—William Sorenson, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I.—Edward R. Quirk, 1 vote.

Reading and Berks County, Pa.—John T. Haletsky, 1 vote.

Reno, Nev.—Paula May Day, 1 vote.

Renton, Wash.—Francis L. Lang, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va.—W. H. C. Murray, 1 vote.

Riverside, Calif.—L. L. Carlile, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif.—Harry Finks, 1 vote.

Salem, Ore.—O. J. Falkenberg, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah—Don R. Evans, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo.—Larry Connors, 1 vote.

St. Paul, Minn.—E. D. McKinnon, 1 vote.

San Angelo, Tex.—W. S. East, 1 vote.

San Diego County, Calif.—John W. Quimby, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Calif.—Jack Goldberger, 1 vote.

San Mateo County, Calif.—Thomas A. Small, 1 vote.

San Pedro and Wilmington, Calif.—Richard J. Seltzer, 1 vote.

Santa Barbara, Calif.—Charles J. Jossa, 1 vote.

Santa Clara County, Calif.—Earl A. Moorhead, 1 vote.

Santa Cruz, Calif.—Joseph Vierra, 1 vote.

Santa Monica, Calif.—Thomas L. Pitts, 1 vote.

Savannah, Ga.—John Wesley "Whitey" Cain, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y.—R. J. Carmichael, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa.—William J. McGrath, 1 vote.

Seattle and Vic., Wash.—Harry L. Carr, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill.—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill.—Sam N. Bonansinga, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mo.—Mary A. Bowles, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ohio—George E. McKenna, 1 vote.

Stockton, Calif. (San Joaquin County)—Edward Doran, 1 vote.

Texarkana, Ark. — Haskell H. Scoggins, 1 vote.

Trenton, N. J.—Thomas J. Dunn, 1 vote.

Tri-City, Davenport, Iowa: Rock Island and Moline, Ill.—Howard Druckmiller, 1 vote.

Tucson, Ariz.—Fred J. Brown, 1 vote.

Tulsa, Okla.—W. G. Pendergrass, 1 vote.

Urbana and Champaign, Ill.—Clifford H. James, 1 vote.

Utica, N. Y.—Samuel Talerico, 1 vote.

Ventura, Calif.—Al Whorley, 1 vote.

Visalia, Calif. (Tulare County)—C. J. Curt Hyans, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C.—J. C. Turner, 1 vote.

White Pine County, Nev.—J. R. Morrison, 1 vote.

Yuma County, Ariz.—Mason M. Warren, 1 vote.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

9049, San Francisco, Calif.—Wm. J. Williams, 1 vote.

15834, Seattle, Wash.—Frank L. Turco, 1 vote.

16303, New York, N. Y.—Anthony Varrone, 8 votes.

18007, Chicago, Ill.—James E. Fitzpatrick, 23 votes.

18032, New York, N. Y.—Milton Weintraub, 4 votes.

18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 4 votes.

18267, Cleveland, Ohio—Esther Schueller, 5 votes.

18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Howard Colby, 25 votes.

18524, Richmond, Calif.—Gilbert R. Bjerke, 2 votes.

18671, Cleveland, Ohio—Wm. R. McCourt, 3 votes.

18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—Alex I. Dever, 26 votes.

19388, Louisville, Ky.—Matthew W. Davis, 15 votes.

19806, Milwaukee, Wis.—Wilbur Le Clair, 56 votes.

19897, Jersey City, N. J.—George J. Kane, 1 vote.

20037, Crockett, Calif.—Benny Wagner, 12 votes.

20467, Chicago, Ill.—Paul J. Dorfman, 6 votes.

20572, Toledo, Ohio—James M. Flynn, 6 votes.

20610, Woodland, Calif.—J. J. Strelo, 2 votes.

20711, St. Louis, Mo.—Maury E. Rubin, 1 vote.

21241, Los Angeles, Calif.—Ralph Roddy, 2 votes.

21479 (3 votes).

21480 (3 votes).

21481 (2 votes), Toronto, Ont., Can.—Max Federman, 8 votes.

21538, Blackwell, Okla.—O. C. Campbell, 9 votes.

21625, New York, N. Y.—Sylvio Prezioso, 11 votes.

21664, Syracuse, N. Y.—Frank Galuski, 3 votes.

21877, Chicago, Ill.—Irwin E. Klass, 1 vote.

22116, St. Paul, Minn.—Ray F. Wentz, 2 votes.

22177, Detroit, Mich.—Charles F. Shipp, 23 votes.

22454, New Orleans, La.—Claude P. Babin, 3 votes.

22519, Mobile, Ala.—Stanton Dann, 1 vote.

22623, Philadelphia, Pa.—Domenic Capitolo, 20 votes.

22631 (23 votes).

19340 (5 votes), Milwaukee, Wis.—John E. Cudahy, 28 votes.

22694, Brockton, Mass.—Joseph A. Picone, 4 votes.

23122, Seattle, Wash.—E. G. Lange, 1 vote.

23181, New York, N. Y.—William Wolpert, 1 vote.

23773, Dayton, Ohio—James R. Anderson, 1 vote.

23794, Galesburg, Ill.—John Fairow, 8 votes.

23823, Newark, Ohio—Derrell Johnson, 3 votes.

23843, St. Paul, Minn.—Loren E. Groner, 1 vote.

24116, San Francisco, Calif.—Lew C. G. Blix, 1 vote.

24410, Leadville, Colo.—Jess A. Larch, 10 votes.

24411, Bridgeport, Conn.—Frank Maabufi, 22 votes.

24866, Washington, D. C.—James E. Weber, 1 vote.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES

British Trades Union Congress—James Gilroy Baty, Arthur E. Tiffin, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Vern Metheral, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted

RUSSELL M. STEPHENS, Chairman
MILTON P. WEBSTER
ELMER P. MEINZ, Secretary

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Schnitzler, who will read the list of Committees for the business of the Convention. Secretary Schnitzler.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler announced the appointment of the following Committees:

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

John B. Robinson, Barbers; W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers; R. J. Petree, Tobacco Workers; John C. MacDonald, Elevator Constructors; Samuel Hershkowitz, Hatters; Charles Aquadro, Roofers; Frank B. Field, Musicians; Joseph Lewis, Stove Mounters; Mike J. Minaden, Cleaning & Dye House Workers; Daniel J. McNamara, Street Railway Employees; Marcel Boucher, Window Glass Cutters; George Nolan, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; A. J. Cleland, Bricklayers; Robert Morgan, Railway Clerks; Norman Zukowsky, Handbag Workers; Robert Soule, New Orleans Central Body; J. A. Hunealt, Maintenance of Way Employees; R. Emmett Kelly, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Joseph Jacobs, Textile Workers; Eddie R. Stahl, Aluminum Workers; Roy M. Brown, Machinists.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Robert Byron, Sheet Metal Workers; Charles B. Gramling, Engineers; Leo J. Buckley, Stereotypers; George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Irvin Barney, Railway Carmen; Paul L. Phillips, Paper Makers; Pat Waldron, Hod Carriers; Daniel W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; Selma M. Borchardt, Teachers; Harry R. Lyons, Railway Clerks; Milton S. Maxwell, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; E. M. Woods, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Chester A. Sample, Molders; John O'Hare, Tobacco Workers; Ed S. Miller, Hotel & Restaurant Workers; Eric Peterson, Machinists; W. M. Thomas, Postal Transport Association; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters.

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Wm. E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; John F. English, Teamsters; James G. Cross, Bakery & Confectionery Workers; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation; Thomas M. O'Donnell, Bricklayers; John J. Mara, Boot & Shoe Workers; John L. Reilly, Postal Transport Association; A. E. Fischer, Carpenters; Arnold S. Zander, State, County & Municipal Employees; John E. Rooney, Plasterers; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employees; Alex Rose, Hatters; Thomas E. Dunwody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical Union; Charles S. Zimmerman, Ladies' Garment Workers; Robert J. Tormey, Firemen & Oilers; Sam P. Ming, Grain Millers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Martin P. Durkin, Plumbers & Pipefitters; William Schoenberg, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; William A. Calvin, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; William Cooper, Building Service Employees; A. J. Hayes, Machinists, A. Spralling, Street and Electric Railway Employees.

LAWS

W. C. Birthright, Barbers; Harry J. Steeper, Musicians; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way Employees; William Tracy, Brick and Clay Workers; Peter J. Cahill, Letter Carriers; Wilfrid T. Connell, Photo Engravers; E. C. Hallbeck, Post Office Clerks; Robert B. Sheets, Hod Carriers; Emily Jordan, United Garment Workers; William McCarthy, Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers; Anthony Matz, Firemen & Oilers; Anthony Valente, Textile Workers; John P. Redmond, Fire Fighters; Sam J. Byers, Laundry Workers; Ted Kenney, Carpenters; Luigi Antonini, Ladies' Garment Workers; David Sullivan, Building Service Employees; H. O'Neil Shanks, Actors & Artistes; Joseph Denny, Bookbinders; Stanton E. Smith, Tennessee State Federation.

ORGANIZATION

William C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; G. E. Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers; John P. Burke, Pulp & Sulphite Workers; George Husk, Barbers; John W. Garvey, Hod Carriers; Hyman Powell, Jewelry Workers; Earl W. Jimerson, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Harry O. Damino, Doll & Toy Workers; W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council; J. Belton Warren, Glass Bottle Blowers; A. Shoemake, Maintenance of Way Employees; E. C. James, Laundry Workers; J. A. Moriarty, Typographical Union; C. T. Atkins, Masters, Mates & Pilots; Jesse Clark, Railroad Signalmen; H. A. Schneider, Grain Millers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; Thomas Durian, Glove Workers; Frank G. Van Portfliet, Colorado State Federation; Frank G. Roche, Florida State Federation; James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation; Daniel E. Conway, Bakery & Confectionery Workers.

LABELS

Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label Trades Department; Charles W. Hanson, Carpenters; Edgar M. Sanders, Barbers; Joseph Belsky, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Marx Lewis, Hatters; Madge King, United Garment Workers; Joseph Addy, Paper Makers; E. M. Weston, Washington State Federation; John J. Zitello, Cleaning & Dye House Workers; Mario Aspeitia, Cigarmakers; Robert Lester, Teamsters; James A. Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Frank W. Anderson, Boot and Shoe Workers; Ernest M. Hathaway, Typographical Union; Charles Naddeo, Laundry Workers; J. Howard Hicks, Office Employees; Alex McKeown, Hosiery Workers; Jack Weinberger, Hotel & Restaurant Workers; John H. Thorpe, Michigan Federation of Labor; Francis S. Filbey, Baltimore, Md., Central Body; Curtis R. Sims, Bakery & Confectionery Workers.

ADJUSTMENT

William L. McFetridge, Building Service Employees; Raymond H. Dalton, Glass Bottle Blowers; George Wright, Firemen & Oilers; Charles L. Bagley, Musicians; J. P. Wilson, Maintenance of Way Employees; E. J. Manion, Railroad Telegraphers; George W. Lawson, Boot & Shoe Workers; Arthur P. Smith, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; Joseph J. Delaney, Operating Engineers; Joseph O'Neill, Distillery Workers; Toney Gallo, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; Harland Holmden, Theatrical Stage Employees; Gordon Chapman, State, County & Municipal Employees; George Grisham, Automobile Workers; J. H. Sylvester, Railway Clerks; A. J. Bernhardt, Rail-

way Carmen; John Hawk, Seafarers; Samuel J. Meyers, Retail Clerks; Loren Hargus, Street Railway Employees; Sal B. Hoffman, Upholsterers; J. L. McBreen, Machinists.

LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

D. W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; Vernon A. Housewright, Retail Clerks; Lee Lalor, Hod Carriers; A. Berkson, United Garment Workers; William Kohn, New York City Central Body; Sam Bonansinga, Springfield, Ill., C.L.U.; R. Alvin Albarino, Upholsterers; Lloyd Klenert, Textile Workers; Reuben Roe, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; Michael J. Mungovan, Theatrical Stage Employees; Matthew Dushane, Seafarers; John E. Briedenbach, Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union; Ernesto Galarza, Agricultural Workers; Ray Muehlhoffer, Metal Polishers; Thomas F. Murphy, Bricklayers; George L. Russ, Insurance Agents; L. A. Wilson, Amarillo, Texas, Central Body; Sam Ezelle, Kentucky State Federation; Floyd Early, Missouri State Federation; J. C. Turner, Washington, D. C., C.L.U.; Jack Goldberger, San Francisco Central Labor Union; Larry Connors, St. Louis Central Labor Union.

EDUCATION

James C. Petrillo, Musicians; M. C. Plunk, Maintenance of Way Employees; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation; Edward J. Hillock, Plumbers and Steamfitters; Henry Anderson, Letter Carriers; Thomas Quinn, Post Office Clerks; Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation; Daniel J. McNamara, Street Railway Employees; J. R. Downes, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Harry H. Cook, Flint Glass Workers; Carl Megel, Teachers; James J. Doyle, Coopers; W. L. Allen, Commercial Telegraphers; Earl Heaton, Automobile Workers; H. A. Bradley, Chemical Workers; H. L. Mitchell, Agricultural Workers; G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks; John R. Jones, Paper Makers; Pat Somerset, Actors & Artistes; Joseph Morris, Jewelry Workers; Joseph Cerutti, Albany, New York, C.L.U.; Jennie Matyas, International Ladies Garment Workers.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery Workers; George L. Googe, Printing Pressmen; Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor; Fred Scafidi, Barbers; W. S. Gross, Cleaning and Dye House Workers; Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor; Phil E. Zeigler, Railway Clerks; Gust Anderson, Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Union; J. S. Smith, Virginia State Federation of Labor; Ralph B. Williams, Post Office Clerks; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers; Jerry R. Holleman, Texas State Federation of Labor; Harry Cohen, Maryland State-District of Columbia Federation of Labor; William D. Gunn, Minnesota State Federation of Labor; Howard Coughlin, Office Employees; E. A. Carter, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; John J. Hurst, Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union; James Russo, Beaver County, Pa., Central Labor Union; William Finegan, Cleveland, Ohio, Central Labor Union; John J. Higgins, Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Union; Arthur Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers; James C. Stocker, Letter Carriers; Walter M. Matthews, Lathers; Thomas P. Meaney, Street Railway Employees; H. R. Flegal, Brick & Clay Workers; Ossip Walinsky, Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers; George L. Warfel, Special Delivery Messengers; James McNabb, Theatrical Stage Employees; James M. Kennedy, Firemen & Oilers; Charles Sullivan, Hod Carriers; R. Freccia, Maintenance of Way Employees; John W. Bailey, Paper Makers; Kenneth Petro, Stove Mounters; Joseph F. Boyen, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Harry Ames, Plumbers & Steamfitters; Frank P. Converse, Operating Engineers; Edward C. Doll, Railway Carmen.

BUILDING TRADES

Richard J. Gray, Building Trades Department; Wm. J. McSorley, Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; Edward A. Smith, Elevator Constructors; Victor A. Swanson, Operating Engineers; John H. Lyons, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Plumbers & Pipefitters; John J. Murphy, Bricklayers; Pete Yablonsky, Painters; Frank C. Riley, Electrical Workers; Homer J. Meyers, Roofers; Walter A. Redmond, Plasterers; John J. Conway, Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers; Joseph A. McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Costanzo Pagnano, Granite Cutters; C. D. Bruns, Sheet Metal Workers; Paul A. Givens, Stone Cutters; C. W. Sickles, Asbestos Workers; Joseph Rourke, Connecticut State Federation.

METAL TRADES COMMITTEE

James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department; George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Chester A. Sample, Molders & Foundry Workers; Ray Muelhoffer, Metal Polishers; Russell Stephens, Technical Engineers; Lawrence M. Raftery, Painters & Decorators; Anthony E. Matz, Firemen & Oilers; Joseph Lewis, Stove Mounters; Peter T. Schoemann, Plumbers & Pipefitters; A. H. Cronin, Sheet Metal Workers; T. A. Pitts, Carpenters; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Elmer E. Walker, Machinists; W. F. Bauers, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; Wm. J. Stuhr, Operating Engineers; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers; Wm. J. Buckley, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; Howard Coughlin, Office Workers; Edward R. Moffett, Chemical Workers; John Coleman, Building Service Employees; Alex I. Dever, Federal Labor Union 18887.

SHORTER WORKDAY

Lee W. Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers; J. L. Duffin, Railway Carmen; Frank Owens, Painters; A. J. Eberhardy, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; George Bucher, Upholsterers; Stanley Rounds, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; T. J. Lloyd, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation; Dennis J. Oates, Metal Polishers; S. T. Wybourn, Street Railway Employees; Wallace C. Reilly, Typographical Union; Frank C. Shea, Retail Clerks; Jesse V. Horton, Postal Supervisors; Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation; S. J. Rosborough, Railway Clerks; Milton P. Webster, Sleeping Car Porters; Norman Donnely, Lathers; Henry G. Andrews, Air Line Dispatchers; Harry Greenberg, Ladies' Garment Workers.

LEGISLATION

Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; Michael Fox, Railway Employees Department; E. C. Hallbeck, Post Office Clerks; Frank Hull, Potters; Edward Carlough, Sheet Metal Workers; James A. Campbell, Government Employees; Thomas V. Greer, Stage Employees; Robert Ash, Oakland, California, C.L.U.; Daniel Bradley, Plate Printers; Edward P. Ringius, Musicians; Frank X. Martel, Detroit, Michigan, C.L.U.; Clifton Caldwell, Pittsburgh, Pa., C.L.U.; Marshall Shafer, Chemical Workers; George Heller, Actors & Artistes; J. Byron Merritt, Letter Carriers; Benedict Tantillo, Plasterers; George Hardy, Building Service Employees; Joseph D. Keenan, Electrical Workers; Harry Finks, Sacramento, Calif., Labor Council; Stanley T. Joers, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, C.L.U.; Julius Hochman, Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Wm. J. McSorley, Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers; Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers Union; D. J. Tobin, Teamsters; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; W. C. Birthright, Barbers; Robert E. Haskins, Bookbinders; Isidore Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers; W. C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; Arnold S. Zander, State, County & Municipal Employees; George J. Richardson, Fire Fighters; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers; Alex Rose, Hatters; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; Richard J. Gray, Building Trades Department; John R. Stevenson, Carpenters; James Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Paul Phillips, Paper Makers.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of the committees. The first name read on the list of each committee, of course, is the Chairman, and the Chairman of the Committee or the Secretary will come up to the platform. We have here the various resolutions and sections of reports that will be referred to the Committees.

At this time the Executive Council's report for this year is being distributed to the delegates. It will appear in the record at this point in the proceedings, along with a notation of the assignment of the various subjects of the Executive Council's report to the various committees of the convention.

REPORT
OF
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
SEPTEMBER 20, 1954.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS:

INTRODUCTION

Once again we meet at a critical point in national and world affairs. The cause of world peace has suffered severe setbacks. Our national economy has been weakened by high and prolonged unemployment. The forward movement of our basic national policies has been reversed. These are the broad problems before this Convention. Representing, as we do, more than ten million citizens of a free and democratic land, it is our responsibility and our determination to consider all the facts and to recommend a program for the future that will help to preserve peace, secure freedom and restore prosperity for working people everywhere.

This is an appropriate time for realistic appraisal of current trends. The new Administration in Washington has reached the half-way mark. The 83rd Congress has finally muddled through to adjournment. The free world has arrived at an impasse, with every indication that America has lost its position of leadership. It is up to this Convention to weigh the record and to render judgment.

Of primary concern to labor is the sharp rise in unemployment that took place last winter and has persisted ever since. When official estimates place the total of unemployed at almost four million, the actual figure is probably closer to five million, when we take into consideration those who have been temporarily laid off and those working only two or three days a week.

We are thus faced with a tremendous deficit in the purchasing power

of industrial workers. When the substantial drop in farm income is added, we can begin to understand why our national economy is on the downgrade. It plainly needs an emergency transfusion of new purchasing power.

The new Administration promised to act, but it failed. It has done nothing to increase the purchasing power of the great mass of consumers. Neither has Congress.

Events have confirmed our warnings of a year ago that big business has taken over the driver's seat in Washington. New legislative policies and new administrative rulings are closely geared to fit the desires of the business community.

Campaign promises to business have been promptly fulfilled. The Administration and its majority in Congress granted huge tax benefits to corporations and investors. They gave away the nation's off-shore oil resources. They gave away development of electric power from atomic energy to private industry.

On the other hand, campaign pledges to labor and the farmer have been brazenly broken. The "union-busting" provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act remain unchanged. The Administration's appointees to the National Labor Relations Board have indeed made the antilabor provision of the law more oppressive by reversing previous rulings. And the farmers face a reduction in price supports through the adoption of a flexible formula which runs directly contrary to pre-election promises.

The nation suffered its most serious reverses in the international field. A detailed account of the loss of American prestige in foreign affairs is included in this report. Evidently the "new look" defense policy has failed. To stem the tide of Communist aggression and preserve peace, the free world must be reunited on a much more resolute program in defense of human freedom.

These are some of the major problems facing the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor. We meet at our peak strength in history. The cause of labor unity has been greatly advanced by the successful negotiation of the no-raiding agreement with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. We have before us a plan designed to minimize jurisdictional strife among our own affiliates. Let us apply ourselves, therefore, to the work of this Convention with the determination to fulfill our responsibilities to the workers we represent, to the advancement of the national welfare and to the cause of world peace.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past 12 months, beginning July 1, 1953, and ending June 30, 1954.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of $1,615,546.80. Of this total, $617,600.62 is in the defense fund for the federal labor unions and the balance, $997,946.18 is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, $5,582,960.77; the total expenses, $5,488,271.98. Amount of receipts over expenses, $94,688.79.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending June 30, 1954:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, June 30, 1953		$ 1,520,858.01
Per capita tax	$ 4,735,606.32	
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	2,687.57	
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist	322,957.34	
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	184,306.24	
Initiation fees	50,119.41	
Reinstatement fees	1,255.52	
Supplies	17,599.49	
Interest	18,361.46	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	35,905.22	
Subscriptions, News Reporter	18,549.04	
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	55,651.09	
Property Exchange St. John's Church	139,962.07	
Total receipts		5,582,960.77
Grand total		$ 7,103,818.78

EXPENSES

Organizer's Expenses	$ 755,419.51	
Organizing expenses	945,373.14	
Salaries		
Organizers	868,193.77	
Office Employes		
A.F.L.	485,044.24	
W.E.B.	27,121.53	
L.L.P.E.	115,952.46	

Administrative		
A.F.L.	$ 244,345.57	
L.L.P.E.	20,000.00	
Miscellaneous General Bills		
A.F.L.	1,459,966.21	
W.E.B.	31,147.49	
L.L.P.E.	102,131.19	
Printing and publishing American Federationist	167,413.57	
A.F.L. News Reporter	107,564.62	
Defense Fund	69,220.00	
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	27,922.67	
New Building Construction	61,456.01	
Total expenses		$ 5,488,271.98
Balance on hand, June 30, 1954		$ 1,615,546.80

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	$ 997,946.18
In Defense Fund for federal labor unions	617,600.62
Balance on hand, June 30, 1954	$ 1,615,546.80

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is a statement showing the grouping under their respective headings of the detailed monthly expenses for the 12 months, July, 1953 through June, 1954:

Rents	$ 45,605.72
Refunds	350.73
Premiums:	
Bonds, Local Unions	27,922.67
Employes' Life Insurance Policies	25,715.22
Insurance, Workmen's Compensation	5,232.97
Medical & Hospital Insurance	43,558.55
Payroll, Robbery, Liability, Burglary, Auto	5,108.97
D. C. Personal Property Tax	1,142.78
F.I.C.A. Taxes	20,226.08
Canadian & States' Unemployment Tax	3,919.20
Federal Payroll Tax	2,890.68
Expressage, Freight & Drayage	6,087.71
Newspapers, Magazines & Books (Library)	4,590.42
Office Equipment & Supplies	21,944.50

Research Statistical Service (Sup. & Misc.)	$	6,598.26
Postage Stamps		25,920.15
Supplies for Resale		7,030.53
New Building Construction		61,456.01
Printing:		
General		76,467.69
Convention Roll Call		340.00
Convention Bound Proceedings		8,145.74
Convention Daily Proceedings		8,180.30
Convention, Miscellaneous		925.91
A.F.L. News-Reporter		107,564.62
Miscellaneous Expenses		17,187.39
Paper Supply & Envelopes (Mailing Dept.)		2,760.55
Mailing Equipment		2,448.30
Office Furniture & Fixtures		6,776.19
Telegrams & Telephone		29,707.00
Fraternal Delegates to British T.U. Congress		5,858.56
Fraternal Delegates to Canadian T. & L. Congress		282.38
St. Louis Convention:		
Fraternal Delegates Expenses		2,177.96
Messengers, Sergeant at Arms & Assistant Secretary		325.00
Supplies		178.86
Guests, Receptions & etc.		3,313.12
Stenographers & Clerks		7,481.56
Official Stenographers		2,312.50
Rental of Office Furniture		673.72
Telegrams, Telephone, Stamps, Mail, Porters, Misc.		3,723.19
Auditing & Credential Committee		956.13
Delegate, Guest, Committee & Officer Badges		1,844.28
Executive Council Meetings, Telegrams, Typewriter Rental, Baggage, Stenographers, etc.		63,238.26
Defense Fund:		
Strike Benefits		19,220.00
Transfer to Building Fund		50,000.00
Salaries:		
President		27,916.76
Secretary-Treasurer		27,999.84
Office Employes		485,044.24
ICFTU (Tony Sender)		2,580.00
Organizers		868,193.77
Organizers' Expenses		755,419.51
Organizing Expenses		945,373.14

Salaries & Expenses:	
Legislative	$ 53,168.88
Publicity	598,481.95
Special Representatives	111,999.09
Labor's League	238,083.65
Workers' Education	58,269.02
European Representatives	44,256.34
Per Capita Tax:	
Int. Conf. of Free Trade Unions	80,619.35
Inter-American Regional Org. ICFTU	37,500.00
Metal Trades Department	1,421.46
Union Label Trades Department	124.74
Trades & Labor Congress of Canada	2,637.86
American Federationist:	
Cost of Printing	161,251.05
Postage	5,391.65
Story for Junior Federationist	240.00
Photographs	515.05
Miscellaneous	15.82
Legal Services	54,892.18
Special Committees & Conferences	57,920.39
Contributions:	
D. C. Tuberculosis Association	100.00
Community Chest Federation	300.00
National Housing Conf.	500.00
Nat'l. Foundation for Infantile Paralysis	1,072.00
Mrs. Samuel Gompers	612.16
Mrs. William Green	6,000.00
Mrs. Frank Morrison	1,200.00
Employes' Retirement Fund	19,258.27
Free Trade Union Committee	35,000.00
Rev. Joseph E. Gedra (Good Friday Observance)	25.00
American Cancer Society	500.00
ICFTU (Brussels)	7,500.00
Catholic Interracial Council of New York, Inc.	1,000.00
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	2,000.00
ICFTU (East German Relief Fund)	50,000.00
F.L.U. No. 22631, Milwaukee, Wis.	2,000.00
Labor Press Associated	3,250.00
C.L.U. of Honolulu, T. H.	150.00
Painting of William Green (ICFTU)	398.45
South Carolina State Fed. of Labor	700.00
Total	$ 5,488,271.98

DEFENSE FUND FOR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks' benefit and the amount received for the past 12 months, beginning July 1, 1953, and ending June 30, 1954.

RECEIPTS

Receipts		$184,136.24
Refunds:		
24472 F.L.U.	Sunbury, Pa.	150.00
20890 Opt. Wkrs.	Geneva, N. Y.	20.00
Total Receipts		$184,306.24

EXPENSES

Number	*Name*	*Location*	*No. of Weeks*	*Aver. Mem.*	
7073	F.L.U.	New Brighton, Pa.	2	73	$1,460.00
19985	F.L.U.	Kenosha, Wis.	3	115+	3,460.00
20890	Opt. Wkrs.	Geneva, N. Y.	1	249	2,490.00
23614	F.L.U.	Orange, Va.	1	219	2,190.00
24472	F.L.U.	Sunbury, Pa.	7	82	5,740.00
24680	F.L.U.	Lynn, Mass.	6	16	960.00
24775	F.L.U.	Binghamton, N. Y.	3	34+	1,030.00
24778	F.L.U.	Kendallville, Ind.	1	39	390.00
Amount Appropriated for Assistance to Members of Striking Unions					
18267	Arch. Met. Wkrs. U.	Cleveland, Ohio			500.00
24315	F.L.U.	Canton, Ohio			1,000.00
Total Expenses					$ 19,220.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in Defense Fund June 30, 1953		$502,514.38
Transfer to A. F. of L. Trustee Building Fund		50,000.00
Balance Defense Fund		$452,514.38
Receipts for 12 months ending June 30, 1954		184,306.24
Total		$636,820.62
Strike benefits	$17,720.00	
Assistance to Members of Striking Unions	1,500.00	19,220.00
Balance in Defense Fund for federal labor unions June 30, 1954		$617,600.62

STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF THE SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ALSO A STATEMENT OF THE FUNDS ON HAND JUNE 30, 1954

Months	*Receipts*	*Expenses*
July, 1953	$ 385,074.51	$ 383,426.92
August, 1953	432,851.57	379,199.90
September, 1953	501,592.86	306.116.62
October, 1953	445,996.67	439,038.25
November, 1953	413,786.01	451,252.13
December, 1953	501,220.24	509,133.75
January, 1954	462,400.61	432,532.07
February, 1954	436,054.32	499,876.09
March, 1954	506,033.79	502,781.90
April, 1954	475,485.08	559,916.83
May, 1954	425,399.05	536,222.82
June, 1954	597,066.06	488,774.70
Total	$5,582,960.77	$5,488,271.98
Balance in hands of Secretary-Treasurer June 30, 1953	1,520,858.01	
Grand Total	$7,103,818.78	

RECAPITULATION

Total Receipts, including Balance	$7,103,818.78	
Total Expenses	5,488,271.98	
Balance on hand June 30, 1954	$1,615,546.80	
Monies deposited and invested as follows:		
U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, 2½%		$ 300,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2¾%, Series B, 1975-80, Maturity Value, $200,000.00		198,452.53
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½%, Issue of 1963-68, Maturity Value, $300,000.00		295,396.27
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) 700 shares		15,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Subject to check)		2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., New York (Savings Account)		10,000.00
City Bank (Subject to check)		100,000.00

City Bank (Savings Account)	$ 10,000.00
Brotherhood State Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Savings Account)	20,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check)	10,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Savings Account)	25,000.00
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	629.698.00
Total June 30, 1954	$1,615,546.80

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending June 30, 1954, there have been issued 41 charters to Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions, of this number 29 were issued to Federal Labor Unions and 12 were issued to Central Labor Unions, as follows:

Central Labor Unions

CONNECTICUT
Bristol
KENTUCKY
Danville
Bowling Green
MAINE
Augusta
MICHIGAN
Cadillac
MINNESOTA
Two Harbors
MISSOURI
Columbia
OHIO
Chillicothe
OREGON
Newport
WEST VIRGINIA
Tri-City Central Labor Council, Berkeley, Jefferson and Morgan Counties.
WISCONSIN
Oconto
WYOMING
Rawlins

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

	1953-1954
Central Labor Unions	12
Federal Labor Unions	29
	41

Directly Chartered Federal Labor Unions

On June 30, 1954 we had 900 federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 183,531 and a defense fund of $617,600.62.

The Federation has approximately 858 volunteer organizers, as well as 127 paid organizers and the officers of the 829 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of $184,306.24, initiation fees, $50,119.41, and reinstatement fees, $1,255.52.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 9; reinstated, 3; merged 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 4; suspended, 9; joined national and international organizations, 18; reinstated, 3; merged 1.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 8; suspended, 9; joined national and international organizations, 17; reinstated, 4; merged 3.

INTERNATIONALS: Merged, 1. Blacksmiths merged with Boilermakers; revoked, 1. International Longshoremen's Association.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP of AFFILIATED UNIONS

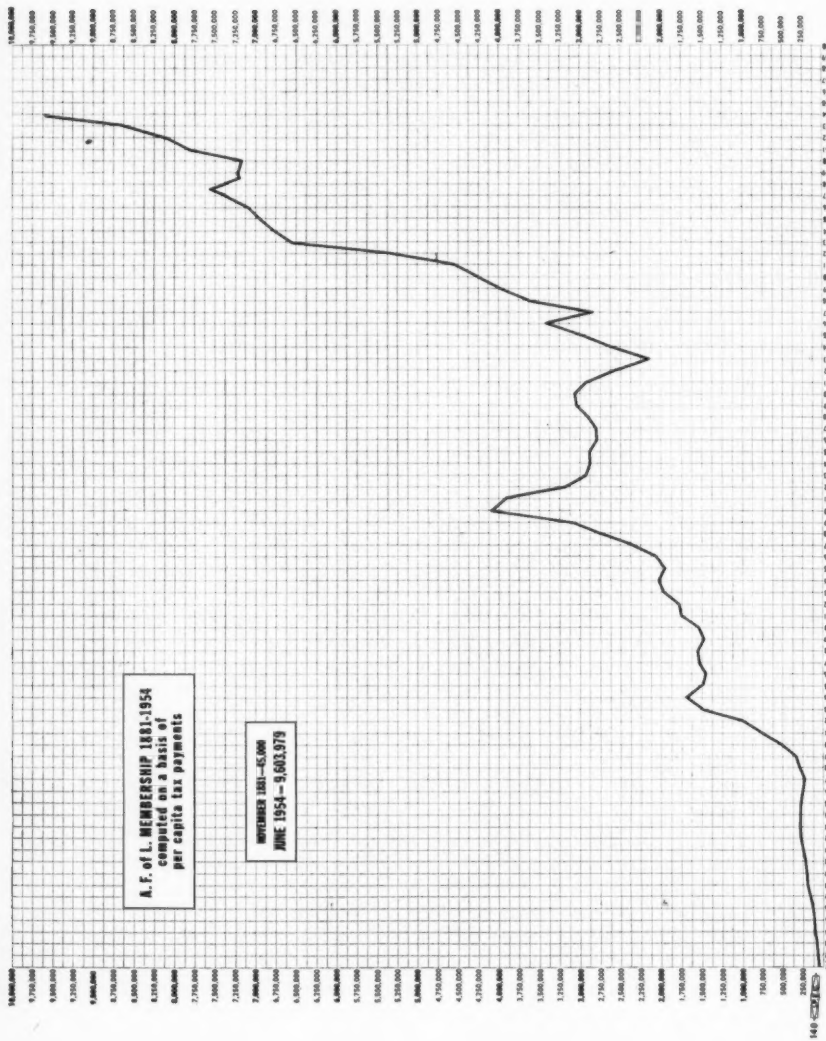
The total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions as of June 30, 1954, is 9,603,979.

This is based on actual per capita tax received at our office in Washington from our affiliated unions.

The following is the yearly membership in the past 58 years:

Year	*Membership*	*Year*	*Membership*
1897	264,825	1926	2,803,966
1898	278,016	1927	2,812,526
1899	349,422	1928	2,896,063
1900	548,321	1929	2,933,545
1901	787,537	1930	2,961,096
1902	1,024,399	1931	2,889,550
1903	1,465,800	1982	2,532,261
1904	1,576,200	1933	2,126,796
1905	1,494,300	1934	2,608,011
1906	1,454,200	1935	3,045,347
1907	1,538,970	1936	3,422,398
1908	1,586,885	1937	2,860,933
1909	1,482,872	1938	3,623,087
1910	1,562,112	1939	4,006,354
1911	1,761,835	1940	4,247,443
1912	1,770,145	1941	4,569,056
1913	1,996,004	1942	5,482,581
1914	2,020,671	1943	6,564,141
1915	1,946,347	1944	6,806,913
1916	2,072,702	1945	6,931,221
1917	2,371,434	1946	7,151,808
1918	2,726,478	1947	7,577,716
1919	3,260,068	1948	7,220,531
1920	4,078,740	1949	7,241,290
1921	3,906,528	1950	7,142,603
1922	3,195,635	1951	7,846,245
1923	2,926,468	1952	8,098,302
1924	2,865,799	1953	8,654,921
1925	2,877,297	1954	9,603,979

So that the delegates and membership at large may visualize the membership record at a glance, a chart follows indicating the membership, based on per capita tax payments received for each year since 1881 up to and including 1954—a total of 74 years.


A. F. of L. MEMBERSHIP 1881-1954
computed on a basis of
per capita tax payments
NOVEMBER 1881—65,000
JUNE 1954—9,603,979

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1944, up to and including 1954. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1944	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Actors Associated & Artists of America	160	237	360	297	392	352	362	300	339	325
Agricultural Workers	.....	7	104	104	71	87	108	53	83	70
Aluminum Workers Intl. Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	38	189
Asbestos Workers' Int'l Association of Heat and Frost Insulators	40	40	40	47	57	60	60	60	60	75
Automobile Workers of America Intl. Union United	507	431	549	586	542	523	681	695	741	771
Bakery & Confectionery Workers I. U. of A.	897	1.107	1.228	1.228	1.326	1.398	1.350	1.337	1.369	1.347
Barbers' International Union Jour.	500	503	558	586	600	619	628	630	650	642
Bill Posters	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Blacksmiths Intl. Brotherhood of	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	*C*
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	3.369	2.417	1.667	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.506
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	400	400	467	500	500	500	500	440	400	400
Bookbinders Intl. Brotherhood of	289	362	434	473	475	455	443	440	440	491
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	100	122	206	230	230	230	230	230	230	242
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers I.U.A.	650	650	650	650	650	650	883	1.000	1.000	1.234
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wrks. Intl. Asso.	1.056	923	972	1.042	1.054	1.015	1.079	1.227	1.297	1.352
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union Intl.	3	4	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4
Building Serv. Employees' Intl. Union	700	1.202	1.447	1.580	1.616	1.767	1.815	1.915	1.963	1.975
Carpenters and Joiners United Bro. of	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	7.500
Carmen of A. Bro. Railway	958	1.008	1.087	1.070	1.116	1.048	1.067	1.146	1.171	1.209
Chemical Workers	.....	413	509	587	611	613	695	759	842	910
Cigarmakers' International Union	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	94
Cleaning and Dye House Workers	171	176	183	184	184	195	200	200	200	175
Clerks Intl. Assn. Retail	1.000	1.196	1.637	1.854	2.025	2.050	2.050	2.095	2.312	2.465
Clerks Post Office Nat'l Federation of	400	458	540	685	790	880	880	880	940	1.051
Clerks Bro. of Rwy.	2.042	2.292	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.500	2.625	2.935
Cement Lime & Gypsum Wkrs.	180	204	286	328	319	331	350	340	337	349
Coopers' International Union	50	50	68	68	60	48	49	50	37	34
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	6	6	6	8	7	5	5	4	4	3
Doll & Toy Workers Int'l Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	119
Dispatchers Assn. Airline	.....	.....	2	5	5	6	5	5	6	6
Distillery Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union	100	100	100	100	250	250	250	250	250	252
Electrical Wkrs. Intl. Bro.	3.129	3.300	3.300	3.300	3.300	3.300	3.300	3.300	3.458	4.596
Elevator Constructors	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
S-Engineers Amn. Fed. of Technical	71	62	57	53	59	54	68	87	91	101
Engineers Intl. Union of Operating	1.000	1.083	1.250	1.292	1.500	1.500	1.604	2.000	2.000	2.000
Engineers Intl. Assn. Flight	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	6	6	7	10	12
*Engravers Intl. Union Metal	†	†	†	†	†	4	5	5	5	5
Engravers Union of N.A. Intl. Photo	109	116	121	125	128	131	134	141	148	153
Fire Fighters Intl. Assn. of	405	455	475	541	548	628	569	610	683	664
Firemen and Oilers Intl. Bro. of	527	581	586	580	580	580	580	580	580	591
Garment Wkrs. of America United	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400
Garment Workers Intl. Ladies	2.375	2.500	3.125	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.500	3.728
Glass Cutters League of A. Window	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. and Canada	240	286	350	360	360	360	380	423	442	447
Glass Workers American Flint	256	291	327	313	284	282	310	298	320	292
Glove Workers	31	33	36	36	31	30	30	30	30	30
Gov't. Employees Am. Fed. of	268	325	305	288	432	524	459	521	544	492
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A. The	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Hatters Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union United	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320	320
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	3.331	2.417	2.587	2.675	2.675	2.822	2.975	3.141	3.350	3.704
Horseshoers of U. S. and Canada	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	3
Hotel and Rest. Employees etc.	2.245	2.873	3.656	3.806	3.813	3.181	1.754	1.476	2.022	2.958
Hosiery Workers American Fed. of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25	292	227	205
Insurance Agents Intl. Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	31	99	118	120
Jewelry Workers' International	69	93	125	128	125	150	169	159	171	172
Lathers Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	81	81	81	84	99	120	120	142	150	146
Laundry Wkrs. Intl. Union	500	500	517	600	600	600	683	700	700	720
Leather Wkrs. Intl. Union United	28	40	35	30	33	33	*A*	*A*	*A*	*A*
Letter Carriers National Asso. of	600	608	650	650	725	800	892	900	900	983
Letter Carriers Nat. Fed. of Rural	4	5	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	137	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Longshoremen's Int'l A. F. of L.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10
Longshoremen's Association Intl.	610	690	735	706	571	595	656	614	642	*D*
*Machinists Intl. Association of	6.659	†	†	†	†	†	3.384	5.275	5.500	6.479
Maintenance of Way Emps. I. B. of	1.169	1.441	1.563	1.554	1.613	1.522	1.383	1.586	1.661	1.864
Marble Polishers etc. Intl. Asso. of	45	45	45	45	45	52	55	55	55	56

ORGANIZATIONS	1944	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Masters Mates and Pilots	30	43	48	50	77	90	90	90	90	94
Master Mech's. and Foremen of Navy Yds. & Naval Sta's Nat'l Asso. of	3	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Messengers Spec. Del. Nat'l Asso.	9	12	18	20	20	20	20	20	20	20
Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen	1.005	1.269	1.552	1.646	1.652	1.769	1.867	2.052	2.139	2.412
Metal Workers' Intl. Asso. Sheet	250	250	250	297	320	320	320	320	320	380
Millers American Fed. of Grain	.....	.....	.....	14	279	303	307	318	309	306
Mine Workers of America United	*D*	4.000	6.000	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Mine Wkrs. of A. Intl. Progressive	350	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Molders Union of N. A. Intl.	657	678	683	650	650	650	650	650	650	650
Musicians American Fed. of	1.000	1.000	1.754	2.281	2.354	2.386	2.395	2.402	2.418	2.458
Office Employees	.....	205	240	262	262	279	289	348	394	428
Painters of America Bro. of	1.397	1.536	1.702	1.733	1.757	1.716	1.762	1.843	1.862	1.849
Patrolmen's Intl. Union Railway	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	26	23	28	28	29
Papermakers United Bro. of	344	400	400	400	400	400	400	530	550	584
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110	110
Pilot Assn. Air Line (Intl.)	27	45	56	60	61	61	64	66	79	84
Plasterers Intl. Asso. of U.S. & C. Oper.	250	250	250	250	297	320	373	400	500	586
Plumbers Steamfitters etc.	1.300	2.000	1.667	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.500	1.625	2.000
Polishers Intl. Union of Metal	100	117	167	180	160	150	150	153	160	167
Porters Bro. Sleeping Car	90	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Handbag & Novelty Workers	150	150	150	154	217	250	250	250	250	243
Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers National Association	15	15	17	15	15	15	15	13	12	12
Postal Transport Assoc.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	217
Potters National Bro. of Operative	215	215	215	215	215	291	284	276	258	246
Printing Pressmen International	493	634	703	743	753	794	794	794	794	826
Printers' Die Stampers' & Eng. Union of N. A. Intl. Plate	11	15	13	12	11	11	11	11	10	8
National Postal Transport Assn	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	217
Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Wkrs.	613	772	1.000	1.067	1.142	1.187	1.258	1.349	1.360	1.432
Radio Directors Guild	.....	.....	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	8
Railway Employees Amal. S. & E.	1.048	1.145	1.150	1.183	1.200	1.200	1.200	1.200	1.200	1.333
E.-Railway Mail Association	218	227	247	253	267	271	264	160	160	*E*
Roofers Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United Slate Tile & Comp.	80	86	107	150	120	120	120	124	129	163
Seafarers Intl. Union of N. A.	300	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	450	443
Siderographers Intl. Assn. of	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
*Signalmen of A. Bro. Railroad	.....	.....	107	127	128	125	130	142	146	160
State County & Municipal Emp.	460	670	883	783	750	792	809	781	833	913
Spinner Union Intl.	5	5	5	5	5	†	†	†	†	†
Stage Employees Intl. Alliance Theatrical	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420	420
Stereotypers & Electro. of U. of A.	88	93	100	104	106	109	108	113	116	118
Stonecutters Asso. Journeymen	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19	19
Stove Mounters' Intl. Union	80	100	100	100	87	79	122	120	122	117
Supervisors etc.	.....	16	126	136	106	96	89	111	101	117
Switchmen's Union of N. A.	93	92	89	93	88	81	101	131	122	114
Teachers Am. Fed. of	252	306	348	400	358	350	333	390	406	400
Teamsters Chauf. etc. Intl. Bro. of	6.292	6.250	6.250	6.250	6.250	6.250	6.250	6.500	6.500	11.619
Telegraphers Commercial	187	248	328	350	367	354	350	350	350	302
Telegraphers Order of Railroad	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300	300
Textile Workers of Amer. United	372	500	600	600	600	600	675	900	571	533
Tobacco Wkrs. Intl. Union of Amer.	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	220	272
Typographical Union Intl.	53	640	640	640	640	640	650	700	700	753
Upholsterers Intl. Union of	250	250	277	420	480	480	480	500	500	521
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.	28	27	40	36	29	25	26	20	24	16
Wire Weavers' Protective Amer.	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4
Yardmasters of America Railroad	.....	.....	29	35	35	35	35	35	35	37
Centrals	749	767	786	808	811	804	819	821	828	829
State Branches	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Directly affiliated Federal labor unions	3.633	2.617	2.923	2.601	2.326	2.360	2.123	2.390	2.158	2.098
Total vote of Unions	68.184	68.552	76.331	72.286	73.589	73.949	77.052	81.672	83.855	96.057

†Suspended. *A*-Merged with Meat Cutters.
*Reinstated. *B*-Title changed from Draftsmen's to Engineers Amn. Fed. of Technical.
f Amalgamated with Natl. Assn. of Letter Carriers.
C-Merged with Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.
D-Charter revoked.
E-Title changed to National Postal Transport Assn.

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including June 30, 1954	$136,375.30
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including June 30, 1954	127,456.07
Balance on hand June 30, 1954	$8,919.23
Funds deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank checking account	$8,919.23
Balance on hand June 30, 1954	$8,919.23

WILLIAM GREEN MEMORIAL FUND

Since the formation of the William Green Memorial Fund by the 1953 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a most favorable response has been received from our affiliates.

The following table shows the total receipts that were received as of June 30, 1954.

Some international unions have sent in a check equivalent to their per capita membership for the entire year. Others are making their contributions monthly equivalent to their membership, while others have been making their contributions quarterly.

In addition to the contributions received from international unions, we are receiving contributions for the William Green Memorial Fund from local unions of affiliated international unions, Federal Labor Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Councils.

Total Receipts: September 10, 1953 to and Including June 30, 1954	$345,219.21
Total Expenses: September 10, 1953 to and including June 30, 1954	0.00
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$345,219.21
Fund Invested as Follows:	
Riggs National Bank: Checking Account	$245,219.21
First Commercial Bank, Chicago, Ill.: Certificate of Deposit	100,000.00
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$345,219.21

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the National and International Unions and of all our affiliated bodies, and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,



Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDINGS

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending June 30, 1954:

RECEIPTS

Cash balance on hand June 30, 1953		$2,727.87
Rents—901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.	$57,218.60	
Sale of waste paper	94.94	
Sale of awnings	127.50	
Refund—Insurance	268.14	
Rents—1525 H Street, N. W.	4,750.00	
Receipts	$62,459.18	
Transfer from Defense Fund	50,000.00	
Total receipts		112,459.18
Receipts and balance		$115,187.05

EXPENSES

Maintenance—901 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.:		
Payroll (Building Employes)	$46,170.10	
Taxes	3,683.60	
Electricity	4,959.18	
Fuel (Coal)	1,400.54	
Supplies	2,620.03	
Plastering and painting	2,519.55	
Cleaning windows	540.00	
Upkeep and repairs	13,932.80	
Upkeep and repair of elevators	2,233.24	
Hauling ashes and trash	300.00	
Water rent	106.70	
A. F. of L. Employes' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund	1,354.14	
Social Security (F.I.C.A.)	658.39	
Total		$80,478.27
Maintenance—1525 H Street, N. W.:		
Payroll (Building Employes)	$2,808.00	
Gas	649.92	

Trash removal	$ 160.00	
Telephone service	91.84	
Fire insurance	231.74	
Electricity	568.01	
Supplies	31.16	
Cleaning windows	175.00	
Taxes	16,108.04	
Water rent	53.87	
Upkeep and repairs	210.26	
Total		$21,087.84
Total expenses		$101,566.11
Balance on hand June 30, 1954		$13,620.94

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance	$115,187.05
Expenses	101,566.11
Balance on hand June 30, 1954	$13,620.94

Monies deposited as follows:

Riggs National Bank	$13,620.94

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Buildings is submitted to you, the Executive Council, and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,
WM. F. SCHNITZLER,
GEORGE MEANY,
JOHN P. FREY,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Buildings.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES

American Federation of Labor Employes' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund

For the Period July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, July 1, 1953		$492,951.06
A. F. of L. weekly contributions	$21,847.38	
Employes' weekly contributions	21,847.38	
Interest on U. S. Treasury Bonds	12,750.00	
Total receipts		56,444.76
Total receipts and balance		$549,395.82

DISBURSEMENTS

Benefits paid	$2,546.24	
Withdrawals paid	3,539.82	
Death Benefits paid	913.89	
Total disbursements		6,999.95
Balance on hand, June 30, 1954		$542,395.87

ALLOCATION OF INTEREST

Investment Earnings Clearing Account

Balance on hand, July 1, 1953		$6,029.01
Receipts—July 1 to December 31, 1953		6,216.30
Excess Interest on withdrawals		57.97
Total		$12,303.28
Less: Allocations made December 31, 1953:		
To Prior Service Liabilities	$7,250.76	
To Federation Accumulations	2,210.70	
To Members Accumulations	1,801.49	
To Annuity Reserve	917.70	$12,180.65
Balance		$122.63
Receipts—January 1 to June 30, 1954		6,533.70
Excess Interest on Withdrawals		46.79
Balance, June 30, 1954		$6,703.12

BALANCE SHEET

For the Period July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954

ASSETS

Investments	$542,000.00
Cash	395.87
Total	$542,395.87

LIABILITIES AND INCOME

Prior Service Liability	$285,037.30
Federation Accumulations	109,592.60
Members Accumulations	89,855.01
Annuity Reserve	51,207.84
Investment Earnings Clearing	6,703.12
Total	$542,395.87

GEORGE MEANY,
WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,
E. LOGAN KIMMEL,
Trustees, American Federation of Labor, Employes' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund.

CHANGE OF TITLE

National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America

At the meeting of the Executive Council held at New York, N. Y., on August 9, 1954, consideration was given to the request of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America for approval of a change of title of the organization to "International Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America." The request for change of title of the organization was granted by the Executive Council with the understanding that this change in no way alters the jurisdiction already granted this organization.

International Longshoremen's Association, A. F. of L.

At the meeting of the Executive Council held at New York, N. Y., on August 9, 1954, consideration was given to the request of the International Longshoremen's Association, A. F. of L. for approval of a change of title to the organization to "International Brotherhood of Longshoremen." The request for change of title of the organization was granted by the Executive Council with the understanding that this change in no way alters the jurisdiction already granted this organization.

DEATH OF WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON

The American Federation of Labor sustained a great loss during the past year as the result of the death of William L. Hutcheson, a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and President Emeritus of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America who passed away on October 20, 1953.

Brother Hutcheson served as President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, one of the oldest unions in the nation, from 1915 until 1951, when he retired with the title of President Emeritus.

Brother Hutcheson will long be remembered as a pioneer and a guiding light in the development of the American labor movement. Under his leadership, the Carpenters' Union grew in membership to an all-time high and gained substantial benefits in wages and working conditions for its members. Through his keen interest and activity in the building trades, he helped to build up standards and to strengthen and stabilize labor conditions in the construction industry. His leadership and wisdom will be missed not only by his own membership but also by those with whom he was associated for many years.

NEW AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS BUILDING

The A. F. of L. Building Committee met on June 8, 1954, to examine the bids that were submitted by the general contractors who were invited to bid on the construction of the new A. F. of L. Building. After carefully considering every bid that was submitted, it was decided that the George A. Fuller Company would be engaged as the general contractor to erect the new A. F. of L. Building under management contract arrangement.

Four resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Executive Council in its meeting on May 18, 1954:

The first resolution follows:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been authorized by the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in St. Louis, Mo., beginning September 21, 1953, to exchange with St. John's Church certain real estate together with improvements thereon, situated in the city of Washington, D. C., in order to provide a suitable site for a headquarters building for the American Federation of Labor: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That George Meany, President of the American Federation of Labor, be authorized and empowered to enter into and execute on behalf of the American Federation of Labor a contract with the Vestry of St. John's Parish, Washington, D. C., for the sale by the American Federation of Labor to the Vestry of St. John's Parish of part of lots 2 and 3 of square 200 (containing approximately 8,447.88 square feet) including improvements thereon, fronting 100 feet on H Street, N. W., in the District of Columbia, such parcel being more particularly described in a further Resolution of the Executive Council to be adopted, and for the purchase by the American Federation of Labor from the Vestry of St. John's Parish of part of original lot 8 in square 200 (containing approximately 4,227 square feet) and including improvements thereon, fronting 56.36 feet on 16th Street, N. W., in the District of Columbia, also more particularly described in the Resolution of the Executive Council hereinbefore referred to, to be adopted, such contract to provide for the payment by the Vestry of St. John's Parish to the American Federation of Labor of a sum of money to be computed on the basis of the difference in the above described areas at a price per square foot price paid by the American Federation of Labor in the acquisition of its property in 1947.

The second Resolution is as follows:

Resolved, That this Executive Council does accept the offer of The Vestry of St. John's Parish to exchange the following described property, situated in the District of Columbia, standing in the names of William Green, George Meany and John P. Frey, as Trustees of American Federation of Labor, under a certain deed in trust dated July 2, 1947, and recorded in Liber 8530 folio 133 of the Land Records of the District of Columbia, namely:

Parts of original lots 2 and 3 in square 200, described by metes and bounds as follows: Beginning at the Southwest corner of said original lot 3, thence East along the North line of H Street, 100 feet to the Southeast corner of said original lot 2, 84.75 feet, thence West parallel with said North line of H Street, 100 feet to the West line of said original lot 3, thence South along said West line, 84.75 feet to the beginning.

For certain other property in the said District owned by said Vestry of St. John's Parish, namely:

Part of original lot 8 in said square 200, described as follows: Beginning for the same at a point in the East line of 16th Street at the Southwest corner of said lot, and running thence North along said East line, 56 feet, 1 inch to the Northwest corner of said lot, thence East 50 feet, thence South 28 feet, ½ inch, thence East 50 feet, thence South 28 feet, ½ inch to the South line of said lot, thence West along said South line 100 feet to the place of beginning. (Taxed as lots 804 and 805 in square 200);

The said The Vestry of St. John's Parish to pay to the American

Federation of Labor a sum of money equal to the difference in the value of said properties determined on the basis of the cost per square foot of said property owned by the American Federation of Labor when acquired in 1947; and be it further

Resolved, That upon compliance by said The Vestry of St. John's Parish with the terms of said offer, George Meany and John P. Frey as surviving trustees of American Federation of Labor under said above mentioned deed in trust, in exercise of the power conferred upon them by said deed in trust, are hereby authorized and directed to convey the above described parcel of land to the said The Vestry of St. John's Parish, to the said George Meany, President of the said American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and directed to affix his signature as President of the American Federation of Labor to said deed, in evidence of this direction; and it is further

Resolved, That the above described parcel of land to be conveyed by The Vestry of St. John's Parish shall be conveyed to George Meany, William F. Schnitzler and John P. Frey, as trustees, and they are hereby appointed, selected, designated and authorized as trustees to receive and accept said parcel of land and premises in fee simple, as trustees for the American Federation of Labor, and to have and to hold said parcel of land and premises in fee simple as trustees for the American Federation of Labor in and upon the following uses and trusts, namely:

First, to hold said property for the exclusive use and benefit of the American Federation of Labor; Second, in further trust that the said trustees or their or his duly appointed successors or successor in trust shall sell or encumber said parcel of land and premises or any part thereof, and shall convey the same in fee simple or by way of deed of trust or mortgage or otherwise, as the Executive Council of said American Federation of Labor shall by resolution order and direct, such authorization for such sale and conveyance or mortgage shall be sufficiently evidenced by a duly certified copy of such resolution being attached to any deed, deed of trust, mortgage or other conveyance, without liability on the part of the purchaser or mortgagee to see to the application of the purchase money or motgagee to see to the application of the purchase money or money lent; and third; that the irrevocable power to appoint a substitute trustee or trustees under said deed in trust, is hereby expressly granted to the said Executive Council, to be exercised at any time hereafter, without notice and without specifying any reason therefor, by filing for record in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, a deed or declaration of appointment, the said power of appointment of successor trustee or trustees to be exercised as often and whenever the said Executive Council deems it advisable, and the said exercise of said power of appointment, no matter how often, shall not be an exhaustion thereof, and upon record of such deed or deeds of appointment, the trustees or trustee so appointed shall thereupon without any further act or deed or conveyance, become fully vested with identically the same title and estate in and to the said land and premises and property, and with all the rights, powers, trusts and duties of their or his predecessor in trust, and like effect as if originally named as trustees or as one of the trustees under said deed in trust; and be it further

Resolved, That when the above described parcel of land shall have been conveyed by said The Vestry of St. John's Parish to the three above mentioned trustees, (namely, the said George Meany, William F. Schnitzler and John P. Frey), the said George Meany and John P. Frey as surviving trustees of American Federation of Labor under said deed in trust recorded in Liber 8530 folio 133 of said land records, shall thereupon forthwith convey the remainder of the real estate conveyed to them by said deed in trust unto the said three above-named

trustees, in and upon the same trusts and for the same uses and purposes as are set forth in said deed from the said The Vestry of St. John's Parish to them.

The third Resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS provision has been made by a resolution of the Executive Council for the exchange of certain real estate together with improvements thereon, situated in Washington, D. C., providing a suitable site upon which to construct a new headquarters building for the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

Resolved, That George Meany, Chairman, Harry Bates, Daniel Tracy, William C. Doherty, William F. Schnitzler, Maurice Hutcheson and Richard J. Gray, members of the building committee of the American Federation of Labor, or a majority of them, are hereby authorized and empowered for and on behalf of the American Federation of Labor to enter into and execute any and all contracts and instruments necessary or appropriate to accomplish the construction and completion of said headquarters building and to expend such funds of the American Federation of Labor as may be necessary or appropriate for the construction and completion of such headquarters building and all things necessary and incident to such construction, and in such amounts as may, from time to time, be authorized by the Executive Council, and

In addition, that said building committee or a majority of them are hereby authorized and empowered to provide for the financing of such construction by the American Federation of Labor in the manner substantially as provided in the report of the Executive Council to the last Convention of the American Federation of Labor or otherwise as may hereafter be provided by the Executive Council, and

That in case any member of the building committee named herein should become unable to serve in that capacity or should a vacancy accur by reason of resignation, death or other cause the Executive Council may appoint a new member or members to fill such vacancy or vacancies and the Executive Council may at any time remove any member or members and appoint new members in its discretion, and

That the members of the building committee provided herein shall not be personally responsible for actions taken in good faith hereunder and shall receive no compensation for their services as such.

The fourth Resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION

Resolved, By the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the Building Committee of the American Federation of Labor is hereby initially authorized to expend from appropriate funds of the American Federation of Labor the sum of two hundred fifty thousand dollars ($250,000) for the purpose of construction of the headquarters building and all things necessary and incidental thereto, and the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor are hereby authorized to pay such amounts.

On May 27, President Meany for the American Federation of Labor, and Dr. Leslie Glenn, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, and Eliot Wadsworth, representing the vestrymen of the church, signed legal documents transferring the historic Ashburton House at 1525 H Street, N. W., to the church in exchange for two lots at 819 and 821 16th Street, N. W., which will form part of the site of the new headquarters building of the A. F. of L.

On June 10, 1954, St. John's Episcopal Church, paid to the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor $139,962.07, which completed the arrangements made in connection with the transfer of property.

Demolition of the structures on the building site was started on August 19, 1954, and ground breaking ceremonies took place August 27, 1954, with President George Meany digging the first shovel of ground for excavation.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

The Executive Council was empowered by the 1953 convention to select representatives to serve as Fraternal Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Accordingly, upon receipt of an official invitation from the British Trades Union Congress to send two representatives to attend the 1954 Congress at Brighton, England, September 6 to 10, the Executive Council selected Brother Paul Phillips, President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and Brother James A. Suffridge, Secretary-Treasurer, Retail Clerks' International Association, to represent the American Federation of Labor as Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

In response to an invitation from the officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to send a representative to the Sixty-fourth Annual Convention of that organization, which met in Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada, August 23 to 28, Brother R. G. Soderstrom, President, Illinois State Federation of Labor, was designated to represent the American Federation of Labor as Fraternal Delegate to the Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress.

REPORT ON REVISION OF CONSTITUTION

Last year's convention requested that the Executive Council make a careful study of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of clarification and modernization and present its findings and recommendations to the 1954 Convention. Pursuant to such request, the Executive Council has undertaken such a study, acting with the advice and assistance of the Office of the General Counsel. This study has revealed a number of respects in which the constitution could well be revised, particularly in respect to the functioning and operation of Federal Labor Unions, National Councils, Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor, and as respects relationships of such subordinate bodies to the American Federation of Labor and the disciplinary powers of the American Federation of Labor regarding such bodies. In other additional respects various sections of the constitution were found to be somewhat antiquated and in need of clarification. Because of the obvious significance and importance that will attach to any revisions, and because of the necessity that any change in language will achieve precisely the desired results, the Council has proceeded with great care in considering new or revised sections. Since State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, National Councils and Federal Labor Unions will be particularly affected by changes which appear advisable,

and since such changes are numerous, the Executive Council has concluded it might be well that committees representative of such bodies be consulted concerning such revisions prior to their submission to the Convention. Furthermore, since it appears that the desired and necessary changes will be more numerous than originally contemplated, it is suggested that additional time be spent in studying and preparing exact language of suggested changes so as to insure that very careful consideration has been given to any and all proposals before they are actually submitted to the Convention for action.

Accordingly, it is recommended that such continued studies be made and that the Executive Council be authorized to appoint and consult with the above-mentioned committees, to the end that a working draft of suggested constitutional changes be prepared by the Executive Council for submission to the delegates of the 1955 convention for consideration and action.

ANNUAL AUDITING FOR ALL LOCAL TRADE OR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

To provide proper audit procedures for all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions, it is recommended that an Auditing Department be created by the American Federation of Labor that will be charged with the responsibility of making an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions; including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan, of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and such audits may be made at more frequent intervals as is determined necessary by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, in order to accomplish this. The following additional section to appear under Article VII of the constitution is presented for consideration.

The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, with the assistance of an auditing department or otherwise, to make an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions, including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan, of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and may make such audit at more frequent intervals at his discretion. Officers and representatives of Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions having the same shall be required to turn over to the Secretary-Treasurer or his duly authorized representative all books, records, accounts and information necessary to make any such audit. If such audit reveals that any financial irregularities have taken place, or that any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union has more members than it is paying per capita tax upon, then the President shall be authorized to take appropriate proceedings under Section 6, Article VI, to discipline for or remedy the same.

FIDELITY BOND COVERAGE FOR LOCAL TRADE OR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Every effort has been made to provide adequate Fidelity Bond coverage for all financial officers of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions

and in order to improve Fidelity Bond coverage, it is recommended that the American Federation of Labor secure a blanket type Fidelity Bond to adequately cover all financial officers of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions to be paid for by the American Federation of Labor.

Each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be required to obtain a blanket bond covering such of its officers and representatives who handle any of its funds or assets. Such bond shall be obtained through the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor who shall have the duty to ascertain and prescribe that the blanket bonds thus obtained are in amounts sufficient to afford reasonable protection. The costs and charges for such bonds shall be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS PER CAPITA TAX

Increasing costs in the organizing and servicing of our Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions makes it necessary to increase their per capita tax payments to the American Federation of Labor so that sufficient revenue is received to cover the expenditures made in their behalf. In view of this the following revision to Article X, Section 1, is presented for consideration.

The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of four (4) cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions sixty (60) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiiliated local unions shall be one dollar ($1); from Central and State Bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention or when derived in accordance with the provisions of Section 1, Article XII.

INITIATION FEES FROM LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNION MEMBERS

Misunderstandings rising out of the present method of remittance of initiation fees to the American Federation of Labor by Local Trade and Federal Labor Union members should be eliminated. Therefore, it is recommended that each Federal Labor Union remit $1 to the American Federation of Labor as its initiation fee for all new applicants in Federal Labor Unions. The following is submitted to change Article XIII, Section 14 to clarify the remittance of initiation fees.

That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than $2 nor more than $15,

and that $1 of such initiation fee shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax; accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for; on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar ($1) for reinstatement stamp.

MINIMUM DUES FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

Federal Labor Unions have found it difficult to continue normally practiced trade union operations because the dues payments received from their membership were not adequate. Therefore, it is recommended that the minimum dues charged by Federal Labor Unions should be $2 per member per month. It is recommended that Article XIII, Section 12, read as follows:

Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall require their members to pay dues of not less than two dollars ($2) per month. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than two dollars ($2) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF LONGSHOREMEN—A. F. OF L.

As a result of actions taken by the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a new Longshoremen's International Union—A. F. of L. is now established.

The new union held its first constitutional convention in Chicago. July 26, 27 and 28, 1954, and adopted that their International Union be named "International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—A.F.L." At the time the convention was called, it had issued charters to 193 local unions with 9,023 per capita members.

It is growing steadily in strength, and its influence and prestige will expand as its membership increases.

AFL Assistance to New International

The American Federation of Labor contributed manpower and funds to assist in establishing this new International Union in accordance

with the policy declarations and intentions of the 72nd Convention.

That Convention on September 22, 1953, revoked the charter of the old International Longshoremen's Association for its failure to comply with the Executive Council's directives to rid itself of racketeers and underworld elements which had attached themselves to the union, rendering it helpless to provide trade union protection for the longshoremen exploited by these evil interests and greedy employers.

On September 24, 1953, the Convention issued a new Longshoremen's International charter under the supervision of a Board of Trustees composed of President Meany, Chairman; Vice-Presidents Doherty, Beck and Hayes; and Paul Hall, Secretary-Treasurer of the Atlantic and Gulf Coast Districts of the Seafarers International Union. Larry W. Long, of St. Louis, was appointed Acting Chairman and E. L. Slaughter, of Duluth, Minnesota, Acting Secretary.

Return of Locals outside of New York

Almost immediately, local unions of the old ILA in the Great Lakes and Pacific Coast Districts voted to return to the American Federation of Labor. Their switch was virtually completed within thirty days after conclusion of the 72nd Convention, giving the new International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—A.F.L. approximately 100 locals and 5,600 dues paying members.

Additional local unions of the old ILA returned to the American Federation of Labor during the year, among them two in Philadelphia, one each in Trenton, New Jersey; Bridgeport, Connecticut; Poughkeepsie, New York, in the Atlantic Coast District, and 43 in the South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District.

Other old ILA local unions have indicated their intentions to return to the American Federation of Labor.

On January 26, 1954, the longshoremen and checkers of Puerto Rico voted in a National Labor Relations Board election by 3,570 to 1,879 for the American Federation of Labor, ousting the old ILA as their representative.

The new A. F. of L. union won NLRB representation elections and also gained recognition, among several independent employers in Brooklyn; Philadelphia, and vicinity, defeating or ousting the old ILA on each occasion.

The Situation in New York

The most dramatic developments flowing from the actions of the 72nd Convention occurred in the Port of New York.

When the Convention withdrew the American Federation of Labor charter from the racket-ridden ILA and chartered a new union, ten old ILA locals in Brooklyn and Manhattan promptly switched to the A. F. of L. Union. To head off this move before it became a landslide,

the old ILA attempted to negotiate a swift and sweetheart contract for two years with the New York Shipping Association.

Put on the spot by a demand from President Meany that the employers avoid such a deal, the New York Shipping Association did not sign before the September 30, 1953, expiration date of the old ILA contract and the old ILA then called a strike.

Immediately, the New York Shipping Association asked the White House for, and obtained, a Presidential Order for a Taft-Hartley Emergency Injunction ordering an end to the strike. Despite strenuous objections by the American Federation of Labor and a court fight, this injunction was extended to cover the A. F. of L. resulting in a hampering effect on organization efforts of the A. F. of L.

Meanwhile, a flood of membership pledge cards from individual longshoremen throughout the Port of New York poured into the American Federation of Labor headquarters. By October 8, 1953, these pledge cards had become sufficient in number for filing a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for a representation election among the longshoremen in the Port of New York and vicinity.

The American Federation of Labor petitioned for a unit of longshoremen only—estimated at 15,000 to 18,000—because they appeared to constitute a recognized legitimate bargaining unit, separate and apart from the carpenters, checkers, cargo repairmen and other crafts employed on the piers. And the A. F. of L. asked also that the old ILA be barred from the ballot as not being a bona fide labor organization because of their domination by the New York Shipping Association and racketeers.

However, the New York Shipping Association entered the case actively on the side of the old ILA in an effort to preserve their long and profitable relationships. The Shipping Association on October 22, 1953, filed a petition in opposition to the A. F. of L. requesting a bargaining unit that included not only the longshoremen but all of the harbor's crafts.

In telegrams to President Eisenhower, in public appearances before the President's Fact Finding Board on December 4, 1953, and the National Labor Relations Board panel of three members who made a special trip to New York, on December 11, 1953, the New York Shipping Association demanded that the NLRB hold an election in the unit it had requested prior to the expiration of the injunction on December 24, 1953.

First Election Ordered

On Wednesday, December 16, 1953, the NLRB issued an order which gave the New York Shipping Association exactly what it asked, setting an election for the following Tuesday and Wednesday, December 22 and 23, 1953—a "quickie" election without parallel for a group of 24,000 voters spread along 700 docks on 500 miles of waterfront.

The order was issued at the climax of an uphill campaign by the American Federation of Labor to roll back the curtain of fear spread around the longshoremen by the racketeers and against the powerful New York Shipping Association playing the old ILA game.

The A. F. of L. sought support from the longshoremen on the basis of a program to improve beyond anything yet achieved by the longshoremen, their conditions of employment, wages, vacations, pensions; to provide medical care for themselves and their families; to protect their safety on the job; and to guarantee them full exercise of free, democratic control of their local union affairs, setting policies through regular membership meetings and conducting secret ballot election for their union officers.

On those economic and trade union principles, the American Federation of Labor waged its campaign in all areas in the Port of New York.

Newspapers criticized the NLRB for its hasty election order, and editorials supporting the A. F. of L. for its courageous stand were published by the "Herald-Tribune", "The Times", "Daily News", "Daily Mirror," "Post," and "World-Telegram."

Only the Communist "Daily Worker" urged a vote for the old ILA in the December election.

In spite of the A. F. of L. efforts to dispel the fear of the longshoremen for their jobs and their personal safety, in spite of the avowed support of public opinion, the A. F. of L. campaign was a difficult inch-by-inch struggle against the organized terror and intimidation of the racketeer ILA and discriminatory firings and penalties against A. F. of L. supporters by the New York Shipping Association.

The record shows: (1) a long list of more than fifty legal actions against employers for discriminatory firings for A. F. of L. membership; and (2) an outburst of violence by old ILA members at the polls on election day when dock workers were forced into ILA-sponsored buses, in charge of ILA hiring bosses, to be harangued to vote for the old ILA enroute to the polling places, and, on December 23, 1953, when in Brooklyn three A. F. of L. supporters were stabbed near the polling place and several A. F. of L. members were severely beaten.

Although New York's major daily newspapers supported the A. F. of L. in editorials, their news columns predicted defeat for the A. F. of L. by 4 to 1 up to 10 to 1. The results rocked the nation. The A. F. of L. polled 7,568 votes out of 21,128 cast; 4,405 were challenged, and the old ILA, with 9,060, votes, less than a clear majority, failed to maintain its bargaining status.

President Meany announced promptly that the A. F. of L. would protest the election which he contended was conducted in an atmosphere of terror and violence without precedent in the history of collective bargaining elections.

Second Election Ordered

An investigation by the National Labor Relations Board's regional Director in New York, Charles T. Douds, upheld the A. F. of L. objections to the election. After hearings, the NLRB set aside the December election and ordered a new poll, which was held on May 26, 1954.

When the new NLRB election was ordered many additional longshoremen came out openly for the A. F. of L. Some racket-run locals of the old ILA completely disintegrated in some sections of the port as their members deserted their discredited leaders and came over to the A. F. of L.

The A. F. of L. campaign was complicated by a strike called by the old ILA with the support of the New York Shipping Association on March 5, 1954, to halt the growth of the A. F. of L. strength throughout the Port of New York. The strike began, like most of the others engineered by the old ILA, in Manhattan's Upper West Side domain of Harold Bowers and his Pistol Local. The strike soon gained official ILA sanction, led to the old ILA and some officials being fined a total of $92,000, and to receivership for the union. The strike ended on April 2, 1954, after the NLRB threatened to bar the old ILA from the ballot in the new election unless it halted this attempt to coerce the NLRB in its handling of the case.

The protracted and complicated battle created an aftermath, adverse to the A. F. of L. While the A. F. of L. gained 16 per cent in its total vote in the May 26, 1954, election, it was not enough to overcome the hardcore support of the racketeer ILA—helped by the employers and the Communists.

The old ILA failed for a second time to win a majority on the first count and the decision depended upon challenged ballots. The A. F. of L. received 8,791 votes of the 19,798 cast. The ILA polled 9,110, shy of a clear majority, and there were 1,797 ballots challenged.

Meeting in Washington, D. C., on June 5, 1954, the trustees of the new International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—A. F. of L. said:

"If the ILA—A. F. of L. wins, we will press on for a complete clean-up of the waterfront rackets. If the old ILA is given a majority of the votes, we will consider it merely the first round of this fight."

"The American Federation of Labor will continue to render full assistance to this new international union until it succeeds in its objective of organizing the working longshoremen of the nation. That includes without reservation the longshoremen employed in the Port of New York."

LABOR UNITY

The committee on Executive Council's report made the following report on Labor Unity to the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

> Division in the ranks of organized labor in America is detrimental not only to the strength and effectiveness of the trade-union move-

ment, but also to the economic well-being of men and women who work for wages throughout the land. For the past eighteen years the American Federation of Labor has sought, sincerely and diligently, to resolve differences and establish a basis of agreement on which organic unity within the American trade-union movement could be reestablished.

Such organic unity has been and continues to be the objective of the American Federation of Labor. So long as the ranks of labor are divided, labor will continue to be weakened. Only the enemies of labor benefit from the lack of labor solidarity inevitably resulting from the split. There is no trade-union reason for the division in labor ranks. Nor is there an obstacle to unity that could not be overcome by earnest and dedicated men intent on repairing the long and costly rifts and bringing about organic unity of American labor.

During the past year, fresh, firm and rewarding steps have been taken by the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of bringing about an agreement with the Congress of Industrial Organizations which would pave the way toward eventual unification.

The Executive Council, acting at the special meeting held on November 25, 1952, appointed a committee headed by President Meany to renew discussions with an official committee of the CIO. The two committees met on April 7, 1953, both sides entering the meeting with no prior conditions and exploring all phases of the problem. They gave joint consideration to the problem of "raiding" as one of the first obstacles to be overcome.

A subcommittee of six, with three members from each organization, was authorized to study the problems involved in the structure and jurisdictional lines of the two federations. A joint study was undertaken by the subcommittee of all representation cases filed with the National Labor Relations Board over a 2-year period covering 1951-52, in order to ascertain the extent of raiding and evaluate its results. It was found in 1,245 cases, involving 366,470 employes, the net change as the result of the raids was confined to only 8,000 employes, or only about two per cent of the total number involved in these cases. The facts revealed in this study point up the disproportionate drain on the time and money of the unions concerned in relations to the negligible results. They highlighted the need to extend union organization to millions of workers yet unorganized as the area to which all energies of the labor movement should be directed instead of the costly fraternal strife involved in raiding.

At a joint meeting of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations Committees on June 2, it was agreed to submit a draft of a no-raiding agreement to the Executive Councils of both organizations for their consideration, followed by its submission to the respective Conventions of the two federations.

At a meeting on June 17, 1953, the subcommittee drew up the draft of the text of a no-raiding agreement incorporating the provisions and principles agreed upon and laid down by the full A. F. of L.-CIO Committee.

The proposed no-raiding agreement would be binding upon national and international unions only upon signing this agreement, and will then become applicable to all local affiliates of such national and international unions. The agreement will also apply to all local unions, councils and departments directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor. The agreement, upon approval, would go into effect on January 1, 1954, and extend over a two-year term, expiring on December 31, 1955.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at

its meeting held in Chicago last August, gave thorough study to the terms of the proposed A. F. of L.-CIO no-raiding agreement. After fully considering the benefits and advantages to be gained through such an agreement, the Executive Council recommends that this Convention give this agreement its approval.

In devising the terms of the proposed agreement, we were concious of the need to establish a workable procedure whereby jurisdictional differences could be resolved within the trade-union movement itself, and without opening a way to the infringement by the governmental bodies of the principles and prerogatives of self-government within the structure of organized labor.

Your Committee has given a careful review of the foregoing recommendations of the Executive Council. We firmly believe that the proposed agreement is the first and indispensable step toward the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations; that its terms and purposes are in the best interests of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates and the labor movement as a whole; and that its adoption would be in the public interest and to the benefit of our entire country.

Accordingly, your Committee strongly recommends to this Convention the approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report and the adoption of the proposed no-raiding agreement in the form approved and set forth by the Executive Council.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, this section of the Committee's Report was unanimously adopted.

Early in December, President Meany was advised by President Reuther of the CIO that the CIO Convention had endorsed the proposed No-Raiding Agreement, and arrangements were made for an AFL-CIO Unity Committee meeting on December 16, 1953, in Washington, D. C.

The AFL-CIO Unity Committee met on December 16, 1953, and decided that the officers of both organizations would secure as many authorizations as possible from their affiliated international unions to become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

On June 9, a further meeting of the AFL-CIO Unity Committee was held in the City of Washington, at which time the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations officially signed the No-Raiding Pact in behalf of 65 international unions of the American Federation of Labor and 29 international unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, after which the following statement was issued:

"This is an historic day for American labor.

"The first constructive step toward labor peace and a united labor movement since 1936 has been taken here this afternoon.

"Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (65) and with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (29) have signed a two-year no-raiding agreement.

"This agreement represents a cease-fire. During the two-year truce, the Joint AFL-CIO Unity Committee will go to work on the manifold problems involved in bringing about a merger of the two major labor federations into a single, united labor movement.

"Some of these problems are relatively simple. Others are ex-

tremely intricate and difficult, because of jurisdictional over-lapping, long-standing animosities and structural differences in the various industries and unions affected. All such obstacles, however, can and should be overcome, by negotiation in good faith and a common determination to achieve labor unity.

"We are confident that this goal, so beneficial to the workers we represent and to the nation as a whole, can be accomplished before the truce expires.

"Our confidence is based upon the expectation that the successful operation of the no-raiding agreement will usher in an era of good feeling and cooperation in the labor movement; that the signatory unions will gain substantial benefits from the cessation of hostilities, and that they never again will want to go back to fighting and raiding each other.

"We are mindful of the fact that during the past 18 years repeated efforts to heal the breach in the labor movement have ended up in failure.

"In each instance, continuing hostilities made the task of the peacemakers impossible.

"This is a new and more practical approach. For the first time it permits the negotiation of labor unity in an atmosphere of peace.

"The no-raiding agreement signed today remains open for further signatures by unions from both parent organizations. This committee is not disappointed because we do not have 100 per cent subscription to the plan at the outset. We anticipate that virtually every union involved in jurisdictional strife will come in within a reasonable time. A special subcommittee will proceed at once to attempt to iron out minor differences which at present stand in the way of securing a substantial number of additional signatures to the agreement.

"Labor in modern America can no longer afford to be divided. We cannot waste our strength and substance in civil war while the enemies of human progress step up their attack on us on the economic, political and legislative fronts.

"Ours is a growing country and labor must grow with it. We have a solemn duty to organize the unorganized, instead of raiding each other's members. The signing of the no-raiding agreement today will permit us to concentrate our energy and our effort on the basic trade-union goal."

Pursuant to Section 6 of the No-Raiding Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, President Meany of the AFL and President Reuther of the CIO jointly appointed Mr. David L. Cole as official umpire under the No-Raiding Agreement, effective the 9th day of June, 1954, with all of the rights, powers and duties prescribed therein and subject to the terms of the agreement to be entered into between the Presidents of the respective Federations and their affiliates signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement and Mr. David L. Cole.

It was further decided that a joint dinner would be held on June 29, 1954, in the City of Washington, at which time the signatories to the No-Raiding Agreement would have an opportunity to meet each other, and invitations were extended as well to organizations that had not signed the No-Raiding Agreement.

At the time this report was written, 4 additional AFL International

Unions had signed the No-Raiding Agreement, and are listed with the following:

AFFILIATES OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
APPENDIX "A"

1. National Agricultural Workers Union
2. Airline Dispatchers Association
3. Aluminum Workers International Union
4. International Association of Heat & Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers
5. Journeymen Barbers, Hairdressers, Cosmetologists & Proprietors' International Union of America
6. Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' International Union of America
7. International Broom & Whisk Makers' Union
8. Building Service Employes' International Union
9. Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers International Union
10. International Chemical Workers Union
11. Cigar Makers' International Union of America
12. International Association of Cleaning & Dye House Workers
13. Coopers' International Union of North America
14. Commercial Telegraphers' Union
15. Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America
16. International Union of Doll & Toy Workers of the United States and Canada
17. Distillery, Rectifying & Wine Workers' International Union of America
18. International Union of Elevator Constructors
19. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
20. International Association of Fire Fighters
21. Flight Engineers' International Association
22. American Flint Glass Workers' Union
23. Glass Bottle Blowers Association of the United States and Canada
24. The Granite Cutters' International Association of America
25. International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of the United States and Canada
26. United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union
27. Insurance Agents International Union
28. International Association of Machinists
29. International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
30. International Jewelry Workers' Union
31. International Union of Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers
32. National Association of Letter Carriers
33. Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes
34. Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen of North America
35. International Molders & Foundry Workers Union of North America
36. American Federation of Musicians
37. Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers & Helpers International Union
38. International Association of Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers, Rubbers & Sawyers, Tile & Marble Helpers & Terrazzo Helpers
39. International Metal Engravers & Marking Device Workers Union
40. Operative Plasterers' & Cement Mason's International Association of United States and Canada
41. United Association of Journeymen & Apprentices of the Plumbing & Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada

42. National Postal Transport Association
43. International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America
44. International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America
45. International Brotherhood of Paper Makers
46. Railway Patrolmen's International Union
47. Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express & Station Employes
48. Retail Clerks International Association
49. National Association of Post Office & Railway Mail Handlers
50. Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America
51. International Stereotypers' & Electrotypers' Union of North America
52. Stove Mounters International Union of North America
53. Switchmen's Union of North America
54. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
55. Amalgamated Association of Street, Electric Railway & Motor Coach Employes of America
56. American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employes
57. American Federation of Teachers
58. United Textile Workers of America
59. Tobacco Workers International Union
60. American Wire Weavers Protective Association
61. International Alliance of Bill Posters & Billers of America
62. Boot & Shoe Workers Union
63. International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-AFL
64. The National Association of Postal Supervisors
65. United Slate, Tile & Composition Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Workers Association
66. United Garment Workers of America
67. International Glove Workers' Union of America
68. International Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers
69. American Federation of Technical Engineers

AFFILIATES OF CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS APPENDIX "B"

1. United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America
2. Barbers and Beauty Culturists Union of America
3. International Union of United Brewery, Flour, Cereal, Soft Drink and Distillery Workers
4. National Association of Broadcast Employes and Technicians
5. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
6. Communications Workers of America
7. United Department Store Workers of America
8. International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
9. United Furniture Workers of America
10. United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America
11. Federation of Glass, Ceramic and Silica Sand Workers of America
12. Government and Civic Employes Organizing Committee
13. Insurance Workers of America
14. National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association
15. National Maritime Union of America
16. Oil Workers International Union
17. United Packinghouse Workers of America
18. United Paperworkers of America
19. American Radio Association

20. United Railroad Workers of America
21. Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union
22. United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America
23. United Shoe Workers of America
24. United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America
25. Textile Workers Union of America
26. United Transport Service Employes of America
27. Transport Workers Union of America
28. Utility Workers Union of America
29. International Woodworkers of America

Memorandum of Understanding

Supplementary to the No-Raiding Agreement between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

"WHEREAS, on December 16, 1953, the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations formally executed the No-Raiding Agreement on behalf of the respective federations; and

"WHEREAS, thereafter the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations have secured instruments of adherence and ratification executed by unions affiliated with the respective federations; and

"WHEREAS, the representatives of both federations have met this 9th day of June, 1954, to deliver and make effective the instruments of adherence and ratification heretofore executed by the unions affiliated with the two federations; and

"WHEREAS it is essential that there be agreement as to the mechanics for the subsequent adherence to the No-Raiding Agreement by unions affiliated with the two federations:

"*Now Therefore*, it is mutually agreed, this 9th day of June, 1954.

1. The American Federation of Labor hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

2. The Congress of Industrial Organizations hereby delivers and declares effective the instruments of adherence and ratification of the AFL-CIO No-Raiding Agreement which have been executed by the affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

3. The effective date of the No-Raiding Agreement with respect to the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto shall be this 9th day of June, 1954, irrespective of the date which may appear on said instruments of adherence and ratification.

4. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any of the unions listed in Appendix A and Appendix B attached hereto, as meaning June 9, 1954, the date on which the instruments of adherence and ratification of the unions attached hereto have been delivered and declared effective.

5. The date January 1, 1954, in paragraph (c) of Section 9 of the No-Raiding Agreement shall be understood, interpreted and applied, with respect to any union hereafter adhering to the Agreement, as meaning the date on which such adherence shall become effective, as provided for below.

6. Any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or Congress of Industrial Organizations may hereafter adhere and become signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement by executing an appropriate instrument of ratification and adherence and by delivering said instrument to the Secretary-Treasurer of the federation with which it is affiliated, who shall thereupon notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the other federation and deliver to the Impartial Umpire, provided for under the Agreement, the executed instrument of adherence and a copy of its letter of notification.

7. The instrument of adherence shall only become effective 10 days following the receipt by the Impartial Umpire of the instrument of adherence and copy of the letter of notification, provided for above.

8. The Impartial Umpire shall maintain at all times a current list of the unions signatory to the No-Raiding Agreement.

In witness whereof the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations by their authorized representatives have hereto set their hands and seals this 9th day of June, 1954.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
GEORGE MEANY, *President*
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
WALTER P. REUTHER, *President*

INTERNAL DISPUTES

The committee on Executive Council's report in dealing with the report of the Building Trades Department made the following recommendation to the 72nd Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

This year's report of the Building and Construction Trades Department to this convention is devoted entirely to the problem of jurisdictional differences among the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and to the ways and means in which such differences could be adjusted.

Your committee has given thorough and thoughtful study to the Department's review of the causes of jurisdictional disputes, the examination of the past experience in dealing with them, and of the related problems that lie ahead. Your committee has devoted particular attention to the detailed recommendations offered by the Building and Construction Trades Department for the adjudication of jurisdictional conflicts within the American Federation of Labor.

We are deeply conscious of the seriousness of the problem of jurisdictional disputes and are keenly aware of the necessity to deal with such conflicts more effectively than in the past. We deplore actions of our affiliates in which reasonable accommodation of conflicting interests is refused and in which selfish considerations or immediate advantages are placed ahead of the welfare of the entire Federation. We fully recognize the need to meet the problem confronting us and to eliminate the destructive effects of jurisdictional conflicts. At the same time, we emphasize that, in the great majority of cases, our national and international affiliates have kept such disputes to a minimum and have cooperated with the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council in reaching a mutually satisfactory adjustment. We, therefore, have confidence in the desire and willingness of our affiliates to share unstintingly in the task of devising and carrying out procedures which would bring jurisdictional strife to an end.

Jurisdictional conflicts are the growing pains of the labor movement. They come with the growth of new industrial technology, with the development of new products, materials, and methods of production, and with the growth of the trade union movement itself. Careful study of the problem and judicious action are necessary in order to devise procedures that would effectively deal with the variety of jurisdictional problems arising out of such changes and to provide satisfactory machinery for the adjustment of jurisdictional claims.

We have given the specific proposals advanced by the Building and Construction Trades Department careful consideration, and commend the Department for its detailed review of the problems involved. It is manifest that the welfare of the American Federation of Labor, its affiliates, and our entire membership will be benefitted by affirmative action on our part in devising means to adjust such disputes within the Federation.

To this end, we recommend that the Executive Council establish a Special Committee on Jurisdictional Disputes to examine the record, to study the problems surounding such disputes, and to formulate the means of preventing raiding among our affiliates as well as the best methods of adjustment and adjudication of jurisdictional disputes within the American Federation of Labor. We ask that the Special Committee on Jurisdictional Disputes submit, at the earliest possible date, and without unavoidable delay, its findings and recommendations for consideration and action by the Executive Council.

We direct the Executive Council, upon study of the recommendations of the Special Committee, to formulate appropriate procedures for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes within the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council is thereafter to submit such plans as may be approved by it to the next A. F. of L. Convention for ratification. However, within a period of six months from the adjournment date of this convention such plan is to be presented to a conference of national and international union executives called into conference by the Executive Council to discuss and consider the plans submitted and if approved at this conference the Executive Council is empowered to put the plan into effect prior to the 1954 convention, with respect to national and international unions willing to agree and enter into the plan and with respect to directly affiliated local unions.

On motion of Committee Chairman Woll, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

A Special Committee of the Executive Council, consisting of George Meany, William F. Schnitzler, Charles J. MacGowan, William C. Birthright, D. W. Tracy, George M. Harrison, A. J. Hayes, reported to the February 1, 1954, meeting of the Executive Council that a voluntary plan had been developed to deal with all types of disputes that would cover only those international unions who would sign the plan after its final adoption.

After carefully examining the recommendations of the Special Committee, the Executive Council directed the Executive officers to develop the plan into formal language to be again presented to the special meeting of the Executive Council on May 13, 1954, in Chicago, Ill. At the special meeting of the Executive Council on May 13, 1954, further consideration was given to the recommended AFL Internal Disputes Plan, and after several changes and modifications were made, it was decided

to present the plan to a Special Conference of International Union Executive Officers and International Representatives that was called pursuant to action of the 72nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and this conference was held on May 14, 1954, in the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago, Ill.

Nineteen representatives who attended the conference spoke in favor of the AFL Internal Disputes Plan as read, after which it was decided that a copy of the tentative draft be forwarded to the Executive officers of each affiliated international union, requesting them to study the tentative draft, and within 30 days, they are to forward any suggestions, alterations or amendments to AFL Headquarters so that they can be submitted to the August meeting of the Executive Council for their consideration.

It was further decided that the Executive Council at its August meeting would formalize the AFL Internal Disputes Plan for submission in its final form to the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor to be held in Los Angeles, Calif., starting September 20, 1954.

In accordance with the proposal adopted by the representatives attending the May Conference, the Plan was submitted to our affiliated organizations and a number of suggestions were received.

The Executive Council, at its August meeting, taking into consideration the suggestions received, amended the Plan and prepared it for final submission to this Convention.

The Internal Disputes Plan, as approved by the Council and recommended for approval by this Convention, is as follows:

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR DISPUTES PLAN

Article I—Purpose

The American Federation of Labor Internal Disputes Plan is designed to prevent raiding among affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and to provide a method for the adjustment and the adjudication of jurisdictional disputes within the American Federation of Labor. If approved by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, it shall be binding only on those national and international union affiliates of the American Federation of Labor that subscribe to the plan and their subordinate bodies. A subordinate organization shall be represented by its parent national or international union. It shall likewise be binding upon directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor upon approval of the plan by the Executive Council and upon the same being signed by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. Only representatives designated by the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor may institute a proceeding under this plan on behalf of a directly affiliated local union of the American Federation of Labor. In the event such a local union is made a party to a dispute, notice shall be transmitted to the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor who shall designate representatives to represent such local organization with respect to the dispute.

Article II—Application of Plan

This plan shall be applicable only to disputes arising as the result of circumstances occurring after approval of this plan by the convention and which are of the nature following:

1. Disputes between one affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which is a party to the plan and another party to the plan involving raiding, that is, where one party seeks to obtain bargaining rights already exercised by the other party or where one party seeks to take membership from another party without regard to whether there is or is not a certification or its equivalent from either the National Labor Relations Board or any other federal or a state agency.

2. Disputes in which one party to the plan seeks to secure for its members work being performed by, or which has been assigned to, members of another party to the plan.

3. Any dispute between parties to the plan over the right to perform work which at the time of the dispute has not been assigned to any particular party.

4. Any dispute between parties to the plan regarding which party would attempt to organize unorganized workers in a particular unorganized plant or industry.

Article III—Conciliation and Mediation

In the event a dispute occurs between parties signatory to this plan, it shall be incumbent upon the parties in dispute to confer with each other for the purpose of settling such dispute by mutual agreement. In such conference either party may call upon the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor who shall endeavor to bring about a settlement of such dispute by conciliation and mediation between the parties.

If the parties are unable, within a reasonable time, to agree upon a settlement of such dispute and the services of such representative of the American Federation of Labor have not been utilized, then the parties shall call upon the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint such a representative. The functions of such representative shall be limited solely to efforts to bring about a voluntary settlement of the dispute by mutual agreement of the parties involved in the dispute.

Article IV—Arbitration

In the event the parties are unable to settle such dispute by agreement within ten (10) days after the service of the American Federation of Labor Representative have become available (unless such time limit has been extended by mutual agreement of the parties), they shall submit such dispute to arbitration. Such arbitration shall be conducted by a single arbitrator, mutually agreed upon by the parties to the dispute. In the event the parties to the dispute are unable to mutually agree upon

such arbitrator within a period of five days subsequent to the expiration of the ten-day period mentioned above, then the President of the American Federation of Labor shall, as expeditiously as possible, appoint such arbitrator from a panel of impartial and disinterested persons, which panel shall be chosen and approved in advance by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The arbitrator so selected, shall, after hearing the dispute, upon consideration of the claims of the parties, render a decision which shall be final and binding only upon the parties to the dispute signatory to this plan.

In case any dispute goes to arbitration hereunder, the parties and the American Federation of Labor shall supply the arbitrator with all available pertinent data which might be of assistance to the arbitrator in determining the dispute. This data should include all jurisdictional decisions made by the convention of the American Federation of Labor as well as by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; all constitutional claims of jurisdiction by the various parties; records of any decisions on jurisdiction made by any arbitrators or tribunals with which the parties have been officially connected, and copies of all agreements on jurisdiction that have been consummated between the parties. It should also include information gathered from the files of the American Federation of Labor regarding the jurisdictional claims of the parties and jurisdiction granted to the parties by their charters or certificates of affiliation and any other pertinent records available to the parties which might be helpful to the arbitrator in properly determining the dispute.

Article V—Decisions

The arbitrator shall render his decision in writing and supply the parties with a copy thereof.

The arbitrator serving in a particular dispute shall be limited in his actions and considerations to the particular current dispute involved between the parties and his decision shall have no effect or application beyond the limits of the particular dispute involved. The arbitrator shall not broaden the scope of any existing dispute. His decision shall have application only to the particular dispute currently existing and submitted to him for decision under this plan.

In reaching a decision the arbitrator shall give recognition to determinations of jurisdiction made by the American Federation of Labor by charter grant, by action of the Executive Council or the convention or by other methods consistent with the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

In rendering his decision the arbitrator shall endeavor to promote the best interests of the workers involved and the American Federation of Labor, having due regard for the just claims and interests of the parties

involved. He shall give consideration to the facts and circumstances involved in the dispute, including, but not limited to, the following:

a.) The charter or certificate of affiliation of each of the unions involved;

b.) Jurisdictional decisions made by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor;

c.) To the jurisdiction customarily exercised by each union;

d.) Agreements respecting jurisdiction entered into by a party to the dispute;

e.) Prior decisions of arbitrators and tribunals.

The costs of any arbitration shall be borne equally by the participating parties to the dispute.

If two or more signatories to this plan are parties to any other plan of procedure for the settlement of disputes and a dispute shall arise involving such parties, solely and exclusively, then, in that event, such parties shall utilize such other plan in the settlement of such dispute, without resort to this plan. In the event, however, that such dispute also involves another party signatory to this plan but not a party to such other plan, then this plan shall be utilized in the settlement of such dispute. In such case the decision of the arbitrator under this plan shall likewise be final and binding upon all parties to the dispute who are signatories to this plan. The signatories to this plan agree that they will furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor any and all other plans for the settlement of disputes to which they may now be or hereafter may become parties. They further agree that in the event they withdraw from any such other plans they will so notify the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor.

When, due to technological or other causes, the essential facts involved in any dispute in which a final decision has been rendered have changed, a new arbitration may be had in accordance with the procedure set forth in this plan, and a final and binding decision may be rendered based upon all the facts, including changed circumstances. Such new arbitration shall not be had within one year of the rendition of the original decision or any subsequent decision.

The Executive Council shall promulgate rules governing arbitration procedures.

Article VI—Amendment and Termination

This plan may be amended or terminated by the Executive Council or any convention of the American Federation of Labor, but no amendment to this plan shall become effective as to any party to the plan unless and until such party accepts and approves such amendment by signed agreement.

The foregoing plan shall become and remain in full force and effect and shall be binding upon each of the parties signatory hereto for a

period of two years from the date this plan goes into effect. Thereafter it shall automatically remain in full force and effect and shall be binding upon each of the parties signatory hereto from year to year, unless at least 90 days before the effective date of any yearly period of extension of this plan a party signatory to the plan gives written notice to the President of the American Federation of Labor of an intention to withdraw from this plan, in which event, such party may so withdraw, effective as of the effective date of any yearly period of extension of the plan following such notice. Withdrawal from the plan, however, shall not invalidate or remove the binding effect of any previous decision rendered by any arbitrator under this plan.

The undersigned organization, through their authorized representative, herewith become parties to the plan and herewith agree not to raid any other party to this plan and to be bound by the decisions rendered pursuant to the foregoing plan and agree to recognize and comply with such decisions.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,

By .....
President.

.....
Secretary-Treasurer.

(Name of National or International Organization)

By .....
Title

ORGANIZATION

Since the last convention we have continued to improve our organizational structure with the addition of a new region and the rearrangement of several others (See Map). The new plan which was initiated by the Executive Officers to establish regions of the Department of Organization has now been operation for the past year. This plan is working out most successfully, with the general organizing work of the American Federation of Labor being carried on in all areas simultaneously under the direction of the respective Regional Directors. We are now in a position to respond to every request that is made to the Department of Organization by our affiliated National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, and City Central Bodies, for assistance and cooperation in their programs.

Reports from our Regional Directors indicate that in spite of the unfavorable attitude of many employers toward collective bargaining agreements with their employes, a great deal of progress is being made not only in the United States but also in Canada, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, where we have active organizers in the field.

There is much organizational work yet to be done in all areas, particularly in localities where new industries are being established. The Department of Organization urges all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor to continue their cooperation in the general organizing program so that greater success can be enjoyed in extending the benefits and protection of the American Federation of Labor to the unorganized wage earners of America.

Organizing Activities

In the past year our Regional Directors and General Organizers carried on an intensive program of organizing in all industries in the United States and Canada as well as Puerto Rico and Hawaii. Reports received from our Regional Directors are most gratifying with reference to the progress made, however, space will not permit to unfold the full story of the American Federation of Labor's program in the field of organizing in the last year. However, a summary seems to be necessary so that the general story can be known.

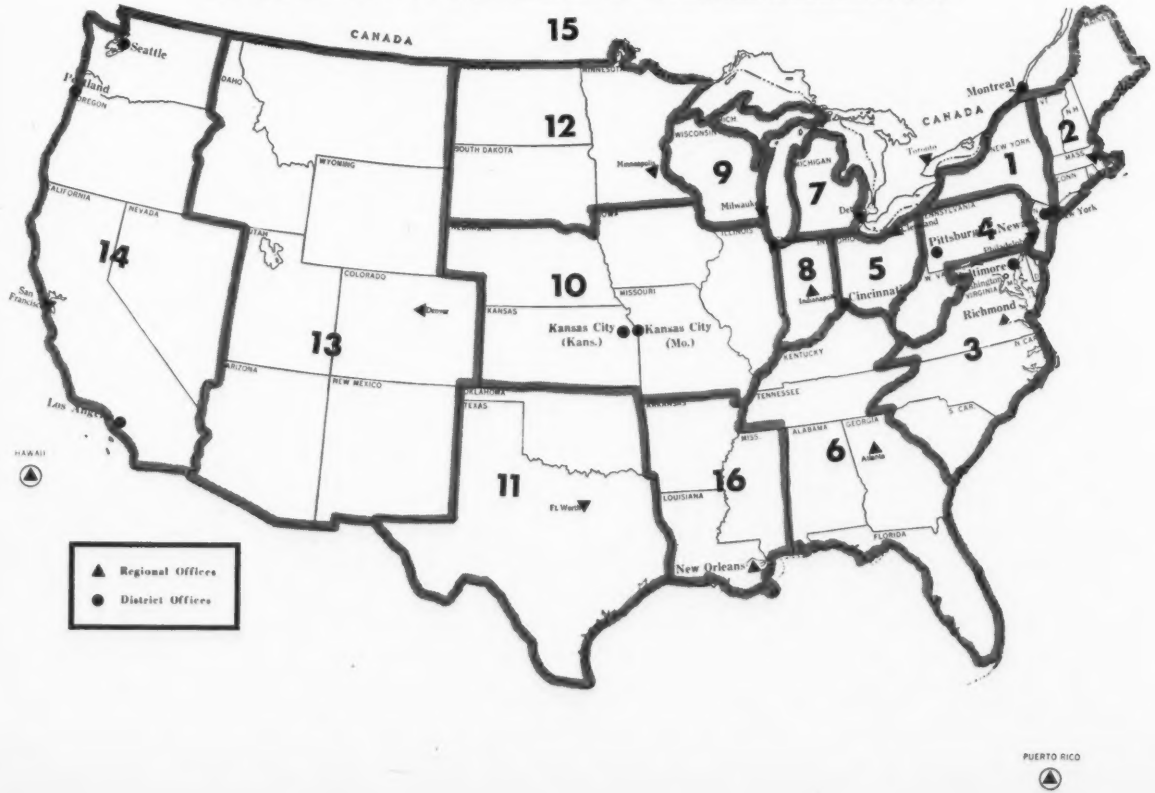
Intensive and active campaigns were carried on jointly with our National and International Unions, Metal Trades Councils, Building Trades Councils, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies, in all Regions.

In the Northeastern states we have a heavy concentration of Federal Labor Unions that require the services of our Regional Directors and Staff Organizers in the negotiation of agreements and assisting in building up the membership of these local unions. One of the major activities in this area was the assistance rendered to the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada in Berlin, New Hampshire, where an intensive campaign resulted in the Pulp and Sulphite workers retaining their bargaining rights in a large mill.

In the Southern and Southeastern states organizational work has gone forward despite a great many interferences due to economic conditions in the early part of 1954 and the anti-union attitude of a great many of the communities in the South. All of the Southern states now have state laws against union security known as "Right to Work" laws. These laws were enacted to discourage organization as well as discouraging union membership among the workers in the South. Any effect these laws may have in this direction is being gradually overcome and we find in many instances a solidification of our membership in their desire to protect the gains they have made and in their desire to enlist new membership in their unions.

At the present time we are engaged in an active organizing campaign at the Savannah River Atomic Energy Plant in Aiken, South Carolina, as well as cooperating with the Tobacco Workers' International Union in another attempt to organize the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company in Winston Salem, North Carolina.

Field Organization of the Organizing Staff of the American Federation of Labor



Organizing campaigns in this area have resulted in membership gains for a number of our International Unions and these gains were obtained through participation in NLRB elections.

In the Southwestern and Inter-Mountain States there has been an influx of new industries as well as an expansion in existing industries, together with this expansion there has been a large increase in population over the last several years. The shifting of industry to this area has opened up new organizing opportunities. Our Regional Directors and Staff Organizers have been active, cooperating with our National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions in organizing campaigns throughout this area. In addition, assistance has been rendered to Metal Trades and Building Trades Councils and a number of Central Labor Unions have been reactivated. Participation in a number of NLRB elections has resulted in increased membership in this area.

In our West Coast states, California, Oregon and Washington, our work has been of a general nature with a concentration of activity in the interest of our National and International Unions in Southern California which is experiencing an influx of new industries as well as a large increase in population. Industry in this area is not concentrated but is scattered throughout the whole Southern part of the state. A number of these plants have been organized and the successful outcome of NLRB elections has brought about a substantial gain in membership for our organizations. In Oregon and Washington progress was made. In Oregon membership gains were made in the organizing campaigns that were conducted in the state institutions which increased the membership of the State, County and Municipal Employes Union.

In the Middle West and Great Lakes area we have a heavy concentration of Federal Labor Unions whose negotiations and arbitrations necessitated a great deal of time of our Regional Directors and General Organizers; however, we were able to carry on an intensive general organizing campaign in this area in the interest of our National and International Unions. A great deal of activity took place in which we participated. Substantial membership gains were made for a number of our organizations.

During the past year in Canada, our Regional Director and Staff Organizers have conducted campaigns in the interest of our International Unions. An outstanding achievement was the successful campaign that was carried on in British Columbia at a large Aluminum Plant where our Aluminum Workers International Union is the bargaining agent. Reports received from different parts of Canada indicate that there is an increasing interest among Canadian workers for representation in American Federation of Labor Unions.

In Hawaii our membership in service trades unions increased slightly, thereby offsetting somewhat the loss in membership in craft unions which in a large measure was due to the cutback in government expendi-

tures. The Building Trades Unions are experiencing many difficulties because of the anti-union policy of the local contractors' association. Agreements generally are of the open-shop type under which no craft union could properly service its membership. Only three building trades local unions have Union-shop Agreements.

There is a great deal of organizational work to be done in Hawaii. Out of a labor force officially computed to be 180,600 only 50,000 workers are organized in various unions. At present the A. F. of L. Unions in Hawaii have under consideration the calling of a Territorial Conference to which all International Unions will be invited to send representatives. Should this conference be held the major problem for discussion will be ways and means of establishing a Territory-wide organizing campaign in the interest of the A. F. of L.'s unions.

In view of the enormously difficult economic conditions and other problems that confront the workers of Puerto Rico, the Regional office, under the direction of the Department of Organization, has made great strides in organizing the workers of this Island.

Organizing campaigns have been successfully concluded on the water-front where the American Federation of Labor won an election, ousting the old ILA through an election conducted by the NLRB in January of 1954.

Gains were also made in organizing workers in the brassiere industry on the Island.

The Department of Organization fully realizes the need to raise the wage levels in Puerto Rico because it concerns all sectors of our economy. Puerto Rico is a large purchaser of American manufactured goods despite the low individual purchasing power of the Puerto Rican workers. The higher the purchasing power of the Island workers the greater the benefit to these workers to American manufacturers and to American workers.

The Department of Organization, through the regional office in the Island, during the coming year, will exert every means possible to continue its organizational program in Puerto Rico, realizing that wages are low there, extremely low, and there is the danger that the new industrialists will continue to keep wages depressed and will thus defraud the workers of their just participation in the benefits of industrialization of the Island.

Service to International and National Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies

The Department of Organization's program to develop the maximum cooperation in the organizing activities of our National and International Unions and to assist State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies in their activities, has met with a marked success. Our Regional Directors and Organizers, in the respective regions, are being called upon more and more to participate in the general organizing work of

our National and International Unions. The regional staffs are particularly active in organizing programs where Metal Trades Councils are involved, such as the programs that are underway at the present time at several Atomic Energy Projects.

Our Organizers have given much of their time to assisting City Central Labor Unions, and are at the present time engaged in reactivating a number of City Central Labor Unions that are not functioning as they should.

Our Regional Directors and Organizers have been most actively participating in the programs of our State Federations of Labor, rendering assistance, guidance and counsel to the officers with the various problems confronting them. This is particularly true in the states that have enacted the "Right to Work" laws, which have the effect of discouraging organization.

Outlook for Progress

As we have pointed out, the Department of Organization is primarily engaged in carrying on organizing and educational programs in the interest of the A. F. of L.'s affiliated National and International Unions. In addition to general organizing work of the Federation, the Department of Organization and its Regional Offices devote a great deal of time to the servicing of our Federal Labor Unions in their negotiations, arbitrations and membership campaigns. The Department of Organization has pursued the policy of having the Federal Labor Unions fully serviced and to make them feel that they are an intricate part of the American Federation of Labor. They are also being educated to the necessity of their being affiliated to the State Federation of Labor and with their City Central Bodies and of the need to take an active part in community welfare programs.

More and more frequently the General Organizers of the American Federation of Labor are being called upon by our affiliated organizations for assistance in negotiating and interpreting contracts; appearing before National Labor Relations Boards; participating in Arbitration Proceedings, both private and state; settling grievances and disputes; advising officers and members regarding labor laws; auditing accounts as are required by Federal and State Laws. They also assist in preparing and filing affidavits for local unions so that they will be in compliance and can use the facilities of the NLRB.

So that our General Organizing Staff will be effective in dealing with the complex problems that arise in labor management relations, the Director of Organization has held semi-annual conferences of Regional Directors in our headquarters in Washington, at which time there is an exchange of ideas and experiences of the Regional Directors and they are acquainted with the complex problems that have to be dealt with. New organizational work in the regions is planned at these

conferences and are put into effect by the Regional Directors in cooperation with our Regional Office Staffs.

Through these conferences the Regional Directors have an opportunity to meet with the executive officers of the Federation and, from them, obtain a better understanding of the Federation's policies and objectives.

These conferences and regional conferences of our Staff Organizers have stepped up our programs, developing cooperation and enthusiasm among representatives and local unions in all localities.

The Director of Organization and Assistant Director of Organization have attended many International Union and State Federation of Labor conventions. In addition to addressing the delegates on the subject of organization, conferences would be held with officers and delegates to plan programs to meet their particular needs.

Much progress has been made in spite of employers taking advantage of the restrictive provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act as well as taking advantage and using the state laws against union security in the states in which they have been enacted. In spite of this hostile attitude the American Federation of Labor's policies, principles and programs are receptive to the American workers, who realize that their best interests, economically and socially, can be best protected through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1953

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Actors and Artists of America, Associated	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Agricultural Workers Union, National	3,000.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,000.00
Air Line Dispatchers Association	2,000.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,000.00
Air Line Pilots Association	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Aluminum Workers International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Automobile Workers of America, International Union United	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	614,431.63	174,491.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	788,922.63
Barbers, Hairdressers and Cosmetologists' International Union of America, The Journeyman	232,150.00	63,786.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	295,936.00
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	226,400.00	92,000.00	263,500.00	31,000.00	14,500.00	72,000.00	699,400.00
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	69,637.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69,637.50
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America	974,652.02	.....	.....	359,618.10	.....	.....	1,334,270.12
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	2,200.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,200.00
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	291,400.00	.....	.....	[1] 443,619.86	.....	.....	735,019.86
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Building Service Employes' International Union	[2] 895,708.03	[2] 37,466.64	[2] 1,234.75	[2] 3,643.14	[2] 50.00	[2] 69,558.19	1,007,660.75
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	539,450.00	.....	.....	.....	5,650.00	.....	545,100.00
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	2,619,315.66	.....	.....	3,231,765.00	23,450.00	110,457.00	5,984,987.66
Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union, United	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9,679.00	9,679.00
Chemical Workers Union, International	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55,488.00	55,488.00
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	.....	.....	.....	1,300.00	.....	.....	1,300.00
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of	[2] 27,000.00	[2] 83,718.18	.....	.....	.....	[2] 8,109.20	118,827.38

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1953

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office	77,500.00	14,835.60	.....	.....	.....	.....	92,335.60
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	976,830.00	[5] 66,088.40	[6] 38,169.60	.....	.....	.....	1,081,088.00
Clerks' International Association, Retail	301,378.00	3,161,799.43	173,254.17	160,088.10	51,442.44	75,868.12	3,923,830.26
Coopers' International Union of North America	10,475.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	840.00	11,315.00
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	10,850.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10,850.00
Distillery, Rectifying and Wine Workers International Union	341,750.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,258,662.09	1,600,412.09
Doll and Toy Workers of the United States and Canada, International Union of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of	1,903,565.51	.....	.....	2,987,650.00	.....	.....	4,891,215.51
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	143,986.00	317,828.00	.....	.....	98,593.00	.....	560,407.00
Engineers, International Union of Operating	440,440.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	440,440.00
Engineers, American Federation of Technical	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Engravers Union, International Metal	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Engravers Union of North America, International Photo	40,600.00	22,632.50	.....	.....	.....	401,206.00	464,438.50
Fire Fighters, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	94,375.00	[2] 24,230.00	.....	1,820.00	.....	.....	120,425.00
Flight Engineers' International Association	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,855.50	.....	4,855.50
Garment Workers of America, United	37,129.00	16,831.86	.....	1,117.00	.....	1,186.69	56,264.55
Garment Workers Union, International Ladies'	1,677,424.27	10,000,431.84 [3,4]	.....	[6] 5,808,550.00	.....	13,770,694.77 [4]	31,257,100.88
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	37,250.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	37,250.00
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window	17,900.00	.....	.....	34,560.00	.....	.....	52,460.00
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	35,100.00	.....	.....	6,520.92	.....	.....	41,620.92
Glove Workers' Union of America, International	2,300.00	.....	1,282.00	.....	.....	500.00	4,082.00
Government Employees, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	23,250.00	.....	.....	.....	750.00	3,637.00	27,637.00
Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, International	60,000.00	619,435.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	679,435.00
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union, United	[2] 63,600.00	[2] 639,653.61	.....	204,575.00	.....	[2] 15,464.90	923,293.51

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1953

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	489,900.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	489,900.00
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	1,600.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,600.00
Hosiery Workers, American Federation of	26,875.00	679,738.48	.....	70,872.15	.....	.....	777,485.63
Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union	625,475.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	412,070.02	1,037,545.02
Insurance Agents International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	31,062.72	191,096.89	.....	.....	20,638.75	15,866.44	258,664.80
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	69,025.87	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	69,025.87
Laundry Workers' International Union	53,290.00	411,824.93	879.25	.....	1,573.71	1,872.57	469,440.46
Letter Carriers, National Association of	230,254.57	970,391.20	.....	8,790.00	.....	18,350.00	1,227,785.77
Longshoremen's Association—AFL, International	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Machinists, International Association of	412,112.55	.....	.....	53,217.80	.....	1,666,181.57	2,131,511.92
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood of	551,835.50	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	551,835.50
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of	15,700.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15,700.00
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	299,900.00	[a] 145,000.00	[b] 263,000.00	22,336.00	.....	122,914.00	853,150.00
Metal Workers International Association, Sheet	158,000.00	.....	.....	18,450.00	.....	11,780.00	188,230.00
Millers, American Federation of Grain	26,581.92	4,180.71	804.34	172.00	303.50	2,516.00	34,558.47
Molders and Foundry Workers Union of North America, International	391,429.92	106,165.00	67,722.45	.....	.....	.....	565,317.37
Musicians, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Office Employes International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	596,515.72	.....	.....	.....	47,800.00	25,975.00	670,290.72
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	75,338.90	.....	.....	4,200.00	.....	157,562.94	237,101.84

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1953

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Pattern Makers League of North America	23,550.00	19,073.20	.....	.....	.....	38,038.35	80,661.55
Plasterers' and Cement Masons' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	167,486.25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	167,486.25
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the	736,300.00	5,320.00	.....	.....	.....	11,160.00	752,780.00
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers, National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Postal Supervisors, The National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Postal Transport Association, National	65,101.76	.....	.....	.....	178,250.25	.....	243,352.01
Potters, International Brotherhood of Operative	75,665.00	8,971.07	.....	.....	.....	3,180.00	87,816.07
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	120.00	120.00
Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America, International	504,779.33	97,631.46	9,166.70	1,471,676.00	23,754.98	.....	2,107,008.47
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	242,640.00	242,640.00
Radio and Television Directors Guild	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	*1,743,573.92	*117,295.50	.....	.....	4,600.00	252,895.00	2,118,364.42
Railway Patrolmen's International Union	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	121,840.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	121,840.00
Seafarers International Union of North America	523,016.57	345,717.60	230,571.40	24,525.00	160,136.78	155,685.75	1,439,653.10
Siderographers, International Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad	.....	.....	.....	1,380.00	.....	.....	1,380.00
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS	PAID

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1953

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS PAID	
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS PAID	
Sterotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	171,798.66	.....	.....	.....	12,700.00	.....	184,498.66
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	4,150.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,150.00
Stove Mounters' International Union	19,250.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	19,250.00
Switchmen's Union of North America	219,725.00	.....	.....	1,440.00	6,375.00	.....	227,540.00
Teachers, American Federation of	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS PAID	
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	.....	.....	724,185.00	.....	.....	.....	724,185.00
Telegraphers, The Order of Railroad	248,134.72	13,175.00	.....	.....	140.95	110,617.45	372,068.12
Telegraphers' Union, The Commercial	46,700.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46,700.00
Textile Workers of America, United	NO	INTER	NATIONA	L	BENE	FITS PAID	
Tobacco Workers International Union	12,150.00	.....	.....	2,400.00	.....	.....	14,550.00
Typographical Union, International	777,992.97	.....	.....	9,178,771.00	.....	3,349,543.70	13,306,307.67
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	270,705.12	1,963,198.06 (1)	.....	.....	.....	475,740.47	2,709,643.65
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United	26,000.00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26,000.00
Weavers Protective Association, American Wire	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Yardmasters of America, Railroad	9,800.00	.....	166.30	2,085.68	.....	.....	12,051.98
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers	1,554,639.88	248,998.14	.....	58,829.92	70,955.08	.....	1,933,423.02
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen	1,103,881.39	9,844.17	.....	.....	19,427.00	42,581.36	1,175,733.92
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	3,178,400.30	166,589.76	.....	.....	4,199,985.19	3,299,407.03	10,844,382.28
Order of Railway Conductors of America	596,992.36	.....	.....	.....	.....	272,271.07	869,263.43
Total.....	29,049,578.52	20,839,439.23	1,773,935.96	24,194,972.67	4,945,932.13	26,542,319.68	107,346,178.19

[1] Includes Disability Benefits
[2] Includes Local Union Benefits
[3] Paid by Local Unions
[4] Paid by Employer Contributed Funds
[5] Dues Waived

Recapitulation:

Death Benefits	$ 29,049,578.52
Sick Benefits	20,839,439.23
Unemployment Benefits	1,773,935.96
Old Age Benefits	24,194,972.67
Disability Benefits	4,945,932.13
Miscellaneous Benefits	26,542,319.68
Total	$107,346,178.79

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

Fair Labor Standards Act

The 75-cent minimum wage established by the 1949 amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act has been in effect for five years. Even in 1949, when the 75-cent minimum wage was being considered by the Congress, the American Federation of Labor strongly recommended that the minimum be established at not less than $1 an hour. The 75-cent minimum wage which was inadequate in 1949 is now completely out of date.

It is both just and essential for economic progress that the incomes of low-paid workers increase at a faster rate than incomes generally. Yet, since the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act in June 1938, the minimum wage has failed by a considerable margin to keep pace with the general advances in wages. Thus from June 1938 to June 1953, average hourly earnings of factory workers increased by $1.19. During the same period the minimum wage increased by only 50 cents. Moreover, the inflationary rise in the cost of living since World War II has worked a particular hardship on the lowest paid workers.

Clearly a substantial increase in the statutory minimum wage is long overdue. But despite the urgent need for improvements in the Fair Labor Standards Act, neither the Administration nor the Congress has taken action to bring the law up to date. Last November the Secretary of Labor indicated that he had under active consideration recommendations for both an increase in the minimum wage and extension of the Act's coverage to bring under its protection large numbers of workers now exempt. At that time he acknowledged the need "to bring an increase in the present 75-cent-an-hour minimum to a more realistic level in keeping with present-day wage levels." He also characterized as shocking the fact that of the 40 million workers who should have the protection of the law, 18 million are specifically exempt.

But all hopes for immediate improvement of the law were dashed when in January the President's Economic Report to Congress stated that although an increase in the minimum rate and expansion of coverage were "desirable," this was not the appropriate time for enactment of such changes. Taking the President's recommendations as its cue, the Congress refused to enact or even to hold hearings on improvements in minimum wage legislation.

During the past year, the Wage and Hour Administrator issued the long-delayed determination on the applicability of minimum standards to workers employed in the so-called "area of production" of farm commodities. Under the "area of production" definition which has been in effect, more than one million workers in industries processing food and agricultural commodities are exempt from protection of the wage and hour provisions of the Act, either outright or partially, on a seasonal basis, from its overtime provisions.

In April 1951, the Wage and Hour Division of the Department of

Labor held hearings on this question. At these hearings spokesmen for employer interests proposed exemption of additional large numbers of workers from protection of the Act. American Federation of Labor representatives, on the other hand, strongly recommended revision of the administrative regulations defining the "area of production" to narrow the present exemptions and to extend the protections of the Act to large numbers of additional low-paid workers in these industries who are not now covered. In June of this year, after more than three years of deliberation, the Wage and Hour Administrator issued a determination leaving the definition of the "area of production" unchanged.

Investigations of violations of the Fair Labor Standards and Public Contracts Acts by the Department of Labor during the past year indicated that while there was a slight drop in the proportion of employers who have failed to comply with the requirements of these laws, the number of such violations is still so high that thousands of workers are being deprived of compensation to which they are lawfully entitled. During the nine months from July 1953 through March 1954, 15,192 establishments, or 52 per cent of those investigated, were found to be in violation of the minimum wage, overtime or child labor provisions of both Acts or the safety and health provisions of the Public Contracts Act. More than four years after the establishment of the 75-cent minimum wage rate, violations of the minimum wage provisions were disclosed in almost one out of every eight establishments investigated involving underpayments to more than 30,000 workers. An additional 88,000 employes were deprived of overtime compensation to which they were legally entitled, totaling $8,000,000.

As in past years, extremely limited funds have restricted the Labor Department's ability to check on compliance with minimum standards. It was able to investigate only 5 per cent of the 715,000 covered establishments. Many additional violations undoubtedly took place, but because no investigations were made, employes in such firms were deprived of any means of obtaining restitution of the compensation of which they were illegally deprived.

Public Contracts Act

The Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act, if given full effect, could make an important contribution toward the establishment of adequate minimum standards of wages and working conditions in American industry. Instead enactment by Congress of weakening amendments and its failure to appropriate sufficient funds for administration and enforcement have largely nullified the beneficial effects which the law might have.

The Public Contracts Act authorizes the Secretary of Labor to determine the prevailing minimum wage in various industries and to establish minimum standards of health and safety. Firms holding government contracts are required to adhere to the minimum standards established by the Secretary. If the law were properly implemented, it would assure

that the Federal Government would take positive action to require minimum standards of wages and working conditions in firms doing business with the Government.

During the past two years, the Walsh-Healey program has been brought to an almost complete standstill. An amendment to the law in 1951 permits interested parties to appeal to the courts the determinations and regulations of the Secretary of Labor. Enactment of this amendment has been followed by efforts of opponents of the law to nullify it by protracted court litigation involving challenges to the Secretary's minimum wage determinations for the textile industry.

On February 21, 1953, the Secretary of Labor made a prevailing minimum wage determination of $1 for the cotton, silk and synthetic branch of the textile industry and on April 6, 1954, a determination of $1.20 was issued for the broad-woven goods, yarn and thread branch of the woolen and worsted industry and for pressed felt. The United Textile Workers of America, our affiliate in this industry, had recommended that the prevailing minimum wage be established at $1.135 for cotton, silk and synthetic textiles and $1.30 for woolen and worsted.

The Secretary's determinations for these industries have been challenged in the courts by textile employers, mainly in the South, who have been successful in obtaining injunctions to stay the minimum wage orders with respect to their firms which constitute a large part of the cotton and woolen textile industries. In their court pleadings, the textile firms have claimed that the Secretary of Labor does not have legal authority under the Walsh-Healy Act to establish a single minimum wage for the entire nation, but must establish separate minimum wages for each community in which the industry is located. Pending final court decision, the minimum wage determinations for the firms which have challenged the Secretary's orders remain null and void and their low-paid employes are deprived of the minimum standards of compensation which the law intended.

The only prevailing minimum wage determination issued during the past year was the one for woolen and worsted and pressed felt already mentioned. No other determinations have been issued, but hearings have been held for re-consideration of already proposed minimum rates of $1.15 for the paper and pulp industry (excluding paper bags for which the proposed rate is 99 cents) and $1.10 for the metal business furniture and storage equipment industry. Our affiliates in these industries were represented at these hearings. In addition, preliminary surveys have been initiated to obtain data for hearings to be held for the envelope and photographic and blue-printing equipment and supplies industries.

Goals in Minimum Labor Standards

Our Federation should press on to the fullest its efforts to secure necessary amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act and the Public Contracts Act. It is equally important for us to drive for appropriation

by the Congress of sufficient funds to permit effective administration and vigorous enforcement of these laws.

The Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, to extend the coverage of the law to millions of workers now unjustly denied its protection, and to bring the minimum wages in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands up to the mainland level within three years.

The Public Contracts Act should be amended to remove all doubt of the authority of the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis and to repeal the 1951 amendment which has made it possible for opponents of the law to engage in protracted litigation thereby preventing the determinations and regulations of the Secretary of Labor from going into effect.

We also ask that under both laws the requirement of overtime rate of pay of one and one-half times the regular rate be made applicable to all work done in excess of 35 hours per week. Such a maximum hour requirement should be made fully effective within two years.

It is also imperative that Congress substantially increase the appropriations to the Department of Labor for administration and enforcement of these laws. This must be done if the laws are to serve their intended purpose of establishing effective protection of minimum standards of wages, hours and working conditions.

RESEARCH

The sharp rise in unemployment which took place in the past year has had wide repercussions on every phase of economic life and many phases of collective bargaining. These developments have notably increased the demand for analytical services of our Research Department in interpreting economic trends as well as in providing needed information to our affiliates and organizers in connection with contract negotiations. Stepped up activity of our officers and of the whole organization in dealing with a wide range of legislative, administrative and economic issues, likewise called for more factual and analytical research material to be supplied by the Department.

Economic Analysis

An appraisal of economic trends published by our Research Department early in July, 1953, predicted a sharp rise in unemployment in October, with an increase in the number of jobless by the end of the year. Events proved this forecast to be exactly right. As the recession rapidly deepened in the following months our economists continued to provide us with a sober and balanced analysis of the meaning of current trends and their repercussions on the various phases of American economy. The Department's estimates of the economic costs of the failure to maintain full prosperity were particularly valuable in placing our future economic problem in true perspective. Its analyses of fiscal, monetary and credit

policies of the government, including tax policies, were most helpful to our officers and standing committees in dealing with current policy issues.

Statistical Services

Through its work on the Joint Labor Research Labor Advisory Committee to the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Labor Advisory Committee to the Office of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget, our Research Department has served as a watchdog for labor over statistical programs of the government. Of special value under the present conditions was its careful analysis of the Census unemployment report, showing that the definitions used by the Census heavily distorted the true picture of economic unemployment.

At the hearings held in July, 1954, by the Subcommittee on Statistics of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, our Research Department presented a comprehensive report, with a set of recommendations on behalf of labor regarding the much needed improvement and expansion of statistical services of the government, indispensable to the maintenance of sound economic policies and necessary to labor as well as management.

The work of interpreting and analyzing wage, productivity, employment and other statistics was carried forward on an expanded scale.

Collective Bargaining Services

Particularly useful to our affiliates engaged in wage negotiations is the factual information supplied by our Research Department on wage rates and wage changes in particular companies, localities or industries. Relying on its own file of contract wage scales and having access to the available government and private sources of wage data, the Department is often able to provide to union negotiators wage scale material otherwise unavailable to them.

There is also much demand from our unions for guidance regarding prevailing practice on various benefits and working conditions. Our research staff supplies valuable information on vacation, holiday, and premium pay practices, health, welfare, and pension plans, grievance and arbitration procedures, seniority standards, and other bargaining matters.

Perhaps the most widely needed by unions is the information on the financial status of individual firms with which our affiliates bargain. While such information is unobtainable in some cases, hundreds of requests have been filled. The Department has also provided guidance to union negotiators regarding economic prospects in particular industries or trades.

The A. F. of L. Research Department often calls on research directors of our International Unions for aid in gathering specialized information. Their prompt and helpful responses have contributed greatly to the success of this service.

Coordination of Union Research Activities

There are today more than 50 A. F. of L. National and International Unions with research directors of their own, with two Trades Departments and nine State Federations of Labor having research officers. Our own Department has greatly enhanced the value of such services through mutual exchange of information, circularization of materials among the affiliated departments and periodic conferences held in Washington.

The conference convened on November 23, 1953 was devoted mainly to the dangerous cutbacks in the government statistical services, the appraisal of bargaining prospects and stock-taking of research materials needed by negotiators. The meeting held on June 23, 1954, examined the shortcomings of employment and unemployment statistics and appraised the program, initiated by the A. F. of L., of correcting misleading reports on so-called "wage-pattern settlements." In a session devoted to a discussion of economic trends, the group met with Dr. Arthur F. Burns, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, in a frank, off-the-record discussion of economic policies.

A. F. of L. Pamphlets

Demand for A. F. of L. pamphlets continued to increase during the past year, both from within the labor movement and from every segment of the American community, including private organizations, libraries, students, teachers, research scholars and thousands of individuals who simply turned to the A. F. of L. as the best source of information about labor and economic conditions as well as problems they faced as citizens.

Among the new publications brought out during the past year, *A. F. of L. Looks Ahead* by President George Meany attracted particularly wide attention. A pamphlet containing the 1953 Convention declaration of A. F. of L.'s insistence on safeguarding the rights of individuals while dealing effectively with the insidious threat of Communism was published under the title *The Freedoms We Defend.* Publication of a simple descriptive chart showing the *Structural Organization of the A. F. of L.* proved much in demand and went through several printings.

A pamphlet prepared by our director of Social Insurance Activities on *Your Stake in the Social Security Trust Fund* served the purpose of helping win our fight to carry out the automatic increase in the social security tax last January and thus protect the future integrity of the fund. *Our Program for Social Security* by President Meany provided a definitive and forceful summary of the A. F. of L. position on the issues confronting the nation in this vital field.

Labor and Education in 1953, providing the record of all actions of our 1953 Conventon in this field, was among the publications brought out by our Education Department. *For Peace and Freedom,* a booklet which brings together all official A. F. of L. declarations on international policy in 1953, was brought out by our committee on International Labor Relations, with a special introduction by President Meany.

In addition, a number of previously published pamphlets were completely revised, brought up to date and republished in modern, attractive format, rounding out a publications program responsive to the demand for readable and informative material about the history of the American Federation of Labor, its services to the wage-earners of the nation and its current programs and policies to advance the well-being of all Americans.

"Research Report"

The A. F. of L. Research Department publishes for the use of our affiliates a monthly *Research Report*. This publication brings within the reach of local union officers and representatives a handy and authoritative summary of the latest developments in collective bargaining, significant labor decisions and activities of government agencies and the courts, as well as a round up of current economic trends. The *Research Report* is also available to others on a subscription basis.

In the bargaining area, the *Research Report* has, in response to many requests, provided a series of analyses to serve as guides to current bargaining practices. These have included such subjects as severance pay, pensions, wage differentials, paid holidays, vacations, and premium pay for weekend work. In addition, several times a year it has presented a detailed review of current wage and other bargaining results which many unions have found particularly helpful in their negotiations.

The *Research Report* has documented on a current basis the steady reversal of previously established policies and the increasingly anti-union nature of the new rulings of the National Labor Relations Board. On the economic scene, it reports succinctly on changes in the major economic indicators of particular interest to union negotiators.

The steady increase in the demand for subscriptions and many favorable comments reflect the growing value of the *Research Report* to our affiliates.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

This has been a year of substantial progress in advancing the public relations of the American Federation of Labor.

Favorable news stories and editorials in the daily press and in weekly and monthly periodicals far outweighed the usual barrage of negative and critical articles.

In particular, the Federation earned good, constructive publicity by its fight to clean up the New York City waterfront; by the consummation of the No-Raiding Agreement with the CIO; by the progress made toward the establishment of a plan to end jurisdictional strife among A. F. of L. affiliates; by its relentless campaign against Communism and by its efforts in support of progressive legislation and worthwhile national causes.

It should also be pointed out that our unions helped to promote better public relations at the local level by increased participation in community improvement programs. These activities serve effectively to prove that labor is a force for good in the life of our country.

The record demonstrates that good public relations cannot be achieved by wishful thinking, by stunt publicity or by sheer volume of publicity releases. Organized labor will be judged in the long run by what it does for its own members, for the American people as a whole and for the advancement of American ideals.

In the year ahead the Federation should strive to consolidate and extend the ground it has gained in improving public relations through every medium available.

Highlights and recommendations with regard to specific public relations activities follow:

Radio News Program

The American Federation of Labor's radio news program is now in its fifth year.

From the beginning, the Executive Council, through its Publicity Committee, has been constantly striving to improve this program and widen the range of its audience.

To accomplish this goal, the Council sought to establish a standard of full and accurate coverage of the news, fair presentation of the news and intelligent interpretation of the news from the liberal point of view.

Three years ago, the Council's Publicity Committee met with Frank Edwards and impressed upon him the necessity of conforming to this high standard in his broadcasts. A verbal understanding was reached to implement the Committee's directive.

For some time, Mr. Edwards did conform to this understanding. Then, little by little, he began to depart from it with resultant deterioration of the broadcasts.

On August 2, President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler met with Mr. Edwards and submitted to him a policy memorandum restating in written form the same understanding he had agreed to three years earlier. He accepted this memorandum without raising any objection.

One week later, during the Executive Council's August meeting in New York, Mr. Edwards sent in a letter to President Meany refusing to adhere to the terms of the policy memorandum and submitting his resignation effective December 31. This meant that he would continue to broadcast for more than four months without accepting the policies laid down in the memorandum of August 2.

The Executive Council decided instead to avail itself of the termination clause in the A. F. of L.'s contract with Mr. Edwards. For the time being, Harry Flannery, of the *AFL News-Reporter* editorial staff, was assigned to take over the radio news program. Mr. Flannery is an experi-

enced newscaster and commentator, formerly on the staff of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

We recommend that this convention authorize the Executive Council to use its good judgment in advancing the public relations of the American Federation of Labor during the coming year through the use of the various media including television and radio which is available.

Free Time Radio

The "As We See It" series over the American Broadcasting Company network stood out as the pre-eminent free time labor radio program of the year. Other networks provided occasional free time on request for speeches, special events and labor participation in debate and interview programs, both on radio and TV.

AFL News-Reporter

The *AFL News-Reporter*, in its third year, gained widespread recognition as an outstanding weekly labor publication, consistently accurate, authoritative, interesting and attractive. It became apparent, however, that lack of an organized circulation program was preventing this publication from obtaining the wide readership it should have among union members. Accordingly, an experienced newspaperman has been engaged as Circulation Manager of the paper and a drive for more subscriptions launched.

The Executive Council feels it would be highly educational and conducive to improved morale for local unions throughout the nation to subscribe to this weekly newspaper for all their members, especially where there is no local labor paper available. The cost is only $1 a year per member in orders of 50 or more and the paper will be mailed directly to the homes of the members. We cannot urge too strongly the importance of such action in order that our members may be well informed and get a true perspective on what the trade union movement is seeking to accomplish for them and in the national interest.

Labor Press

The dissolution of Labor Press Associated cut off an important news source available to the labor press and renewed the threat that Communist-influenced news agencies might regain lost ground. To fill the breach, the American Federation of Labor promptly revived its free weekly news service in mimeographed form on a three days a week basis. This service, together with the additional news and expanded mat service made available by the *AFL News-Reporter* has been widely hailed by editors of labor publications.

The Executive Council sincerely appreciates the loyal support given to the aims and objectives of the American Federation of Labor so consistently by the bona fide labor press. We note with approval the continuous efforts being made by the International Labor Press of America

to expose and prosecute unethical publications masquerading as legitimate labor papers. It is the basic policy of the American Federation of Labor to give constant support and encouragement to the bona fide labor press and we will continue to cooperate with it fully in every practical program to improve both editoral content and circulation.

"The American Federationist"

The official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor continued its service to the labor movement during the past year. It placed before its readers, in an attractive, modern format, numerous authoritative articles dealing with domestic and international labor problems. A wealth of material has been published on the activities of the American Federation of Labor, affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor and city central bodies.

The Executive Council is gratified that *The American Federationist* has performed its traditional functions in the service of the trade union cause during the year in such a way as to maintain its position of leadership among the official magazines issued by national labor federations.

The Executive Council recommends that efforts be made in the year ahead to increase the circulation of *The American Federationist* among trade unionists and the general public.

Noticiario Obrero Norteamericano (North American Labor News)

The Spanish-language newspaper, published semi-monthly by the office of the President, continues to grow in influence and circulation throughout Latin America.

Through the medium of the **Noticiario**, now in its eleventh year of publication, the American Federation of Labor gives news of the day-to-day activities of the American trade union movement to the trade unionists of Latin America. It has continued its outspoken and firm opposition to those who would suppress the legitimate work of the trade unions and their leaders. Since its inception, the Spanish-language newspaper has been one of the mediums of the A. F. of L. in promoting understanding and cooperation among the workers of the western hemisphere.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

We reported to the 1953 Convention that the first session of the 83rd Congress got down to its routine work rather slowly, and we excused them to some extent because a new Administration was taking over the legislative machinery and naturally it took some time to organize. For the first six months the second session was very dilatory and except for numerous investigations, most of which were undertaken with eyes on the November elections, very little was accomplished until the last two months of the session when the legislators sped up their work and passed bills in wholesale lots.

The McCarthy investigation was one of those that occupied the limelight on television and for a time demoralized the legislative activities of Congress.

A thirteen-day filibuster on the Atomic Energy bill also delayed action and caused the postponement of the July 31 adjournment date which had tentatively been agreed on.

After this filibuster was ended, for several days the Flanders Resolution to censure Senator McCarthy further delayed matters.

Considered as a whole, the 83rd Congress has been one of the most difficult ever encountered and the spurt in the last few weeks of the Congress to enact legislation is not a good way to legislate as bills are rammed through without proper notice or consideration. In one day the Senate enacted four hundred fifteen bills.

While the amount of legislation passed was large, much of it was not of the quality hoped for by farmers, taxpayers, in the lower brackets, and consumers.

The details as to legislation considered follow:

The Ground Rules for Legislating

No important changes have been made in the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 since its adoption. This act includes the rules under which lobbying on a national basis may be conducted.

The American Federation of Labor has always observed, with scrupulous care, all requirements laid down for those who seek legislation. But what affects other groups operating on the legislative front likewise will affect us.

In this connection, the most recent Supreme Court decision included two principal points. One was the ruling on the constitutionality of the requirement for registration and the second was on a full disclosure of finances. This decision was in the case of J. S. vs. Robert M. Harris, Ralph W. Moore, Tom Linder and the National Farm Committee.

Two House bills on the general subject were introduced, but without final action by the Judiciary Committee. (1) H. R. 6513, to require the filing with certain Government agencies of a complete disclosure of expenditures and income to influence legislation. (2) H. R. 6915, to require registration of state, territorial and local agencies engaging in lobbying to register.

The Kennedy bill presented in the Senate late in the year (S. 3775), too late to attract widespread notice, would overhaul Title 3 of the basic act and would sharpen the details of provisions governing registration and general lobbying activities, with duplicate reports going to the Department of Justice and with stiff penalties for conviction on violations. This bill in some form can be expected to be considered seriously before long.

Taft-Hartley Amendments (S. 2650)

Beginning on page 361 of the 1952 A. F. of L. Convention Proceedings will be found the address of the then Republican candidate for the Presi-

dency, Dwight Eisenhower, during which he made promises regarding favorable amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act.

After his election and qualification as President, on January 11, 1954, he sent a message to Congress making recommendations which fall far short of the promises he had made.

Senator Alexander Smith of New Jersey, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, introduced a bill (S. 2650) which was supposed to, but did not, contain all of the Presidential recommendations. In committee he held consideration to the recommendations of the President over strenuous objections from the Democratic members. The latter were excluded from final preparation of the bill and it was voted out of the Committee by a strictly party vote of 7 to 6.

As reported, a few minor, favorable proposals were contained in the bill, but the major proposals were so objectionable it was necessary for us to oppose it in its entirety.

Many amendments, most of them very objectionable, were pending when the Senate began consideration of the bill on May 3, and as the Senate then had 36 Senators who voted against Labor previously for Taft-Hartley and only 13 who voted favorably with the remaining members divided 17 favorable, 17 unfavorable with 13 doubtful, it was realized the bill could not be defeated as the Senate stood 30 favorable, 53 unfavorable and 13 doubtful, so it was decided to endeavor to recommit the bill.

Not having the votes to do this we realized, before the Senate began debating the bill, that we would be obliged to resort to parliamentary maneuvers to accomplish our purpose.

When debate began in the Senate on the bill, after Chairman Smith had made his speech in behalf of it, Senator Goldwater presented his very objectionable amendment. This amendment turned all labor matters back to the states. This was most objectionable to practically all Democratic and Republican Senators from northern states as there are now 17 states, mostly in the south, who have "right-to-work," non-union-shop laws, and the amendment would have given further impetus to the migration of industry to these southern states, and we were advised that if the Goldwater Amendment was adopted that all southern Senators would be obliged to vote for the bill. We, therefore, permitted the debate to continue for a couple days and then Senators Ives and Lehman presented Fair Labor Practice amendments. This, of course, put the southerners on the spot because they were obliged to oppose this and it also did the same for the Republicans who, as a party, are supposed to favor the proposal. The A. F. of L. was opposed to a FEPC proposal being added to a labor bill.

We then made arrangements with Senator Hill to offer the motion to recommit before any amendments were voted on and as all factions were fearful and more or less confused, they voted to recommit the bill, 50 to 42.

Senator Hill did a magnificent job in presenting his recommittal motion and every Democratic Senator voted for recommittal with Republican

Senators Langer, Malone and Young joining them, as did Independent Senator Wayne Morse.

Prior to all this, President Meany presented a statement to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in regard to the bill. He also sent an analysis of the bill, with a letter, to all National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions, and Federal Labor Unions, requesting them to contact their Senators in opposition to it. Also he sent a letter to all members of the Senate just prior to the time the vote came on recommittal, asking them to vote for recommittal.

The leading newspapers of the country have stated that the recommittal of this bill was the greatest legislative defeat President Eisenhower has received in either session of the 83rd Congress.

The bill is dead for this session.

In connection with the Taft-Hartley Law, H. R. 8211, introduced by Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia, must be considered. The bill is not an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Law, but will affect it in exactly the same manner as the Goldwater Amendment described just above.

In addition to its effect on the Taft-Hartley Law, it would negate all labor laws enacted by the United States Congress and supersede them by state laws unless Congress specifies in each law otherwise.

Other than labor laws would also be adversely affected.

Senator Goldwater and Representative Smith of Virginia are persistent, able men and will have a large following composed of conservative members. Their activities along these lines in the United States Congress will greatly encourage anti-labor activities in the 44 state legislatures meeting in 1955.

(See State Legislative Activities and report of A. F. L. Attorneys.)

Atomic Energy

Bills to amend the McMahon Atomic Energy Act of 1946 attracted more attention than any other legislation during this session of Congress. Four all-night sessions of the Senate highlighted protracted debate in that body, called a filibuster by administration leaders, an educational campaign by those opposing the administration bill. In the House the bill was debated continuous for over 17 hours—a near record for that chamber.

Extensive hearings were held by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy on companion bills H. R. 8862 (Cole, N. Y.) and S. 3323 (Hickenlooper, Iowa). We presented testimony setting forth the position of the American Federation of Labor as adopted at the 1952 and 1953 conventions. We emphasized that any legislation should protect the people's investment of 12 billion dollars in the development of atomic energy and keep control of this valuable new source of power in the public domain.

We criticized the bills for not carrying proper safeguards against the growth of monopoly in the atomic field. We opposed both government and private monopoly. We urged that a system of licensing corporations interested in the peacetime use of atomic energy be established. We backed the President's position that:

"Until industrial participation in the utilization of atomic energy acquires a broader base, considerations of fairness require some mechanism to assure that the limited number of companies, which as Government contractors now have access to the program, cannot build a patent monopoly which would exclude others desiring to enter the field."

We also urged the establishment of a Labor-Management Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission as proposed by the 1953 convention.

We criticized the Atomic Energy Commission for failing to report to the Congress on the economic and social effects of the proposed use of atomic energy in industry, as required by section 7(b) of the McMahon Act. The Act specifically states that such a report should be filed before legislation to authorize such use is considered. This report has never been filed.

We also urged that the McMahon Act be amended to permit the development of the International Atomic Pool for peaceful use of atomic energy recommended by President Eisenhower in his speech before the United Nations.

The Committee reported H. R. 9757 (Cole) and S. 3690 (Hickenlooper) bills which were an improvement in many respects over the earlier ones, but which did not meet the full standards we had suggested.

Shortly before the bills were reported a legislative storm broke over the orders of the President to the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into a contract with a private utility combine known as the Dixon-Yates group to build a steam plant in Arkansas to furnish 600,000 kilowatt hours yearly to the Tennessee Valley Authority to replace power from TVA plants which was to be furnished to the AEC. The contract would cover all construction costs, guarantee an annual profit to the company, and include payment of income taxes for the company. Friends of TVA fought the plan bitterly and charged it was usurpation of authority by the President and a drain on the taxpayer. They estimated that if TVA were allowed to proceed with the construction of the plant the taxpayer would save $140,000,000 over a 25-year period. They charged the contract was the opening gun in a drive to destroy the TVA.

This contract was fought bitterly in both the Senate and House but amendments to void it were defeated in both Houses. The Senate did adopt an amendment prohibiting the payment of income taxes by the AEC in any contract entered into with a private utility.

Other actions on the legislation found the House and Senate taking drastically opposed paths. From our position, the House weakened the bill; the Senate strengthened it.

The House adopted two amendments by Representative Cole of New York, Chairman of the Joint Committee. The first prohibited the AEC from building any yardstick plants for generating power from atomic reactors. The other knocked out the provision recommended by the President requiring that patents in the atomic field be registered with

the Commission with a compulsory licensing feature for five years so that no monopoly could be created and substituted a provision permitting exclusive private patent rights.

The Senate adopted the Kerr amendment extending the compulsory patent licensing provision to ten years and the Johnson (Colo.) amendment explicitly authorizing the AEC to build yardstick generating plants when such action is necessary to protect the public interest.

The Senate adopted the Kerr amendment extending the compulsory patent licensing provision to ten years and the Johnson (Colo.) amendment explicitly authorizing the AEC to build yardstick generating plants when such action is necessary to protect the public interest. It also adopted several amendments by Senator Humphrey and one by Senator Gillette to apply the "preference" clause of the Federal Public Power Law to all power sold by the AEC and to the granting of licenses for building reactors. These amendments would give first call on the sale of power and building of reactors for power plants to REA co-ops and public bodies.

In the conference on the bill the views of Chairman Cole prevailed and the conference report carried two sections to which labor and liberal groups particularly objected. They were (1) a patent section which did not carry compulsory cross-licensing provisions (2) the addition of the words "insofar as practicable" to the preference amendments, which in effect nullified their purpose.

The conference report passed the House perfunctorily. In the Senate a tremendous fight developed. Opponents of the wide open patent provisions and advocates of the preference clauses for REA and public power projects joined hands and defeated the conference report 48-41. The Senate then instructed its conferees to insist on the Senate amendments.

In a subsequent conference the Senate conferees succeeded in getting the "three little words" eliminated. The patent question was settled by establishing a 5-year period in which there will be compulsory cross-licensing on atomic patents.

The bill as finally passed represents a victory for those who fought to protect the public interest in the new source of power. Special credit should be given to Congressman Holifield for the unrelenting fight he made in the Joint Committee, and also to Senators Johnson (Colo.) and Anderson for their firm stand in the conference committee.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy will be reviewing the patent and power sections of the legislation early in the next session. We will continue to follow developments closely and maintain our contacts with the committee. The partial victory we won this year is pleasing but we are well aware that constant vigilance must be maintained to protect the people's interest in atomic energy.

Additional report under ATOMIC ENERGY.

TAXES

Tax reductions to the extent of $7.3 billion have gone into effect since January 1, 1954. The bulk of these tax savings will accrue to corporations and upper income taxpayers.

The expiration of the excess profits tax reducing revenue by $2 billion yearly and the reduction in personal income taxes involving revenue loss of $3 billion yearly went into effect on January 1, 1954, as scheduled.

Less than $1 billion of the $3 billion individual income tax reductions accrued to taxpayers receiving incomes of less than $5,000 a year. It is apparent, therefore, that more than $4 billion of the $5 billion scheduled tax reductions went to corporations and upper income groups.

Other reductions were made in excise taxes for an estimated saving of $1 billion yearly and in H. R. 8300, the Revenue Revision Bill of 1954, which through tax escape provisions will result in initial tax savings of $1.3 billion.

In his message to Congress early in 1954, President Eisenhower recommended that the reduction in the corporate income tax and in excise taxes which would have resulted in revenue loss of two billion dollars be postponed. These reductions were scheduled to go into effect on April 1, 1954.

The President also recommended support for H. R. 8300, the Revenue Revision Bill of 1954, which he declared contained many provisions that would improve the tax structure and benefit the economy.

The American Federation of Labor could see no reason for the new and unscheduled tax reductions proposed by the President, particularly since he was at the same time urging that the excessively high excise taxes be continued beyond the scheduled expiration date of April 1. The A. F. of L. has urged steadily that if revenue needs permitted new and additional tax cuts, priority should be given to reducing the tax rate on the first $2,000 of taxable income and in raising the exemption.

Excise Tax

The excise Tax Bill (H. R. 8224) passed Congress on March 31, 1954, with token resistance despite strong administration opposition to heavy revenue losses. (Public Law 324, 83rd Congress.)

This bill as enacted was a compromise measure which reduced excise tax rates on most items from 25 per cent, 20 per cent and 15 per cent to a flat 10 per cent. In addition, excise tax rates on home appliances were reduced from 10 per cent to 5 per cent and admissions costing 50 cents or less were exempted. The excessively high rates on tobacco products, liquor, tires and a number of other commodities were continued but are now scheduled to expire on April 1, 1955.

This reduction will amount to an estimated tax saving of $1 billion yearly.

Tax Revision

For the first time since 1870, Congress reviewed the whole revenue code, which resulted in an 875-page omnibus tax revision bill. The bill (H. R. 8300) passed Congress on July 29, 1954. (Public Law 591, 83rd Congress.)

While the bill contains some desirable changes, it includes many objectionable provisions granting tax relief to certain individuals and businesses under the plea of relieving hardship, at an initial loss of revenue of $1.3 billion, which will eventually total several billion dollars yearly.

The bill (H. R. 8300) passed the House on March 18, 1950, and in general granted relief in huge amounts to corporations and dividend recipients. A motion to recommit with instructions to omit the reduction on income from dividends and increase the exemptions from $600 to $700 was defeated by a very close vote (210-204).

In the Senate three proposals to cut taxes on wages and salaries were also defeated. The first vote came on a hastily devised Republican plan to cut taxes $20 per person, $40 for a man and wife, but no provision for dependents. This was defeated, 49 to 46, with a few Republicans joining the Democrats.

The second vote was on the Democratic proposal which the Republicans had sought to head off. This provided for a $100 increase in the exemptions allowed for each member of a family, an $80 tax cut for an average family of four. From the point of view of working families, the only merit in the G. O. P. proposal over that of the Democrats was that it would have gone into effect July 1 instead of January 1. The Democratic measure was also defeated, 46 to 49, with a few Democrats voting with Republicans.

The third vote was on the Long amendment to reduce taxes $20 per person for each member of the family. This amendment was defeated by a large majority. It is apparent that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans were in favor of an individual tax reduction in this session of Congress.

On the other hand, the Senate did delete the House provision on dividend credits of 5 per cent and 10 per cent. However, a compromise was reached in conference and a 4 per cent credit on income from dividends was provided in the final version of the bill.

The two most objectionable provisions of the new tax law are:

Accelerated Depreciation. This provision provides a new accelerated depreciation formula which will allow taxpayers to write off through tax reductions, the cost of new plants and equipment by means of a "double declining balance" method instead of the present "straightline" method. Under the "straightline" method the tax reductions are spread evenly over the useful life of the property. Under the "declining balance" method the tax write-off will be larger in the first years of useful life of the property, and decline in succeeding years. Estimated revenue losses under

this plan will be $375 million the first year, which will eventually total $20 billion over a period of years.

Dividend Credit. This provsion will exclude the first $50 on dividend income from federal taxes. The taxpayers also can subtract 4 per cent of any additional dividend income from their tax bill. This will result in an ultimate revenue loss of $200 million annually. The Administration originally proposed excluding the first $50 of dividend income this year and the first $100 in future years. It also wanted a tax credit of 5 per cent this year and 10 per cent in future years on remaining dividends.

Other main features of the law are:

Corporation Profits. This provision provides that the scheduled five-point reduction from 52 per cent to 47 per cent on corporation profits is deferred from April 1, 1954, to April 1, 1955. In this connection it should be pointed out the expiration of the excess profits tax on January 1 meant a $2 billion yearly windfall to a group of the wealthiest corporations. This windfall has been reflected in increased dividends and reserves in a number of cases in the face of a general decline in sales and employment.

Medical Expenses. Taxpayers will be permitted to deduct medical and dental expenses exceeding 3 per cent of gross income, instead of 5 per cent as provided by present law. The maximum medical expense deduction will be increased from $1,250 to $2,500 per exemption. The maximum in the case of a joint return will be increased to $10,000.

Child Care. A working widow, widower or divorced person, or a married couple with a combined income of less than $4,500 a year, can deduct up to $600 for expenses in the care of any dependent who is mentally or physically incapable of caring for himself.

Retirement Income. The first $1,200 of retirement income of persons over 65 will be exempt from income tax, with a maximum credit of $240. Persons who retire under public retirement plans—school teacher, firemen, policemen and governmental employees—can retire before 65 and still get the $1,200 exemption.

Working Children. Children earning more than $600 can still be claimed as dependents by their parents if they are under 19, or if they are attending school and the parents contribute more than half of their support.

The law also postponed the annual income tax deadline from March 15 to April 15, starting next year.

The bulk of the tax relief provided in the new tax law will accrue to corporations and upper income taxpayers. However, workers and their families will accrue some tax relief through provisions set forth therein. All members of the American Federation of Labor are urged to secure authoritative explanations of the new revenue law just as soon as they are available so they may be fully acquainted with any and all benefits to which they may be entitled.

The American Federation of Labor did not oppose any of the technical

provisions that were designed to simplify or strengthen existing law. However, we went repeatedly on record as opposed to using the tax revision bill as a pretext for pushing through tax escape provisions that will result in initial tax savings of $1.3 billion which will ultimately increase to $3 billion yearly.

Additional report under title, "Taxation."

Sales Tax on Bread

The House bill for price supports on agricultural products (H. R. 9680) carried a section for a two-price system on wheat. The effect of this proposal would have been to increase the price of bread by about 1 cent per loaf. We were successful in having this section of the bill eliminated in the Senate Agriculture Committee.

Social Security (Public Law 690, 83rd Congress.)

The most important legislative gain in this session came with the passage of the Reed bill, H. R. 9366, which made significant amendments to the Social Security Law. Although the bill did not make all the improvements we would have liked, its passage did accomplish the following:

1. Establish bi-partisan support for our contributory social insurance system which the American Federation of Labor has always supported.

2. Increased benefits for all recipients.

3. Raised the taxable wage base to $4,200, which means that most of the higher paid workers obtain the increased benefits from the social security system to which they have long been entitled. This increase in the taxable base also puts the entire system on a sounder financial basis.

4. Extended coverage to several additional millions of citizens. The bill, which was sponsored by the Administration, passed the House, 355-8; the Senate by voice vote.

The real legislative fights on this measure came in committee. A determined effort to retain the old $3,600 wage base was made in the House Ways and Means Committee. We defeated this move by a vote of 14-10.

In the Senate Finance Committee a proposal to open the system to voluntary coverage of certain groups was at one stage adopted. We protested this move as destructive of the basic principles of a sound social insurance system and were successful in having the committee reverse itself.

There are still gaps in the system, such as the need for disability insurance, which will have to be met in future Congresses, but we are definitely pleased with the progress made this year. The assistance received from many State and City Central bodies was most helpful in achieving this significant victory.

(For complete details of the bill passed see the section on Social Security.)

Maritime

The plight of the Nation's shipbuilding industry has been a matter of increasing concern to the American Federation of Labor. Our nation's ability to mobilize quickly in the event of a national crisis is a matter of utmost importance to all of us.

United States shipbuilding is an industry subject to extreme ups and downs. In wartime, it has always been greatly expanded, but in peace has been allowed to languish. During World War I, for example, ship output was boosted from 24 vessels to several hundred. In the 1920's and 1930's production fell almost to zero.

During World War II, United States Shipyards were reactivated, with the result that between 1940 and 1945, this country turned out about 5,000 vessels, more than any other nation. But by this spring, with only 35 ships on order, America has fallen to seventh place among the world's shipbuilding countries.

The current maritime crisis presents several dangers to this nation. One is economic. Thousands of shipyard workers are now either unemployed or facing dismissal. The most recent available figures of the Department of Labor show that private yards employed in March 1954, a total of 115,000 workers, in contrast to 1,400,000 at the height of World War II. Today's employment, therefore, represents only 8 per cent of the peak reached late in 1943.

Another danger is that lack of a modern Merchant Marine may have serious effects on foreign trade. At present only about one-fourth of America's trade moves in U. S. ships.

Perhaps the greatest threat of all is that, in the event of war, the United States will be caught with an obsolete Merchant Marine Fleet, incapable of discharging its maritime defense needs. The shipbuilding facilities of the nation are part and parcel of our nation's defense program. The success of any overseas operation depends directly on the availability of speedy modern vessels to transport both men and equipment.

Considerations of national defense require that sufficient shipbuilding facilities be maintained in operation, together with the employment of the necessary skills to constitute a nucleus of facilities and manpower adequate for rapid expansion in the event of full mobilization.

It is clear that under today's conditions, this requirement is not being fulfilled. In fact, this is the specific conclusion which has been reached by a most careful and thorough study of the entire maritime industry made by the Department of Commerce and the Maritime Administration. This report, which reviews the nation's policies regarding both the shipping and shipbuilding industries, is very emphatic about the conditions which have recently developed in the shipbuilding industry.

The report recognizes that the most critical factor with regard to shipbuilding facilities is a lack of skilled and trained manpower. The re-

port analyzes the manpower requirements necessary in the event of full mobilization and concludes that a total of approximately 479,000 workers will be required for merchant ship construction in the event of another emergency.

Several bills designed to improve the maritime situation were enacted in this session of Congress. Namely:

S. 3458—**Long-Term Charter of Tankers by Navy.** Passed Congress July 29, 1954. Public Law No. 575, 83rd Congress.

The bill as enacted provides for the private construction of 15 tankers and for Government construction of 5. Upon completion, the tankers will be operated by the United States Military Sea Transportation Service during a charter period limited to 10 years. Upon expiration of the charter period, unless the charter is renewed, the tankers will revert to private use.

S. 2408—**Amending the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to Provide a National Defense Reserve of Tankers and to Promote the Construction of New Tankers.** Passed Congress on August 3, 1954. Public Law No. 574, 83rd Congress.

The purpose of this Act is to provide authorization to the Secretary of Commerce until June 30, 1958, to acquire war-built tankers ten years or more of age in exchange for an allowance of credit to be applied upon the cost of construction of new tankers plus the cost of national defense features built into the new tankers.

S. 3546—**Providing an Immediate Program for the Modernization and Improvement of Such Merchant-type Vessels in the Reserve Fleet As Are Necessary for National Defense.** Passed Congress on August 11, 1954. Public Law No. 608, 8rd Congress.

The Act authorizes conversion of out-of-service vessels to naval auxiliaries at a cost of not more than $25 million. The Secretary of Commerce is directed to enter into contracts with private shipbuilding or ship-repairing yards on the Atlantic, Pacific and Gulf coasts within six months. These contracts may be entered into without competitive bidding whenever the Secretary of Commerce deems it necessary to carry out the purpose of this Act.

H. R. 9987—**Amending Certain Provisions of Title XI of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, to Facilitate Private Financing of New Ship Construction.** Passed Congress on August 18, 1954. Public Law No. 781, 83rd Congress.

Under the provisions of this Act, the Secretary of Commerce may guarantee up to 90 per cent of a mortgage upon a vessel of not to exceed 75 per cent of its cost for a mortgagor possessing the ability, experience, financial resources, and other qualifications necessary to the adequate operation and maintenance of the mortgaged vessel. Also in the case of special-purpose vessels certified by the Secretary of Defense to be essential to national defense, the Secretary of Commerce may insure 100 per cent of the mortgage. Vessels purchased under the Merchant Ship Sales

Act of 1946 for exclusive use on the Great Lakes may secure insurance on a mortgage in the amount of 75 per cent of cost, plus amounts expended for preparing the vessels for their intended use, or 75 per cent of the estimated value of the vessel as completed, whichever is less. In case of passenger vessels, the mortgage may provide that the sole recourse upon default is against the mortgaged vessel.

Long Range Program

H. R. 9253 and companion bill S. 3722—**To Provide for a Program of Merchant-ship Construction in American Shipyards.**

This proposal provided for the construction of sixty cargo and cargo-passenger ships per year of such types as the Secretary of Commerce shall determine to be necessary for the effectuation of the policy of the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

Testimony was presented to the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries by President Brownlow of the Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor, in support of this legislation. He pointed out that the program embodied in H. R. 9253 is the absolute minimum that should be enacted without delay at the present time.

The Congress failed to act on this proposal before adjournment, but it is expected to be given early consideration in the next session of Congress.

The "50-50" Shipping Legislation

S. 3233 would amend the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, as amended, and it would provide permanent legislation to insure cargo preference to privately owned American-flag vessels of water-borne commerce. In the past, the Congress has been content to express an opinion that this should be done, but there has been no follow-through.

The United States fleet is confronted with an urgent need. American shipyards are far from being the beehives of activity they once were. Other nations are working extra hours to produce the bottoms in which to carry the cargoes of the world.

In the two World Wars, this Nation had the advantage of months of preparation to construct the Liberty ships and the Victory ships and others. Wars no longer wait on nations to bide their time.

President Meany took a hand on this issue and called for the united effort of the National and International Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Unions and Federal Labor Unions to intercede with their members of the Congress in support of S. 3233. Not alone is the prestige of the United States directly involved in this legislation but many kinds of jobs are tied in with the industry of building ships.

In addition to those employed in operating the ships, many crafts in the A. F. of L. are required to build the ships in addition to those who fabricate parts, manufacture furniture, fabrics and so forth for them.

Combined with the Tollefson bill (H. R. 9253), authorizing construction

of 60 cargo and cargo-passenger ships each year, the legislation would be extremely important in rehabilitating our Merchant Marine Fleet.

Competition from foreign quarters and failure to build our own fleet to carry our own cargoes, half of which are Government-controlled overseas shipments, leaves the United States in a definitely defensive condition.

Administration viewpoint included a statement from the Department of Agriculture that it felt no concern over the legislation. The Department of Commerce reported that Army, Navy and Air Force supplies should move in privately owned American-flag vessels and that "foreign military and economic aid legislation should contain cargo preference provisions."

S. 3233, passed in the Senate, was reported by the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee instead of the Tollefson Bill, inasmuch as the Senate already had taken action.

The Nation's need for shipping facilities is more apparent in view of the "feelers" put out by the Soviet Union for 65 cargo vessels ranging from 3,200 to 10,000 deadweight tons and ships of other sizes.

The Administration successfully bottled up S. 3233 in the House Rules Committee for months chiefly because of opposition by the Department of State. The Department argued this was discriminatory legislation against American interests abroad. The Bureau of the Budget, expressing the White House viewpoint, and the Department of the Navy likewise, added in blocking the bill.

It has been the consistent campaign by the State Department which has caused the advisory provisions of "50-50" in the past to be ignored as a practice or to be omitted from legislation at one time or another.

The bill became dislodged at long last and became Public Law 664.

Walsh-Healey

The Payne Bill (S. 1703) and others, introduced in the first session of this Congress to amend the Walsh-Healey Act, remained at a standstill during this session and the bills died in Committee. The purpose of these bills is to repeal or modify the Fulbright amndment to the Walsh-Healey Act.

The Fulbright amendment did three things. It required proceedings under the Public Contracts Act to conform to the Administrative Procedure Act. It provided for court review of a wage determination if suit is filed by an aggrieved or adversely affected party within 90 days of its issuance. The amendment, further, allowed court tests of any legal question under the Act at any time by an interested party, even though he had signed a contract containing stipulations which he subsequently wished to contest in court.

Under this procedure, the cotton textile wage determination of $1 per hour has been pending before the courts for over two years and it may take another two or three years before the case is finally decided. The

southern employers who are plaintiffs in this litigation, as opposed to those employers who have intervened in support of the Government's view, are taking the general position that the word "locality" applies to all methods of determining prevailing minimum wages under the Act. They hold, further, that "locality" must be interpreted narrowly in the sense of city, town, village, or other small geographic area. The adoption of such a position would nullify the wage provision of the Walsh-Healey Act.

The purpose of the Payne Bill is to substitute present consideration of the problem by the Congress for years of litigation in the courts. The issue involved is basically economic and the decision is basically one of legislative policy. The Payne Bill puts the issue squarely before the Congress to make that legislative policy decision in the light of economic realities involved in the maintenance of the labor standards set in the Act for supplying the vast quantities of goods that the government buys.

This bill would leave untouched the requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act. It would retain court review of actions taken by the Secretary. It would, however, remove the most contentious element in the problems now facing the Department in its administration of the Public Contracts Act by removing the term "locality" and stating unequivocably that the Secretary is to be guided by the facts of market competition and related economic factors. The bill would thus substantially restore the past effectiveness of the Public Contracts Act in achieving its purpose.

Additional report under WAGE & HOUR ADMINISTRATION.

Defense Manpower Policy No. 4

Efforts were again made this year, as in 1953, to amend the appropriations bill for the Defense Department so as to kill the operation of Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 under which special arrangements are provided for firms located in areas with heavy unemployment to obtain government contracts. While this policy has proved only moderately successful in bringing additional business to these areas, the A. F. of L. has supported Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 since this policy at least recognizes the necessity for distributing government contracts to help reduce unemployment.

While the Senate adopted an amendment by Senator Williams, which would have repealed this policy, it was taken out in conference, and the final version of the bill did not include this provision.

Further details on this subject are listed under NATIONAL DEFENSE.

Unemployment Compensation

Although two forward steps were made in the Federal Unemployment Compensation Act, the Congress also took one backward step and failed to act on the most needed amendments.

The most important gain was made by including federal employees under the Act. We have supported such legislation for several years and

this year appeared in favor of the Mason and Forand bills (H. R. 6537 and H. R. 6539). These bills were incorporated in the Reed bill (H. R. 9709) which passed both Houses and is now Public Law 767, 83rd Congress.

This same Reed bill also amended the federal standards to which all state laws must conform by adding a provision that all employers of four or more employees must come under the act. This bill started as H. R. 8857 (Reed), administration-backed measure, which would have extended coverage to all employers of one or more. Employer opposition, spearheaded by their specialized lobbying group, Unemployment Benefit Advisors, Inc., led to the introduction of the new bill, H. R. 9707. While this bill represents a real advance, we testified for the original proposal of one or more and regret the administration did not press its position more vigorously.

The passage of another Reed bill (H. R. 5173), now Public Law 567, 83rd Congress, is definitely a backward step. This bill proposes to redistribute the collections from the federal unemployment tax over and above the administrative grants to the states and the establishment of a loan fund of $200,000,000 to the states, for use either for additional benefits or for additional administrative expenses. The original bill would have permitted the states to use the funds solely for administrative purposes and would have been another step in the efforts of employer groups to remove all federal controls from our unemployment compensation system. We succeeded in adding the amendment for the use of funds for benefits as well and a couple of other minor amendments. However, we opposed the bill as passed and regret this further weakening of our unemployment compensation laws.

Bills which had our enthusiastic support were H. R. 9430, by Representative Forand of Rhode Island, who was joined by 83 other sponsors, and an identical bill, S. 3553, whose principal sponsors were Senators Douglas, Kennedy and Humphrey. They were joined by 10 more of their colleagues.

These bills were designed to extend the duration of benefits to 39 weeks and make needed increases in benefit payments. The bills also were designed to establish a sound system of reinsurance of state funds instead of the almost meaningless loan fund contained in H. R. 5713.

Congressman Forand made a determined effort to add extended duration and increased benefits to H. R. 9709 by offering amendments to the bill on the House floor. His effort was defeated, 110 yeas to 241 nays.

An equally determined effort was made on the Senate floor by Senator Kennedy, who offered amendments to H. R. 5173 to increase payments and extend duration. His amendment was defeated, 30 yeas to 56 nays.

Every effort will be made in the next Congress to rally support behind these needed reforms in the basic federal law.

(Additional details under title of DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY section on UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION.

EDUCATION

There were four legislative developments in the field of education.

Administration Program

The Administration program centered around three bills, H. R. 7601 (Holt, Calif.), authorizing a White House Conference on Education; H. R. 9040 (Rhodes, Ariz.), to authorize cooperative research in education, and H. R. 7434 (Frelinghuysen, N. J.), to establish a National Advisory Committee on Education.

We joined the American Federation of Teachers in criticizing these bills as minor and picayune in meeting the great educational needs of the American people. At the Senate hearings (no hearings were held in the House) we urged that prompt attention be paid to the need for school construction. We also suggested certain amendments to the three bills, particularly urging that no funds be accepted from or contracts entered into with private organizations, and that the conference and commission be composed of citizens widely representative of all economic groups in our society. The gist of the amendments were accepted and the bills are now respectively Public Laws 530, 531 and 532.

Federal Aid for School Construction

Largely as a result of our urging Senator Cooper, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, held hearings on his bill, S. 2601, for federal aid for school construction, and a comparable bill, S. 2779, sponsored by Senator McClellan and 21 other Senators, all Democrats except Senator Ives. Senator Murray, ranking Democrat and co-author of S. 2779, cooperated closely with Senator Cooper.

Secretary Hobby of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare fought these bills. We urged that a bill be adopted appropriating $1,100,000,000 over a three-year period, arguing that a crisis exists in the lack of proper school facilities. The committee unanimously reported out a revised version of S. 2601, authorizing the expenditure of $500,000,000 over a two-year period. With the American Federation of Teachers, we headed a delegation composed of educational, religious and parent groups which called on Majority Leader Knowland in the closing days of the session. Senator Knowland promised us he would take up the bill.

The House Committee on Education and Labor dragged its feet on this question. In the closing weeks of the session, Chairman McConnell appointed a Subcommittee headed by Representative Kearns. The Subcommittee would have been appointed earlier but Representative Barden, ranking Democrat, did not name any Democratic members until late in the session. This Subcommittee agreed to support S. 2601 if it passed the Senate. Chairman McConnell told a delegation headed by representatives of the American Federation of Teachers and our Legislative Committee he would support the same bill.

Before Congress adjourned several attempts were made to bring the bill to the floor for consideration, but a threat of a filibuster by the opposition caused the bill to be set aside for this session.

Vocational Education

We were successful in having the Health, Education and Welfare Department Appropriation Bill amended to include an additional $5,000,000 for vocational educational grants. This raises the total to $23,498,261, an increase of 26.4 per cent. While this sum is below the authorized total of $29,000,000 under the George-Barden Act, it is the highest appropriation in several years.

We were also successful in preventing action on S. 3271 (Smith, N. J.), a bill to completely revise the system of vocational education grants. The present laws had our support and we see no need for change. What is needed is appropriation of the full amounts authorized.

Oil Royalties for Education

The successor to the Hill amendment this year was S. J. Res. 145, sponsored by these Senators:

Douglas, Green, Gillette, Kefauver, Kilgore, Kennedy, Lehman, Fulbright, Pastore, Murray, Morse, Wiley, Mansfield and Hennings.

This resolution would subject the lands beneath the marginal seas to the provisions of the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act. Revenues derived from such source would be used as grants-in-aid of primary, secondary and higher education.

S. J. Res. 145 frankly was intended to reclaim off-shore oil reserves for the Federal Government and to pledge the federal income for improvement of education facilities. We supported the Hill amendment each time it was offered in preceding Congresses. The legislation became law without the amendment and while we got a vote in the Senate after protracted discussion, the House was never permitted to express is preference. The Hill amendment lost in the Senate in 1953 by a two-vote margin, 43-45.

After its enactment, the off-shore oil act became the basis for legal action by the States of Alabama and Rhode Island seeking transfer of offshore oil lands to all coastal states. On petition for rehearing, Arkansas, West Virginia, Virginia, Kentucky and Montana joined in asking for reconsideration. S. J. Res. 145 remained in Committee without action.

Federal Impact Areas

Public Laws 815 and 874 of the 81st Congress which provide funds for school construction and operation in school districts which have had a large influx of pupils due to activities of the Federal Government, were amended by the passage of S. 3629 and S. 3628, Public Law 731. These bills extend the duration of this desirable legislation for an additional two years and broaden their scope which has been somewhat

restricted by legislation passed last year. We were successful in obtaining adequate appropriations for the legislation which had been in effect but will have to obtain funds in the early part of the next session to satisfy additional claims which will be filed under the new legislation.

Highway Building Gets Prime Attention

Highway construction on a national or state or regional scale got close attention from the Congress this year. Whereas, for many years, Congress has given most of its thinking on transportation to projects included in the Rivers and Harbors Act and the customary appropriations for federal aid projects for roads, this year it enacted Public Law 350 to amend and supplement the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916.

Annual appropriations for federal aid have been running approximately 550 million dollars, Public Law 350 included approximately 700 million for several classes of roads, as follows: 315 million for federal aid primary highway systems; $210 million for federal aid secondary system projects; $175 for federal aid primary system projects in urban areas.

Despite continual demands in some quarters for "return to the states" of many functions heretofore exercised by the central Government, practically no opposition was raised against passage of the 1954 highway bill. The President called for its passage and all agencies involved supported the request.

Coming at the same time construction of toll superhighways, costing some six billion dollars, is being carried forward, the combined operations to bring the Nation somewhere in line with up-to-date transportation facilities for over-the-road trucks and passenger vehicles, the latter numbering some 33 millions, should go far toward relieving much congestion.

Much persuasion was found in the argument that unless the new highway program were approved this year, that delays would increase costs through deterioration of existing facilities. A 60 per cent of cost on the federal Government's part, compared with 40 per cent contribution by the states, served well to get the legislation to the point of Presidential signature.

Highways are a vital part of the thinking and planning of some of our State Federations of Labor, including the Utah Federation. W. E. DeWitt is chairman, Committee on Adequate Highways, Utah State Federation of Labor, is presenting his plan to a number of states for a multiple-lane highway system.

Other bills on highways included: H. R. 5783, to provide a transcontinental superhighway with alternate section; H. R. 7124, to increase sums appropriated for highway purposes; H. R. 7178, to develop a highway traversing the Mississippi Valley; H. R. 7639, same as H. R. 7178; H. R. 7678, H. R. 7841 and H. R. 8023, to amend the Federal Aid Road Act, and H. R. 8223, to revise and codify Title 23 of the U. S. Code titled "Highways," and others.

The President proposed to the Annual Conference of Governors this year a 50-billion-dollar highway construction program for the Nation.

LABOR DEPARTMENT APPROPRIATIONS

Although the cuts are not as deep as last year, Congress and particularly the House Appropriations Committee continued the attack, which began several years ago, on the operating budget of the Labor Department. The result is that the operating personnel of the Department is now at an all-time low. The 1955 budget provides for only 4,399 positions, a reduction from 4,563 in 1954, 5,403 for 1953, 5,823 for 1952 and 6,100 for 1951. Many bureaus in other executive departments are larger, so are several independent agencies of the government. Truly the Labor Department is the stepchild of the Government.

The Eisenhower Administration had recommended a budget which was approximately the same as for the last fiscal year. However, in several instances the House Appropriations Committee cut the Administration recommendations. Our efforts to restore these cuts were unsuccessful in the House. The Senate restored funds in some instances to the level of the Eisenhower recommendations but in conference these were compromised to lower figures.

We were particularly concerned with the proposal for a migratory workers program in the Bureau of Labor Standards, the international labor activities centered in the Secretary's office, the Wage and Hour Division, and the Bureau of Employment Security. The House Committee eliminated all funds for a migratory workers program and an attempt on the floor of the House by Congressman Van Zandt to restore the $100,000 requested by the Eisenhower Administration for this purpose was defeated by a narrow margin of four votes. The Senate restored this item but it was later cut in conference to $50,000. The Wage and Hour Division which was drastically slashed last year was cut from $6,233,000 recommended by the Administration to $6,000,000 by the House Committee. An effort by Congressman Corbett to restore this item to the Eisenhower Administration figure was defeated. The Senate restored this item but it was later compromised at $6,116,500.

The Bureau of Employment Security in the face of an increased work-load due to current increases in unemployment was drastically slashed by the House Appropriations Committee. It earmarked $400,000 BES funds for the use of the Veterans Employment Service. This service merited the money, but not at the cost of other functions of the Bureau. In addition, the Committee also cut $110,000 from the President's recommendations of $4,460,000. The Senate restored the $110,000 and left the question of the distribution of the $400,000 item optional with the Secretary. Following the conference the BES wound up with $4,705,000 for 1955 as contrasted with $5,207,200 available for 1954.

The Administration did not show any great interest in maintaining even the inadequate administration recommendation budget. Only your National Legislative Committee showed sustained interest in the Labor Department Appropriation and the situation would be even worse were it not for our efforts.

If a determined effort is not made by the Administration to restore the Labor Department budget to a point where sufficient personnel is available there will be further impairment in the enforcement of basic legislation such as the Davis-Bacon Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act. The present personnel of the Department is trying hard to improve enforcement but is badly handicapped by inadequate funds.

Additional report under title of THE LABOR DEPARTMENT.

Career Service in Labor Department

In the last days of the session, the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee sought to have the Senate accept an amendment to the then-pending Supplemental bill which would have abolished the job of Administrative Assistant Secretary in the Department of Labor. Instead, a fourth Assistant Secretaryship would be established.

The Administrative Assistant Secretary job was created in conformity with recommendations of the Hoover Commission on Reorganization and came after years of planning to work our uniformity throughout the Government. It essentially is a budgetary job, the incumbent of which is expected to "sell, the needs of the Department of Labor to the members of the Congress of whatever political persuasion. Assistant Secretary Dodson has been a career employe of 36 years' experience. In interposing objection to the Bridges move, Senator Humphrey explained that his point of order which prevailed was intended to maintain and strengthen the civil service merit system.

This job, as Senator Humphrey further told the Senate, was never intended to be in the policy-making area of the Department but, rather, in the housekeeping branch of the Department to maintain an orderly flow of business regardless of what political party is in power.

Civil Function Appropriation Bill—H. R. 8367 (P. L. 453)

Considerable work was done on this legislation which resulted in no further detrimental action being taken against the Canal Zone employees. Medical service for seamen who can qualify under the Seamen's Act was approved as well as free schooling in elementary and secondary grades for residents of the Zone. The duplication of hospital facilities between the Department of Defense and the Canal Zone Government was brought to an end with the civilian Canal Zone Government Hospitals being retained. (See report on Canal Zone for details.)

IMMIGRATION

The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 is still a highly controversial issue in Congress. Both Democrats and Republicans are pressing for reconsideration of this legislation.

In August, 1953, eight Democratic Senators and twenty-eight Democratic Representatives introduced an omnibus bill (S. 2585 and companion bill H. R. 6820) that would replace the present law. This bill is similar

to the Humphrey-Lehman-Roosevelt bill (S. 2842 and companion bill H. R. 7032) which was defeated in the 82nd Congress. The report on this bill is contained in the 1952 Convention Proceedings.

The Republican proposal (S. 3292 and companion bill H. R. 8802) introduced by three Senators and six Representatives on April 12, 1954, as contrasted with the Democratic proposal does not rewrite our immigration law in its entirety. It would, however, liberalize the law in many respects.

In brief the major changes contained in the bill are as follows:

1. *Yearly Immigration Quota.* Provides for the use of the 1950 census as a basis for calculating quotas, rather than basing quotas on the 1920 census as applied under the present law. Under this provision it is estimated that the total quota would be increased from the present 154,000 to approximately 250,000. Immigrants born in the Western Hemisphere would continue to be admissible outside of the quota system.

2. *Pooling of Unused Quotas.* Authorizes the pooling of unused quotas for the use of intending immigrants who are chargeable to countries with annual quotas less than 7,000, principally Italy and Greece.

3. *Elimination of Mortgaging Future Quotas.* Would eliminate the present mortgages against quotas under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948.

4. *Miscellaneous.* The immigration of Nazi totalitarians would be made as difficult as the immigration of Communist totalitarians. A Board of Visa Appeals would be created in the Department of State to review the decisions by consular officials denying visas. The Board would have jurisdiction to review all consular determinations denying or revoking visas, which would insure a more equitable and uniform administration of the immigration law. Difference in status between native-born and naturalized citizens would be removed in some respects.

These proposals remained at a standstill during the 83rd Congress. Similar proposals are expected to be reintroduced in the next Congress.

Both Democratic and Republican proposals contain basic changes in the quota system and the national origin provision of the 1924 Immigration Act. These proposed changes depart from the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor on this subject and deserves careful study and consideration.

Refugee Relief Act

H. R. 8193, amending the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, passed Congress on August 16, 1954. Public Law 751, 83rd Congress.

The purposes of this Act is to make the existing allotments of special non-quota visas for Italian, Greek, and Dutch Nationals under the refugee or relative preference group according to current demand. It provides for exemption from the requirements of certificates of readmission in cases of eligible orphans; and permits refugees within the United States who would fear persecution on return to the country of birth,

nationality and last residence as well as small groups of aliens brought from other American republics for internment to apply for adjustment of status prior to July 1, 1955.

Operations under the Refugee Relief Act were inaugurated on December 4, 1953, with the issuance of the first "relative preference" visas in Italy and Greece. The keen interest evidenced in the opportunity provided through this medium of the uniting of families is best described by its over subscription. As of February 27, 1954, 2,815 approved "relative preference" petitions are already recorded for Greek beneficiaries, while such petitions approved for Italian nationals number 38,264.

This registered demand far exceeds the allotment of 2,000 for Greece and 15,000 for Italy under the "relative preference" provision of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953. On the other hand, the allocations of 45,000 visas for Italian refugees and 15,000 for Greek refugees remain undersubscribed at this time.

Conversely, the demand for "relative preferences" under the Netherlands allotment of 2,000 is very small, only 385 approved petitions being recorded for such nationals. A bilateral arrangement to permit a greater apportionment of these numbers to Dutch refugees from Indonesia and from the 1953 flood disaster is contained in the bill.

It appears highly desirable to bring this situation into better balance and an arrangement to achieve bilateral availability of numbers for persons in the three ethnic groups would appear to accomplish this purpose.

Postal Savings and Improvements

Last year, the Administration attempted at the insistence of banking interests to abolish the Postal Savings System. We made the major presentation in opposition to S. 573. The bill was tabled in Committee. In the House, no action was taken on related bills because it was evident the legislation could not clear the Senate Committee.

Since the Administration's failure in this direction, the Post Office Department which had urged the system be junked, now is finding ways to make it work more successfully. Hereafter, postal savings depositors' interest will be compounded annually on deposits made by September 1, 1954, the effective date of the changeover. Depositors have been compelled in the past to surrender their certificates each year, receive their interest and be issued new certificates, involving complicating bookkeeping.

Punch cards will be substitutes for the former type engraved certificates which now cost $15 a thousand as contrasted with $4.55 for the cards. In 1953, nine million certificates were handled. It is estimated the new system will mean an economy of one million dollars. Interest at 2 per cent is paid in every state on postal savings except in Mississippi where, by law, it is 1½ per cent.

Postal savings deposits have declined steadily at the rate of $20,000,-

000 a month from about $3,400,000,00 in 1947 to an estimated $2,251,000,-000 in June, 1954. There have been cutbacks in depositories as a result.

Much of the national savings have moved into government bonds and savings and loan companies.

Our contention before the Congress was that as long as the public wanted this facility, it was not for the Government to seek its abolition. At the same time, deposits supplied a reservoir of cheap borrowing for the Government as well as a convenience to individuals in some sections where banks are not accessible.

Technical Assistance Appropriations (Public Law 778, 83rd Congress.)

The House Appropriations Committee eliminated completely from the Foreign Operations Administration Appropriation Bill (H. R. 10051) the administration proposal for $17,900,000 for the United Nations Technical Assistance Program. An effort to restore this item on the House floor was defeated 110-34.

We protested this action vigorously as it would have a crippling effect on the specialized agencies of the United Nations, such as, WHO, FAU and ILO, and destroy the very effective work being undertaken in the underdeveloped countries. Our refusal to support these programs would give the Communists a chance to spread propaganda that we were not interested n helping backward nations and also give them the opportunity to take over all technical assistance programs in these countries.

President Meany wired all members of the Senate Appropriations Committee and the majority and minority leaders urging that the total sum recommended by the Administration be appropriated. The Committee voted for only $9,957,621, a sum sufficient only to meet our obligation for the U.N. Technical Assistance Program for the calendar year 1954. Senator Humphrey attempted to restore the remainder of the money needed for the first part of 1955. He lost the amendment on a division. The sum appropriated by the Senate was retained in conference.

The Senate has agreed to make a study of this question and take action on the 1955 appropriation early in the next session of Congress.

Additional report under ILO.

Copper Tariff

Congress again this year voted its approval to the suspension of 2 cents a pound tariff on copper unless the price falls below 24 cents a pound. This suspension has been in effect for several years and was due to expire June 30, 1954.

H. R. 7709, extending the suspension for one year passed Congress on June 28, 1954. (Public Law 452, 83rd Congress.)

Federal Committee on Migratory Labor

The proposal to establish a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor (S. 1567 and companion bill H. R. 4212) introduced for the second time

in 1953 has made no further progress through Congress this year. The need for such a commission as a central coordinating body of agencies dealing with the problems of migrant farm workers has been further emphasized since the last report of the Executive Council was presented.

Thousands of families have again been struck by drought in the Dust Bowl embracing portions of the States of Texas, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Many of them have been forced to seek a livelihood elsewhere, principally on the Pacific Coast, where they joined the ranks of migrants who are facing unemployment and the lowest wage and living standards in the national economy.

The urgent necessity for establishing such a Committee has also been underscored by the backwash of unemployment in some areas of the Southwest resulting from decreased production in industry. Again it has been shown that industrial workers have a vital stake in raising the wage levels and working conditions in agriculture, to which thousands of them must return from time to time during periods of readjustment in industry. The proposed Committee could render invaluable service in correlating information from various sources that would lay the foundation for a constructive national policy on seasonal and migratory labor. The American Federation of Labor will continue to press for early consideration and action on this proposal.

Wetbacks

The ten-year campaign of the American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions on the "wet-back" issue is beginning to produce legislative results. Bills have been introduced at the request of Attorney General and were considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Both proposals (S. 3660-S. 3661 and companion bills, H. R. 9731-H. R. 9732) were supported by the Administration.

S. 3660, and companion bill H. R. 9731, would declare it unlawful for any person to knowingly employ any alien who has entered the country illegally within the previous three years. Under the bill, the prohibition on hiring illegal immigrants would be enforced by a system of injunctions obtained by the Attorney General in the U. S. District Courts. While we support this objective, we do not believe that the injunction procedure is the appropriate method for enforcing this program.

S. 3661 and companion bill H. R. 9732 grants authority to the Department of Justice to seize and forfeit any vessel or vehicle which has been or is being used to transport illegal immigrants. We believe that this bill is well conceived and properly worded to achieve its stated objective.

Legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared at hearings in support of these proposals. In the closing days of the session both bills (S. 3660 and S. 3661) were reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but no further action was taken by the Senate.

Of these two proposals, the one relating to the seizure of vehicles is by far the most important. It is estimated that better than 90 per cent of the "wetback" traffic is handled by labor contractors and runners for third parties, who transport the illegals in fleets of private automobiles and trucks. If the penalty of seizure is imposed, a heavy blow will have been dealt against a lucrative illegitimate business which preys upon hundreds of thousands of illegal migrants and dangerously undermines American labor standards.

Another direct outcome during the past year as a result of the unceasing publicity given the "wetback" problem by the American Federation of Labor was the extended drive carried out by the Department of Justice during the month of June, 1954. Several hundred agents and border patrolmen, concentrated in Southern California and other border areas, closed in on farms and industrial plants where "wetbacks" were employed. Many thousands of illegals voluntarily left the country in order to avoid arrest. While these drives are not in themselves a permanent solution of the problem, they nevertheless have served to substantiate the extent and ramifications of the "wetback" traffic and the evils to which it gives rise.

The American Federation of Labor will not rest on occasional drives or dramatic sweeps of this type in its determination to protect the American farm workers from a debasement of employment and living standards. There are probably not less than 1,500,000 "wetbacks" in the nation competing in the labor market. In California alone the number of "wetbacks" probably does not fall below 100,000. If organized labor relaxed its vigilant watch over this area of the national economy, the number of illegal immigrants is certain to increase and the steady infiltration of industries other than agriculture will continue relentlessly.

Contract Mexican Labor

Closely related to the problem of the "wetback" is that of the legal recruitment and hiring of Mexican alien nationals under the International Executive Agreement renewed in Mexico early this year. That the "wetback" and the contract National constitute two parts of the same serious problem is shown by the fact that thousands of contracted aliens have either "skipped" their contract or have continued to live in the United States after the expiration of their contracts. In either case they have automatically become "wetbacks" who work and live at the mercy of easy-money employers and unscrupulous labor contractors.

It has been amply shown that the Mexican contract national has an adverse effect on the employment security and work standards of American citizens who work as wage earners in agriculture. Displacement of citizens by Nationals has taken place on an increasing scale in cultivation and harvesting as well as in food processing. It has also been established beyond doubt that Mexican Nationals are used to depress wage rates and to prevent the organization of domestic workers into trade

unions. During the first five months of 1954, over 42,000 workers of this type have been processed and hired through government reception centers operated by the Federal Government. In some areas of the Southwest the Mexican nationals constitute as high as 50 per cent of the labor force during the harvest season in certain crops. Pressure from farm employers, especially the large corporations, is being brought to bear to bring about increased recruitment of contract aliens, partly to take the place of "wetbacks" who have been deported in large numbers during recent months.

In February, 1954, the American Federation of Labor offered vigorous opposition during hearings before the House Agriculture Committee on H. J. Res. 355, Public Law No. 309, 83rd Congress. This resolution introduced by Representative Hope in the House and by Senator Aiken in the Senate, made the contract Nationals' problem even more acute by providing for recruitment of this type of worker at border points. Representatives for labor pointed out that border recruitment would have the effect of attracting many thousands of destitute job applicants to the border where they could easily jump the international boundary if they did not succeed in obtaining contracts for legal employment in this country.

The predictions made by American Federation of Labor representatives at these hearings have been amply borne out by subsequent developments. It has become increasingly clear that the powerful corporation farmers who are responsible for this system of alien contracting intend to use Mexican Nationals as permanent "task forces" in order to prevent unionization of farm labor. This issue is becoming a major problem in the Southwest, and symptoms of the same condition are beginning to appear in most of the states of the Union.

Additional report under title, "LATIN AMERICA."

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Universal Military Training

The issue of UMT which has been a recurrent topic in the Congress for several consecutive years was dormant in the 1954 session, though a number of indications were given that it would flare up in some form at the instance of the Department of Defense and through White House auspices.

Our 1953 Convention revised its position by removing all qualifications in opposition to UMT. Early this year, the National Security Training Commission attempted to review the subject through recommendations to the President, who promptly laid them aside without further action.

Toward the end of the Congressional session, the Department of Defense let it be known that it had further proposals, but details of these proposals were not announced. The subject officially continued to slumber.

These plans later were unfolded by the Secretary of Defense to include compulsory service in reserve forces of every young man. In short, the plan envisions "military duty for all, though it may not bear the title of Universal Military Training."

An assortment of bills of collateral intent affecting organized reserves were introduced, but there was little activity on this phase.

Civil Defense

The Labor Advisory Committee on Federal Civil Defense Administration maintained its earnest support of all efforts advancing the cause of Civil Defense. Our National Legislative Committee attended to the legislative details involved in this important phase of American life, both by giving all-out backing to the appropriation for the Federal Civil Defense Administration on the basis that the National Defense is the primary concern of the Federal Government and sundries, basic legislative bills designed to strengthen the purposes and the administration of Civil Defense.

The latter included Public Law 383 to amend the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, as amended, to extend the Chief Executive's Powers in emergencies. We also endorsed the compact bills which would facilitate importation of certain devices and materials for Civil Defense needs as well as the movement of manpower and equipment across state lines.

In addition, a number of proposals were advanced to create a major Department of the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

Numbered among these were the Holifield H. J. Res. 491 and its companion bills, H. J. Res. 492, 493, 494, 495, 496 and others.

We emphasized the time factor involved in turning out apprentices and maximum protection of skilled manpower as the prime necessity for an orderly program and administration of Civil Defense.

Additional report under title of Manpower for National Defense.

Internal Security

A large number of bills dealing with various aspects of internal security were introduced in both Houses in the last Congress. The most important of these affecting organized labor were two bills proposed by the Attorney General, Herbert Brownell.

In the House of Representatives, these two bills (H. J. Res. 527 and H. J. Res. 528) were introduced by Congressman Chauncey W. Reed, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. The first of these was aimed at preventing possible sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts, by denying access to the nation's defense facilities to any individual who might injure the security of the country. "Defense facility" has the same meaning as has the term under the Internal Security Act of 1950, but does not include vessels, piers or waterfront facilities. This could include, however, any privately owned facilty.

The Bill would permit the promulgation of rules providing for the summary discharge of any person believed to be engaging in subversive acts without notice or hearing, but it is provided that in any such case the individual in question is entitled to notice of the charges within fifteen (15) days *after* he is discharged from the plant, and the hearing mentioned above to be held within thirty (30) days after a request has been made for such hearing. A final determination is to be made within thirty (30) days from the termination of the hearing. The individual remains barred from the plant during this period, but if it is found that the charges were unfounded he is entitled to compensation for loss of earnings.

The second of the two bills dealt with organizations rather than individuals. It provided for the dissolution of any organization declared by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be a Communist-infiltrated organization.

A Communist-infiltrated organization is defined as any organization (other than a Communist-action or Communist-front organization, as defined in the Subversive Activities Control Act) which (1) is substantially directed, dominated or controlled by a Communist-action organization or by a member or members thereof and (2) is "in a position" to affect adversely the national defense or security of the United States.

Proceedings leading to the dissolution of such a Communist-infiltrated organization are initiated by the Attorney General. Whenever he has reason to believe that any organization is a Communist-infiltrated organization, he is required to file with the Subversive Activites Control Board a petition for an order determining such organization to be a Communst-infiltrated organization and requiring it to take action to liquidate and wind up its affairs expeditiously. Thereafter, hearngs are to be held by the Board or any member thereof or by any examiner appointed by it.

If, after hearing, the Board determines that the evidence fails to establish that the organization charged is a Communist infiltrated organization, it must deny the Attorney General's petition. If, however, it determined such organization to be a Communist-infiltrated organization, it must state its findings of fact and order such organization and any of its component parts to take the necessary steps to dissolve and liquidate its affairs expeditiously. After the issuance of an order to liqudate, the Board retains jurisdiction to issue such further orders it may believe to be necessary to effectuate the dissolution ordered.

The American Federation of Labor submitted a detailed statement concerning this legislation at a hearing held by the House Judiciary Committee. In its appraisal of this problem, the A. F. of L. made clear that a large proportion of workers in these Communist-run unions are neither Communists nor Communist sympathizers. The statement reviewed the impressive record of A. F. of L. efforts in combatting Communist domi-

nation of unions and at the same time it noted the inhibitions against such efforts in the Taft-Hartley law.

While the American Federation of Labor expressed its agreement with the general aims of the proposed legislation, it vigorously objected to many of the provisions contained in these two bills. It pointed out in its statement that H. J. Res. 527, dealing with possible sabotage, completely lacked the most elementary safeguards needed to protect an innocent worker against irresponsible or trumped-up charges that might be brought against him. The bill failed to provide, for example, an appeals procedure in which representatives of labor could participate.

In dealing with H. J. Res. 528, concerned with Communist dominated unions, the A. F. of L. pointed out that the provisions of this proposed measure could be utilized by a hostile Attorney General to destroy legitimate trade unions. Although such action would not be in accord with the intent of the measure, directed only against Communist unions, in the event it took place, it would take several years before the matter could be conclusively resolved and the legitimate union permitted to function.

Soon after the submission of the formal A. F. of L. statement to the House Judnciary Committee, President Meany wrote to Chairman Reed summarizing the A. F. of L.'s objections to the bills and making further recommendations. President Meany proposed that a Presidential Commission be appointed to survey the entire question of subversive infiltration in American industry. Such a Commission, on which both labor and management would be represented, could lay the groundwork for action that would draw wholehearted and broadly representative support of the whole community.

President Meany's proposal was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee as a substitute for these two bills. No action, however, was taken on this proposal by the House.

On the Senate side, the Judiciary Committee had been previously considering other legislation along these lines, offered by Senator McCarran (S. 23), Senator Butler (S. 1606) and Senator Goldwater (S. 1254). The first of these bills would have permitted discharge of any individual who knowingly remained a member of any organization on the Attorney General's list. The other two bills were aimed at Communist-dominated unions.

In the closing days of the session, the Senate Committee approved S. 23 and two new bills, S. 3706, concerning Communist-controlled unions and S. 3428, authorizing the Federal Government to deny access to the nation's defense facilities to any individual who might injure the security of the country.

On August 11, S. 3706 came before the Senate for action. At the suggestion of the American Federation of Labor, Senator Ives (Republican of New York) introduced a special amendment designed to provide a greater degree of protection to recognized anti-Communist labor unions.

The amendment provided that labor unions whose policies and activities have been directed against anti-Communist organizations would be "presumed" to be not a "Communist-infiltrated organization." After some discussion, and with a few minor changes in language, this amendment was adopted eighty-seven to one. The Senate adopted a number of other amendments including one which would completely outlaw the Communist Party. In this form the bill passed the Senate 85 to 0. Likewise, it passed the House 308 to 2 with an amendment to the provision outlawing the Communist Party. In conference, the bill was further modified but still contained the Ives amendment proposed by the American Federation of Labor. Both Houses agreed to the conference report and it became Public Law 637.

While this legislation still did not meet all the American Federation of Labor objections, the danger that the Act would be utilized directly against our affiliates has been minimized by the adoption of the Ives Amendment.

On August 16, the Senate proceeded to consider S. 3428, authorizing the Federal Government to guard strategic defense facilities against individuals believed to be disposed to commit acts of sabotage, espionage, or other subversion. After one hour debate the bill passed the Senate by voice vote.

The bill, S. 3428, as passed by the Senate, would permit the promulgation of rules providing for the summary discharge of any person believed to be engaged in subversive acts without notice or hearing. The willful refusal to obey any order under the Act, including the refusal of any individual to comply with an order barring him from any defense facility is punishable as a felony by a fine of $10,000 or five years imprisonment.

While we are in accord with the objectives of this legislation, we were compelled to oppose this bill because it fails to provide the necessary safeguards to protect individuals who may be affected by its provisions.

In the House we were successful in blocking any further action on this legislation.

Many years ago, the A. F. of L. was the first to recognize that Communism presents a threat to the nation's internal security. We have fought Communists in unions with every means at our disposal and have many times successfully defeated Communist attempts at infiltration and control of unions. More recently, we have achieved considerable success in working through the NLRB election procedure to win bargaining rights in the plants where Communist-run unions have held contracts.

Since Labor and Management are the two parties in the most direct proximity to the problem, any further government action regarding Communists and subversive influences in industry should carry their full support. We are confident that a solution to this problem can be devised which will protect the internal security of this country without endangering the basic freedoms which are at the heart of the American free way of life.

PUBLIC DOMAIN AND NATURAL RESOURCES

There were fewer give-away efforts in the second session of the 83rd Congress regarding our Public Domain and natural resources, following defeat of the D'Ewart Bill, H. R. 4023, and the Butler-Barrett Bill, S. 1491, in the first session, which we vigorously opposed.

In the second session, practically all legislation in this field reported by the Interior and Insular Affairs Committees was on the construction side, including H. R. 4877 to conserve water, soil, forest and range lands and upstream reserves, so vital to our national existence.

We took the position that conservation of these lands is absolutely essential to control erosion and floods and to secure dependable supplies of water, so priceless to every community.

We further worked for controlling forest pests, including spruce beetles and other varieties and toward adequate appropriation which would overcome the ravages of such insects.

We cited the spruce beetle epidemic now current in Idaho, Montana, and Southwestern Colorado as a serious threat to our standing timber.

We endorsed S. 2548, S. 1491 and H. R. 4023 as other bills which were lying dormant but which were necessary to the promotion of recreation facilities and conservation and wild life resources in general.

The American Federation of Labor shared actively in the discussion of the "Mid-Century Conference on Resources for the Future," in Washington late in 1953 and planned representation at the National Watershed Congress, also in Washington in December, 1954.

For the entire Eighty-third Congress, the record shows our part in conservation and public domain legislation included:

1. Defeated D'Ewart—Stockmen's Grazing Bill.
2. Get Senate and conferees to restore two hundred, seventeen thousand, five hundred dollars which the House cut in the Budget Bureau estimate for control of forest pests.
3. Increase of two hundred thousand dollars for forest insect investigation and forest fire control, which also includes research.
4. Increase of two hundred, nineteen thousand, seven hundred dollars for handling timber sales, fifteen million, five hundred thousand for national forest road construction which will be centered on opening up an area with fifteen billion board feet.
5. Hope-Aiken Small Watershed Act. (Public Law 566).
6. American business and advertisers contributed eight million dollars in space and time to the cooperative forest fire prevention campaign.
7. Ketchikan Pulp and Paper Company opened up a mill in Ketchikan, Alaska on the Tongas National Forest with a capacity for four hundred tons of pulp a day. It is a fifty-three million dollar mill.

8. Preliminary award made to Pacific Northern Lumber Company for a saw mill at Rangell, Alaska, and later on a eighty-ton daily capacity pulp mill.

9. The field work has been completed on the timber resource review. The plan is to have the review made next Spring of the basic statistics and the interpretation of them.

The American Federation of Labor's representative on the Forest Service Advisory Committee on Timber Resource Review is Kenneth Davis.

The purpose of this committee is to provide a basis for administering National Forests, and cooperation of industry in the states. The National Advisory Group consists of industry, state foresters, and Labor men.

The committee has been working about two years on this project. This committee reviews all findings before issuing any publicity.

Natural Gas Act

The Hinshaw bill (H. R. 5976) which will raise the gas rates for consumers was rushed through the Senate this year without a hearing and is now Public Law 323. An effort to recommit this bill for a hearing was defeated by a vote of 25 to 52.

Hell's Canyon Dam

A protracted hearing was held by the Federal Power Commission on the application of the Idaho Power Company for three small dams on the Snake River in lieu of the high multiple purpose dam wihch the previous Administration had recommended. This Administration withdrew support of the high purpose dam and in effect gave its support to the Idaho Power Company's application. We presented the convention resolution favoring the multi-purpose dam. President E. M. Weston of the Washington State Federation of Labor testified on behalf of the State Federations in the northwest area. No decision has been reached. There was no action on various bills affecting the Hell's Canyon project which were introduced in the Congress.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY

A controversy which has been in the Congress in some form for more than three decades was brought to a close this year with the signing into law of Public Law No. 358.

Proposal to construct the St. Lawrence Seaway, at least in a form modified from its original concept, was passed in the House, 248-158, it having previously been passed in the Senate.

Resistance to the measure in the House came on the Brownson amend-

ment which would have removed U. S. Government guarantee from bonds marketed to finance the United States' share in the project. The amendment was defeated.

Our position was in opposition to the Seaway.

FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION

As a Federal Agency primarily charged with administration and enforcement of certain basic laws guarding the public against adulterants, contamination and frauds, the Food and Drug Administration, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has had our consistent support attempting, in the face of heavy odds, to carry on its work.

Each year, at appropriation time, this bureau is singled out for another cut in its already small budget. With the population increase and new laws with which it is charged with enforcement, Food and Drug Administration has less money with which to carry on greater responsibilities.

In 1953, the Congress enacted Public Law 217 providing that Food and Drug inspectors may "enter at reasonable times" processing plants to detect unhealtful methods in turning out consumer products.

In the face of passage of this and other new or recent laws, the Bureau again this year was cut $100,000 below the amount requested. The appropriation bill went through the House in this form. In the Senate, the $100,000 was restored, but the amount went out in conference. On this basis, with a national population of 170 million, the appropriation for safeguarding the public health is 3 cents per capita.

This bureau's administrator is retiring after long service. It is essential that his successor be one who will fight to hold the line in the interest of consumer protection.

"PIRATING" OF INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

Runaway plants of companies notably in New England and North Central States has become increasingly noticeable, coincidental with the passage of so-called Right-to-Work laws in states in the Southwestern an Southeastern sections, where wage rates have not been brought to the level of other parts of the United States.

Our 1952 Convention stipulated that further efforts be directed toward preventing the movement of fugitive plants from states where employes are well organized and into states where organizations exist only in token degree.

The National Legislative Council and the National Legislative Committee directed considerable of their thought and efforts in this direction. The subcommittee which worked with the council and the com-

mittee caused a number of bills to be introduced on this general subject in the 82nd Congress.

In 1953, forthright steps were taken to launch an effective program at least to invoke some penalties on such plants as sought refuge under favorable taxation laws and regulations. Representative Rhodes of Pennsylvania introduced H. R. 4127 designed to deny tax relief in those instances where federal taxation has been friendly in the movement of industrial plants. The general purposes of this bill were recognized.

This year, the Ways and Means Committee, through the assistance of Representative Kean of New Jersey succeeded in having included in the new revenue bill in the Ways and Means Committee a proviso affecting tax exemption on government bonds to exclude from federal exemption any interest accruing from bonds of state and local governments floated to facilitate the movement or the construction of plants not having the good faith and credit of the community as their backing.

Admittedly, the wording of the Amendment as adopted in Committee was of tenuous validity. This in addition to considerable lobbying by local governmental authorities which became apprehensive over the prospects of marketing of bonds for general obligation purposes caused the committee to retreat from its position and to subsitute a provision which would not border on any unconstitutional grounds.

The substitute Amendment provided that industrial development revenue bonds shall not have income tax interest exemptions after December 31, 1953 when issued by any state, territories, or possessions or the District of Columbia. The purposes of the issuance are: "To finance the acquisition or improvement of real estate which is to be used to any substantial extent by nonpublic lessees for manufacturing articles and which does not pledge the full faith and credit of the issuing authority for the payment of interest and principal."

The Revenue Bill passed in the House with this language included.

In the Senate, in the Finance Committee, this provision was deleted at the instance of Senator Long of Louisiana. Because almost all members of the Finance Committee represent states having no immediate concern over the fugitive plant problem or because other members come from such states seeking to induce such plants to locate within their state borders it began to appear difficult to retain this proviso in the Senate version of the revenue bill. Senator Flanders, the lone committee member from the section greatest affected adversely, took the lead and sponsored an amendment, the result of long and thoughtful study and which he successfully offered on the floor of the Senate.

In his campaign for support of his amendment which also represented our own thinking on the problem, he obtained the assistance of Senators not only from New England, but from states widely distributed geographically.

These included Senators Kennedy (Mass.), Cordon (Oreg.), Saltonstall (Mass.), Payne (Maine), Green (R. I.), Smith (N. J.), Purtell (Conn.), Ferguson (Mich.), Bush (Conn.), Bridges (N. H.), Case (S. Dak), Upton (N. H.), Kerr (Okla.).

The Senate adopted the Flanders Amendment which read as follows:

"For the purposes of paragraph (3), in the case of a lease of property (A) which is owned by an organization described in section 501 (c) (4) (relating to civic leagues or organizations for promotion of social welfare) which is exempt from taxation under section 501 (a), and (B) which is subject to a mortgage or other similar lien securing indebtedness incurred in the acquisition or improvement of such property, such rentals or other payments may, during the term of such mortgage or other similar lien (if such term is not less than 5 years and ends on or prior to the date of termination of the lease as fixes therein), be in annual amounts sufficient to discharge such indebtedness at the end of such term, under regulations prescribed by the Secretary or his delegate."

Much of the legislative activity in this field during the year consisted of educational work among the members of the Congress and in conferences. The latest such conference to be arranged was to be with the Department of Commerce and Defense officials and industry people. We are taking a most interested look at developments arising from this conference, to which Labor members, at this writing, had not been invited.

Senator Murray of Montana, joined by Senators Kennedy and Lehman, set forth in the provisions of S. Res. 298 the purposes of a congressional study of the problem of migration of industry. The resolution would include authority and direction of the Labor Committee or a subcommittee to investigate:

"(1) The sectional migration of industry; (2) the migration of populations contingent upon sectional migration of industry; (3) the effects upon sections whence such migration both of industry and populations originated; (4) the trends arising from the effects of such migrations for the purpose of developing any appropriate recommendations which should be brought to the attention of the Congress."

HALF SECOND MEANS MORE JOBS

Among the last-minute bills to become law was S. 3379, a bill to allow the flammable four-second test period dropped to 3½ seconds on interstate shipment of gossamer fabrics.

The Government has been encouraging importation of Japanese silk scarfs. Under S. 3379, no more Japanese yardage than at present would enter this country, but the 3½-second act will enable New England textile mills where many of our members have become employed to be rehired through creation of jobs which have shrunk under recent im-

port conditions. The New England mills maintain hundreds of such jobs which now will be restored.

All authorities are in general agreement that the half-second is practically immaterial as a safety factor but is highly desirable from an employment standpoint.

In its report on the bill, the House committee declared that it was convinced that "scarfs should be subject to provisions of the law just as any other item of wearing apparel," despite numerous pleas from the Commerce Department and other agencies that plain-surface fabric scarfs be given an exemption.

"MILLIONAIRES' AMENDMENT" IN CONGRESS

For the first time, the plan to place the "millionaires' amendment" before the legislatures in the form of a proposed Constitutional amendment was brought before a Committee of the Congress. We have anticipated this maneuver for several years and, in conjunction with the actions of the respective State Federations of Labor, we have fought this measure state by state.

The Dirksen measure, S. J. Res. 23, became the basis for discussion before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. This was a hearing which brought forth all the advocates of a greatly restricted income tax burden for those most able to pay their share of government costs.

The proponents of the legislation included the Western Tax Council, Inc., and an array of constitutional experts who presented their views on what they declared was the advisability of submitting the Constitutional Amendment question to the states. In giving his testimony, Frank E. Packard, director of the Western Tax Council, Inc., declared that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies were instrumental in stopping his campaign in a number of key states.

Our own remarks for the benefit of the Committee included, briefly, these points:

> Those who want this amendment have failed to get their way in the legislatures and now have turned to the Congress to save their cause. They not only oppose the present income tax laws, they oppose all income tax claiming such taxation is "communistic." The most probable substitute for an income tax or a limited income tax is a national sales tax, which we unalterably oppose.

House companions to S. J. Res. 23 were H. J. Res. 61 by Mason of Illinois and H. J. Res. 103 by Reed of Illinois. We succeeded in having the Dirksen resolution held within committee while the House took no action on the Mason or Reed resolutions.

We had managed to bring out the impracticability of the "millionaires' amendment." Had the Congress approved S. J. Res. 23, it would have been submitted to the States for the required approval.

Any assumption that this ends the struggle with the "millionaires' amendment" advocates would be premature. The legislatures of 44 states will convene in 1955.

Additional report under TAXATION.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLATION

We testified before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in favor of the Ives Bill S. 692, known officially as the Federal Equality in Opportunity Employment Act. We reiterated the firm stand of the American Federation of Labor in support of federal legislation to assure to all citizens regardless of race, creed, color or national origin the right to equal job opportunity. The bill was reported favorably by the Senate Committee but was never acted on by the Senate.

A House Bill H. R. 170 (Powell) did not receive a hearing.

(Additional report under title Civil Rights.)

The so-called Equal Rights Amendment, S. J. Res. 49 (Butler, Md.), which had passed the Senate in the first session with an amendment made the measure palatable to the American Federation of Labor died in the House Judiciary Committee. No hearings were held. The Equal Rights Amendment has been sponsored by the National Woman's party for many years. It would imperil all State and Federal legislation affecting hours of work, working conditions, etc., of working women. It will be necessary to watch this legislation carefully in the next Congress as it is gaining some support. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs has formally endorsed the measure and the new Director of the Women's Bureau has withdrawn the opposition of that Governmental agency which formerly took the lead in fighting. A strong effort to pass the amendment in its original obnoxious form can be expected.

WIRETAPPING LEGISLATION

Attorney General Brownell persuaded the House Judiciary Committee to report an administration bill H. R. 8649 (Keating) which would have permitted the Attorney General to wiretap on his own initiative in cases of national security and use the evidence gathered in court proceedings. He also proposed to authorize the use of evidence heretofore gathered by the Department of Justice in court proceedings. The House on a motion by Representative Willis amended the bill to require a court order before the Attorney General could wiretap. The amendment, which we supported, carried by a vote of 221 to 166.

The Senate Judiciary Committee held hearings on H. R. 8649 and S. 3229. We testified for the McCarran bill (S. 3229) which makes any

wiretapping by any individual or official illegal except in cases affecting the national security where a court order has been issued at the request of the Attorney General. In these instances an order would be issued only on a showing by the Attorney General that there was a reasonable belief that the security of the country was seriously affected by the actions of the individuals named in the order and the order would be limited to a definite period of time. This bill does not leaglize evidence heretofore gathered by illegal wiretapping. The Senate took no action on either bill.

TRIP-LEASING "GYPSY" BILL

H. R. 3203 which in 1953 had gone through the House by a thumping majority became the subject in 1954 in the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of a second series of hearings in the same Congress on the same provisions.

This bill, with the full support of farm organizations, would have given "gypsy" truckers full advantage on the highways over other truckeds who must conform to safety regulations and all requirements as set down, under the law, by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In cooperation with our Teamsters and other Unions, we continued our stand in the Second Session as we first took in the First Session, pointing to the dangers of turning onto the highways the great mass of rolling stock of questionable stability and of some drivers whose reliability would not be of the best.

H. R. 3203 got to the Senate floor early in 1954, but was recommitted for further committee consideration which it then received until the last days of the session but on the full committee's agenda any time a meeting was to be held.

This bill died in the Senate committee with the American Farm Bureau Federation, chief proponent, admitting well in advance that its demise was certain.

PROBLEMS IN FIELD OF AVIATION

We cooperated closely with our Air Line Pilots Association, Air Line Dispatchers Association, and the International Association of Flight Engineers in meeting the principles affecting them in their industry.

S. 2647 was considered by the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Its purpose was to create an independent Civil Aeronautics Authority and an independent Air Safety Board, to promote the development and safety and to provide for the regulation of civil aeronautics, and to promote world leadership by the United States in aviation.

In coordination with the Air Line Pilots Association and the International Association of Flight Engineers, we presented testimony before the CAB on the pending waiver to extend flight time, which for 23 years by regulation had been 8 hours for domestic crews. Later, on a 3-2 vote, a decision to waive the 8-hour limitation was granted by CAB.

The situation then took on a legislative aspect with the introduction of S. 3687, H. R. 9770 and H. R. 9776, companion bills, designed to "provide the highest degree of safety in the protection of the public interest and in accordance with proven operational experience and tested reliability; and to promote adequate, economical, and efficient air service by carriers, without unjust discriminations, undue preferences or advantages, or unfair or destructive competitive practices."

We proposed to give our full assistance in this matter on the legislative front and to continue working closely with our members.

The situation reached its climax when three companies inaugurated their coast-to-coast, non-stop service on fast schedules.

Until now, the CAB has held undisputed domain in fixing maximum flight hours. The bills recently introduced which amend the CAA of 1938 as amended, fasten down the scope of responsibility of the CAB in this respect.

We worked closely with the Air Line Dispatchers Association in its efforts to get legislation which would include its members under title 2 of the Railway Labor Act, to include all common carriers in Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Title 2, Acts 201 and 202.

CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYES

Retirement

The usual number of bills were offered under this general heading, however, there was no immediate activity in prospect in view of the pending work of the Committee on Retirement Policy for Federal Personnel, Public Law 555 of the 82nd Congress, which had obtained six months' attention of official life in order to complete its studies of the several Federal Retirement Systems. This committee now has gone out of existence.

During the time the Congress waited for reports to be made by this Committee of which H. Eliot Kaplan was Chairman, no retirement legislation of a general nature was enacted.

Public Law 555 also provided temporary increase in retirement benefits to expire June 30, 1955, "or on an earlier date unless anyone of a number of conditions should come about, including failure to appropriate to meet the increased obligation." H. R. 7785 to make Public Law 555 provisions permanent was cleared to the Senate.

Retirement annuitants appeared headed for good fortune in the final days of the session when the conferees on the revenue bill (H. R. 8300) agreed to the Senate provision for exemption from federal income tax of the first $1,200 of income from retirement sources for those past age 65, with a maximum exemption of $240. This is in line with exemption granted those under social security and railroad retirement. Our Unions have worked to bring about the retirement exemption for the last decade.

This provision would include governmental employes in general, teachers, firefighters, and policemen.

Also of importance during the legislative year was the statement by President Meany to the Committee on Finance in his testimony on the Social Security bill (H. R. 9366) during which he remarked upon the Civil Service Retirement system and its retention as a separated plan in the following words:

". . . the coverage proposals of H. R. 9366 are technically and administratively feasible and socially and economically desirable. We are aware that they do not provide 'universal coverage,' in that there is no proposal to amalgamate the retirement system for employes of the Federal Government with Social Security. Nor is there any provision for combining the special system now in effect for railway workers with OASI. We believe it is to the advantage of workers in these categories of employment, for which the Federal Government has a long-recognized special responsibility, as well as in the public interest, to keep these systems separate."

The House Committee unanimously reported H. R. 9909 specifically to deny payment of an annuity to Alger Hiss and to refund any credit in his account. The bill became Public Law 769.

Confusion arose over the attitude expressed by the Civil Service Commission on this legislation which attitude was interpreted by some to indicate unfriendliness to the bill.

The President later himself expresed strong opposition to granting benefits to such persons.

Other bills designed to deny benefits to persons convicted of felonies including improper use of authority, power, influence or privileges as government officials or employes included H. R. 3301, H. R. 7476, H. R. 8547, H. R. 8091, H. R. 5299, H. R. 9909 and S. 1965, S. 2734, and H. J. Res. 544.

Unemployment Insurance

We endorsed the Mason and the Forand Bills (H. R. 6537, H. R. 6539) to provide insurance against unemployment for federal civilian employes. We then called upon the Congress for the funds with which to administer job insurance.

In stating our case to the Ways and Means Committee, we recall the words of the President both in his Budget Message and his Economic Report in which he called for extension of compensation benefits to those in Government service.

At no cost to the employe, unemployment benefits now will be paid, starting January 1, 1955. The appropriation also has been made to meet the expense of this act.

These bills are a revival of H. R. 5188 of 1951.

Fringe Benefits

We gave full support to S. 2665 in hearings before the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service to amend provisions of the Classifications Act of 1949 as amended and to provide certain other benefits

including $100 allowance to those who in Government service are required as part of their jobs to wear uniforms. The bill also would have given some relief to those required to perform overtime duties among the salaried classes and would setup a system of government employe incentive awards and which give recommendations for call-back overtime.

This bill after having been passed by the Senate languished in the House Committee three months, but portions of it were included in the general classified salary bill reported by the Committee and included elimination of a penalty below straight-time for overtime in the higher grades.

(Additional report under title of Canal Zone Federal Employes Fringe Benefits, S. 2665.)

Garnishment of Federal Salaries

H. R. 3602 would have opened to garnishment proceedings members of the Congress and of the Supreme Court, the Federal Judiciary in general and Government employes. This bill was the most sweeping in its inclusion of many introduced in the Congress affecting these classes of citizens.

We spoke firmly in our position on H. R. 3602 and pointed out that local authorities should continue to legislate in this field whenever practicable. We further stated that by including the Judiciary, judges would be subject to the subpoenas of local courts and to the dictates of the lawmakers.

This bill automatically expired with the end of the Second Session of Congress without even achieving a report.

It has been our consistent stand in opposition over the years which has gone far toward discouraging this type of legislation, largely on the grounds that merchants and others should exercise proper caution in extending credit. In addition, conditions have changed materially in recent years and credit unions have been created for easy access by government employes.

There is less stringency in circulation of money. Government agencies insist employes pay their debts or face the alternative of outright dismissal.

Technicians Among Firefighters

In conjunction with the efforts of our International Association of Firefighters, we supported the provisions of H. R. 8663 to provide salary adjustment for technicians in the Police and Fire Departments of the Government of the District of Columbia.

We spoke in favor of salary increases for fire marshals, fire inspectors, tillermen, and others who are required to have special knowledge and skills.

Central Wage Board

We joined with our Metal Trades Department and with the Government Employes Council in considering the proposals by the United States Civil Service Commission for establishment of a Central Wage Board for government pay in the skilled trades. Several conferences were held with commission officials who explained in detail the outline of the plan and answered questions.

The views of our delegates to this conference were resolved into unanimous rejection of a Central Wage Board mainly for the following reasons:

Efforts should be made to improve the present arrangement of individual wage-fixing boards. A central system would add confusion to the problem of finding an adequate pay rate for ungraded employes. The present system is the outgrowth of many years of relationships between various governmental agencies and employes.

We would prefer to see the Civil Service Commission give its assistance to establishment of a system that would bring about true collective bargaining.

The Central Board would not have immediate touch with basic conditions.

We conveyed this decision to the Commission through a committee of five of which President Meany was a member.

There is some possibility this system may yet be submitted to the Congress in the form of a reorganization plan in which case it would be necessary to get a constitutional majority of votes in either House to defeat it, though our strong position on this question may well have a definite affect upon such possibility.

The Government Salary Campaign

The Government Pay Campaign started in 1953, continuing into 1954 to bring Government salaries within reasonable level with pay in business and industry.

The House Committee showed little inclination to hold hearings till the spring of this year. The Senate Committee held hearings hardly a month before the Congress took final action in favor of limited salary improvement. President Meany personally presented his testimony to the House Committee in support of an across-the-board $800 increase for every civilian salaried employe.

A bill to increase rates on use of the mails meantime had cleared the House Committee and remained unacted upon on the calendar.

In the early summer, the House finally came to the point, after a discharge petition was started on the Corbett bill (H. R. 9245) of considering the 7 per cent salary bill instead of the original 10 per cent bill which the Committee had considered and approved. But the House leadership then chose to tie in a rate bill and attempted to suspend the rules by the

usual two-thirds vote to gain passage. This maneuver the House rejected decisively.

Next, the House, after elapsing of the required period before a discharge petition could be adopted, voted upon the merits of the Corbett bill which it passed by a vote of 12-1 ratio. The campaign thereupon shifted to the Senate with the Postmaster General at all times, together with his lieutenants and the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, working against the interests of postal and nonpostal employes alike. The Commission Chairman lobbied aggressively for 3½ per cent for the Classified employes. The Postmaster General continued to work for his rate bill combined with any pay bill which would grant a minimum to postal employes and would give him a classification act of his own design and complete jurisdiction over the economic lives of postal employes.

Upon shifting to the Senate, the pay bill campaign resulted in hearings and a bill (H. R. 7774), the number of which bill already had been passed by the House although the contents of the Senate version were entirely different. The Senate Committee acted promptly and efforts then were centered upon getting it through the Senate.

The bill actually was passed on the call of the calendar. A few hours later, Majority Leader Knowland strode onto the floor and obtained unanimous consent to recall the bill leaving it in the status of having previously not been passed. The full weight of the Government was brought to bear day after day in order to prevent final passage by the Senate.

Our postal unions a few nights later obtained the active leadership of Senator Olin D. Johnston, committee ranking minority member, in an effort to attach H. R. 7774 as an amendment to any bill appearing to have chance for approval and which at the same time had been cleared for action by the Republican Policy Committee.

This bill proved to be one by Senator Kuchel of California and provided for construction of the Santa Maria Water Project, inasmuch as there was no pending bill bearing assemblance of germaneness to the proposed Johnston Amendment. Considerable debate ensued and the subject was thoroughly ventilated, although the amendment was defeated.

On the final day of the session, as a first order of business, the Senate took up H. R. 7774 and debated it, rejecting the lengthy Knowland Amendment which would have included postal rate provisions and other features which would have burdened the bill. The Knowland Amendment was defeated, 16-55. The bill remained unamended and on final passage the vote was 69-4. The House concurred promptly and the bill was made ready for the President.

Within 70 hours of action by the House, the President announced unilaterally and without having consulted any employe representative that his intention was to veto the legislation adding that henceforth any similar bill requires consideration also of the "needs of Armed Forces personnel, serving their country often in remote corners of the world."

The President gave his two main reasons for veto that postal rates

had not been included in the bill and that a classification plan as proposed by the Postmaster General was not included.

He made a point that "we cannot permit the deliberate operations of our Postal Department at a gigantic loss because a few are opposed to adequate postal rates." He ignored the fact that wages and salaries are paid from the general fund and not from receipts of any one department or agency.

In the closing week the Congress gave eighteen million dollars to the United States Steel Corporation in the Rivers and Harbors Bill which was assured of Presidential approval. This company needs a 40-foot channel in the Delaware River increasing the depth from 35 feet in order to get ore vessels up to its now Eastern Pennsylvania mills, the cost to be thirty-five million dollars.

The Government thus has decided to relieve that company of half the cost and pay eighteen million dollars of the expense.

Also in the same week, the Administration had approved an income tax refund of two hundred and six million dollars to General Motors Corporation. In the first six months after taking office, the Administration made 90 other such income tax refunds, each in excess of two hundred thousand dollars, and totalling more than three hundred and fifty million dollars. In the final days of the session, the Congress increased the authorized public debt by six billion dollars, a part of which is presumed to have gone to meeting these refunds.

At no time did the President make any public statement on his determination to veto the salary bill although party leaders frequently made such threats.

The American Federation of Labor has fought squarely alongside its affiliated unions in this long and gruelling campaign, both for the classified and the postal measures and shall continue in the new Congress in the search for salary justice.

The Postmaster General, the various chambers of commerce and loan companies and other influences engaged in a telegraph, telephone and mail campaign to defeat the salary legislation. Many other devices were used including press releases prepared by the Post Office Department and inserting in local papers as statement coming from postmasters in those vicinities.

Eight full-time lobbyists working directly from the White House, the largest such staff ever to be employed, joined by officials of the Post Office Department and the Civil Service Commission, entered into the counter campaign to defeat the salary bill. The party platform for 1952 reads: "Civil servants of ability and integrity shall receive proper recognition with merit the sole test for promotion."

Government Employe Life Insurance

The National Administration proposed in S. 3681, on which hearings were held in the Senate, to establish a general life insurance coverage

system for all in government service who fail to indicate the desire to be excluded.

Working with affiliated unions in this field, we endorse the general purposes of S. 3681 and suggested methods for its improvement while pointing out certain possibilities which should be regarded while the bill was under consideration.

We suggested that those unions which have insurance plans for their own members should be considered for qualified insurors under S. 3681. We also pointed to the possibility that the Congress would fail to appropriate from year to year to meet the government's obligation even as it has with respect to the retirement system.

We suggested the possibility of insurance on a non-contributing basis on the ground that the employe undoubtedly later will be told that there is less reason for pay and other benefits in view of the government's voluntary establishment of a life insurance system. S. 3681 was passed by the House unanimously and cleared to the President, becoming Public Law No. 598.

We found nothing in the bill which said the premiums would not be increased especially, if the average age should become greater. In addition, we took notice that this was to be only term insurance. Our comments also included reference to a mere handful of companies "specifically described as operating in 48 states and now underwriting more than 1 per cent of the business in this field."

The House Committee reported the life insurance bill without hearings and with no amendments.

The draft of a proposed bill on general health and hospitalization for government employes was discussed informally with the Civil Service Commission. The prospects for this kind of legislation this year took on an extremely dim possibility in view of the peremptory act by the House more recently on the Presidentially-endorsed General Health Reinsurance Bill. The hospitalization provisions were formalized in S. 3803 but with little prospects for consideration before the year-end.

H. R. 9903 by Fogarty introduced in the last days of the session would authorize, upon request, payroll deductions from salaries in persons in the Executive, Legislative, or Judicial Branch of the Government of the United States or of any officer or employe of the municipal government of the District of Columbia, to pay the premiums under any contract of life, health, accident, hospital, and medical insurance which has been entered into by such officer or employe.

H. Res. 456 had been introduced to provide that "there shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House such amounts as may be necessary to defray hospital, medical, and nursing expenses in the treatment of injuries incurred in the House of Representatives by those members during the session of the House on March 1, 1954." This resolution went into the hopper one day following the shooting incident which sent five members to hospitals.

The President vetoed H. R. 1026 designed to provide hospitalization, medical care and dental treatment for employes of the Light House Service, now a branch of the Coast Guard. The reason assigned for a veto was that it would "constitute an unfortunate precedent."

Overseas personnel of the State Department are allowed benefits up to $10 a day for 21 days for room and board and up to $64 on other hospitalization service for 21 days, for a total of $274.

Annual Leave

Those with more than 30 days of annual leave carryover and who have been forced to take that leave or lose it now will be able to save such leave up to an accrual of 60 days. In addition, the estate of an employe dying in service will receive cash payment for unused leave.

Salaries for Beginners

Till now, no employe was permitted to start on a salary above the minimum of the grade. This will enable agencies to get better applicants with more qualifications for the first time since enactment of the Classification Act of 1923.

Supplying Uniforms

Payment by the Government for wearing of uniforms where required on the job has been a long-sought benefit. Some quarter million employes are required to wear such uniforms. Legislative proposals previously had provided such payments would be compulsory but the bill wound up on a permissive basis. though there is no great doubt that agencies will find ways of making such payments, except in the Post Office Department where the Postmaster General may or may not go along on what the majority of agencies do. Any failure will surely cause new bills to be offered to make the provisions compulsory.

The Whitten Rider

This was a rider on an appropriation bill some years ago. It provided that agencies be not allowed to exceed certain personnel ceiling and that appointments be limited to temporary or indefinite duration. Further, that promotions were to be limited. The Congress was regarded as having overstepped its bounds by writing what amounted to administrative regulations into law. This feeling raised resentment on the part of the Executive Branch which found many ways not to enforce it and to demand it be repealed.

This year, the Whitten amendment was modified. Grade promotions will be made on a permanent basis, as well as reinstatement. Some 300,000 employes will acquire permanent status instead of holding indefinite appointments.

Meritorious Awards

For approximately a decade, since inauguration of an awards system for suggestions for improvements in methods, the Government has operated on a haphazard standard. Some agencies have gone along and have paid handsomely for ideas. Others simply couldn't see the value in the program. Now, awards may go as high as $5,000, with $25,000 the top figure, if approved by the Civil Service Commission, in advance.

Overtime Ceiling Raised

For many years in the nonwage board classes, there was no provision for paying any premiums on overtime. About 10 years ago, the Congress permitted overtime on the first $2,980 of per annum salary, if such overtime were required and so ordered by the heads of agencies.

This year, this ceiling has been raised to $5,060, so that full overtime pay can be had up to and including this per annum figure with compensatory time (at straight rates) above that level.

Callback Pay

Two hours minimum now must be paid to any employe who is called back to duty on his own time.

Crafts—Protective—Custodial

The so-called CPC grades, numbering about 117,000 jobs, have been abolished after transfer from classified rates and shift to wage boards. Thirty-five million dollars in higher pay will go to these 117,000 in the process of changing over. Another 75,000 including building guards, messengers, char force, etc., will be assigned general schedule grades under the classification act.

Longevity

Longevity payments will be permitted to those in Grade 11 through Grade 15, with all past service counted toward longevity credit with a limit of three longevity increases, no one such increase to exceed $200.

Transportation

Henceforth, return transportation expenses of overseas employes and dependents will be paid under certain conditions. Heretofore, many have been required to pay their return way in cases where contracts of employment including term of employment, have not been met.

Most of these laws represent an accumulation of bills which have been offered Congress over many years and which went unnoticed till now. Much of them are in the "fringe" area. Most of them affect postal and nonpostal.

Travel allowance increase would have risen from $9 to $12 under the pay bill which was vetoed.

Union Recognition and Lloyd-LaFollette Act

The Union recognition bills which in the Eighty-Second Congress finally got to the House calendar, were reintroduced in the present Congress by Representatives Rhodes (Pa.), H. R. 172, and Withrow (Wis.), H. R. 644 but without any House Committee action.

These bills would have amended section 6 of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act (August 24, 1912) to accord recognition in federal civilian service of those belonging to Unions. The Lloyd-LaFollette Act set down certain prescribed procedures which agencies must follow in order to bring about separation of persons from the service. This act has been regarded as one of the most important milestones in administrative government history. This enforcement has been one of living up to the spirit, if not the letter, of the law.

When new hands took over the Government in 1952, one of the earlier official acts of the new Attorney General was to establish a list of names of those with whose services in the Department of Justice he chose to dispense. The case of at least one employe went to the Civil Service Commission on appeal. The Commission sustained the employe who maintained he had certain lawful rights which the Attorney General had ignored numbered among which was the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. The Attorney General refused to be bound by the Commission's findings and the case went to court to resist arbitrarily doing away with the employe's rights and career.

The original court, Judge Richmond B. Keech presiding, in finding for the Attorney General, observed that Government employes do not possess the safeguards against peremptory administrative action which they had believed they had. The Lloyd-LaFollette Act was among these, he said.

This attack upon the act caused a number of Unions to band together to provide any moral and financial support needed by the employe on appeal, without which he could not carry his case higher. The Court of Appeals unanimously upheld the employe, taking issue with practically every point decided by Judge Keech. The Government thereupon noted an appeal to the Supreme Court.

Leaders in these Unions supported the appeal:

National Association of Letter Carriers, International Association of Firefighters, International Typographical Union, American Federation of Technical Engineers, American Federation of Teachers, National Association of Post Office Mail Handlers, Watchmen and Messengers and National Postal Transport Association.

At this writing, it was indicated the Attorney General would appeal the decision of the Court of Appeals. In event he again loses, the next move on the part of the Administration can be expected to be the seeking of legislation to abolish the Lloyd-LaFollette Act.

In 1953, the Attorney General attempted to get legislation as a rider

on an appropriation bill to permit agencies to act regardless of the Lloyd-LaFollette Law and the Veterans Preference Law and to fire anyone without cause and without accountability. Led by Senator Bridges, the Attorney General's forces were defeated by a 4-vote margin, nor have there been hearings on the proposal.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION

Whereas in the first session of the 81st Congress, 10 Governmental Reorganization Plans were submitted, only two minor plans were proposed in 1954.

The Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report was reconstituted this year and President Meany accepted membership on this committee.

There was little activity in the Hoover Commission on organization of the Executive Branch. In mid-1954, the Hoover Commission was called upon to look into the affairs of the Central Intelligence Agency and to come forth with proposals for its reorganization. There were a number of bills and resolutions introduced in the Congress to bring about reorganization of various segments of the Executive Branch of the Government, but these fell by the wayside.

Late in December, 1953, there had been proposed by Temple University in its survey of Federal Reorganization, a plan for revamping the organic law creating the Department of Labor. This report brought up to date recommendations of the previous Hoover Commission and contained a number of valuable features, including one for a strengthened Labor Department which would provide the President "with a means of developing and carrying out an effective Labor policy."

The report continued, "The President, however, should never, as the present organization invites, become directly and personally involved in the settlement of Labor disputes. His general usefulness to the Nation can be and has been impaired by the bitter and partisan criticism which results. This task should be performed by the Secretary of Labor, with the support of a revitalized department to win and maintain the confidence of the public despite such criticism. It should in no event be performed by a lone special assistant to the President, as was so often the case in recent years."

We have waited for proposals to be submitted to the Citizens Committee by the new Hoover Commission. No such proposals have been submitted, but we have made known our intention to submit our own proposals in the field of Labor-Management relations, which proposals will be submitted to the President, to the members of Congress, to the members of the Hoover Commission and to the members of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.

These recommendations will include phases affecting Federal Civil Defense, Occupational Safety, Mediation and Conciliation, Selective Service, Railroad Retirement, National Security, and others.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN CONGRESSIONAL RULES

The question of the conduct of investigations by Congressional committees was the subject of a large number of resolutions in both the House and the Senate. Hearings were held by the Rules Committees of both Houses. We testified before the House Rules Committee and filed a statement before the Senate Rules Committee urging that proper steps be taken to protect individuals from arbitrary and capricious actions by investigating committees. We specifically recommended the abolition of one-man investigating committees. No action was taken in either House. It is probable that the subject will come up again in the forthcoming Congress.

MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR MEDICAL FACILITIES

Chairman Wolverton of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce conducted exhaustive and valuable hearings on the problem of providing additional facilities for medical care. His bill, H. R. 7700, would have provided federal mortgage insurance on diagnostic centers, clinics, hospitals and other facilities constructed by private groups of doctors with a percentage of the total authorization earmarked for facilities constructed for prepaid personal health service plans. Passage of the bill would have been a powerful stimulus to the further development of this type of plan which the Federation has endorsed.

The Administration would not support the bill and as a result it died in committee. The American Medical Association opposed the bill in spite of its pious protestations that it favors voluntary health insurance plans which the bill would have stimulated.

(Additional details under title of Developments in Social Security, Health and Welfare Section.)

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

We were successful in staving off an attack on the Public Health Service Hospitals which furnish free medical care to merchant seamen. Although this service was inaugurated in 1798 there were elements in the administration which desired to abolish it. As the result of a vigorous campaign in which we cooperated with the Seafarers International Union we were successful in maintaining the service by holding virtually the same appropriation for 1955 that we obtained in 1954.

Grants for research work in the National Institutes of Health were again increased over the amounts recommended in the administration budget. As we noted last year, this is one field in which our missionary work has really borne fruit. We have long favored increased appropriations for research into the causes of cancer, heart disease, mental illness, blindness and the various neurological diseases.

Grants to the states for control of communicable diseases were maintained at the previous budget level. We regret that no effort was made to restore the approximately 30 per cent slash which had been made in

the previous year's budget. The fight against venereal diseases, tuberculosis, heart disease, etc., has been weakened as a result of this ill-considered economy move.

(Additional details under title of Developments in Social Security, Health and Welfare Section.)

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION ACT

Two significant gains were made in this field.

First, funds for general hospital construction were increased from $65,000,000 in the 1954 budget to $75,000,000 for 1955. We supported the increase and helped persuade the administration to accept it.

Second, the passage of H. R. 8149 (Wolverton), a bill which authorizes the expenditure of $20,000,000 a year for Chronic Disease Hospitals, $20,000,000 a year for Diagnostic Centers, $10,000,000 a year for Rehabilitation Centers, and $10,000,000 a year for Nursing Homes. Senate amendments proposed by Senator Hill permit the states to utilize all of these moneys interchangeably except the funds for Rehabilitation Centers which must be used for that purpose exclusively. Passed by both Houses, the bill is now Public Law 482.

The Hospital Construction Act, popularly known as the Hill-Burton Act, has always had our support and we believe it has worked out successfully. We are gratified that these improvements have been made.

However, we regret that the Congress did not see fit to appropriate the full $60 million authorized in Public Law 482, only $21 million was actually appropriated. This is another example of an attempt by Congress to throttle good legislation by insufficient appropriations.

(Additional details under title of Developments in Social Security, Health and Welfare Section.)

REINSURANCE OF VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS

The Administration pushed hard for passage of H. R. 8356 (Wolverton), a bill to establish a system of federal reinsurance of voluntary health insurance plans. We testified that while we had no objections to the bill we believed its value would be slight. The Administration played up the bill as the answer to the growing problem of the increased cost of medical care, which it most certainly was not. The bill was defeated, 238 to 134, by a combination of conservatives and liberals. The conservatives followed the line of the American Medical Association which branded the bill as "socialized medicine," which was not the case. The liberals voted against the bill because they believed it would not achieve anything.

An identical bill, S. 3114 (Smith, N. J.), was reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare but no action was taken.

(Additional details under title of Developments in Social Security, Health and Welfare Section.)

WELFARE FUND INVESTIGATIONS

Both Houses of the Congress have authorized the appointment of special subcommittees to investigate the administration of health and welfare funds. The Senate Committee is headed by Senator Ives, ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare; the House Committee by Representative McConnell, Chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. Both Committees have assured the American Federation of Labor they intend to investigate fully and fairly all aspects of the problem, including the role played by insurance companies.

ALASKA, HAWAII STATEHOOD

The 1953 Convention endorsed Statehood both for Alaska and Hawaii. Previously we were on record only for Alaska and had supported the Saylor Bill, H. R. 2982. This bill remained unacted upon by the House, though the Hawaiian Bill, H. R. 3575, received favorable action.

The Republican platform of 1952 included the following:

"We favor immediate statehood for Hawaii. We favor statehood for Alaska under an equitable enabling act."

The Democratic 1952 platform declared:

"By virtue of their strategic geographical locations, Alaska and Hawaii are vital bastions in the Pacific. These two Territories have contributed greatly to the welfare and economic development of our country and have become integrated into our economic and social life. We therefore urge immediate statehood for these two Territories."

The Senate passed H. R. 3575 for joint Statehood for the territories, 57-28, after defeating a variety of parliamentary maneuvers aimed at excluding Alaska.

In the House, the objection was raised to sending the bill to conference on the grounds that the Senate-passed bill bore no similarity to the House-passed measure, whereupon it was referred to the Rules Committee and remained there through the session's end. Thus the legislation for admission of either or both Territories expired, the Rules Committee having expressed opposition to sending the Senate bill to conference.

The President, though he made no formal announcement of his position, was understood to favor Alaskan Statehood only for the populated areas of the Territories, with the remainder of the region retaining its present status.

COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION

The Universal Copyright Convention which was signed in Geneva, Switzerland, in September, 1952, was submitted for ratification to the Senate in 1953. Ratification took place in July, 1954.

H. R. 6616, introduced by Representative Crumpacker, to implement the convention by modifying our Copyright Law passed Congress in the closing days of this session. Public Law 743, 83rd Congress.

This Convention and enabling legislation carries a provision that removes from the scope of the "Manufacturing Clause" of our Copyright Law any work first published abroad in the English language and extends copyright protection to such works. Under the old law, 1500 copies may be imported during a five-year period which is regarded as sufficient time to text the market. Should it develop that more printings would be regarded as salable here, all subsequent books must be manufactured here.

The new act drops this provision and grants outright copyright from the beginning.

The "Manufacturing Clause" was first promoted by the printing trades in the Copyright Act of 1891. This Act was amended in 1909 at the instance of the printing trades to assure extension of coverage to all phases of book manufacturing, such as bookbinding and photo-engraving, no less than to typesetting, electro-typing and actual printing.

The American Federation of Labor through its Convention has given support to its printing trade affiliates in their efforts to prevent the breakdown of the "Manufacturing Clause." President Meany in his statement submitted to the House and Senate Judiciary committees, pointed out that the "Manufacuring Clause" was the principal remaining protection afforded our printing trades against low-wage competition from abroad, since duty on books has been reduced to 5 per cent, unless they are bound in leather, in which case the rate is 10 per cent. He also sent letters to members of the House and the Senate in opposition to this legislation.

The American publishers for a number of years shared the same views, but to our surprise they reversed their position and supported the legislation. Under these circumstances and with the pressure exerted by the Administration, we were unable to block its enactment.

The printing trades shall be given our continued support in their efforts to preserve their standards. Should they suffer any economic injury as a result of this action, we shall immediately press for the enactment of remedial legislation.

CUSTOMS SIMPLIFICATION

Late in the first session of the 83rd Congress a second Customs Simplification Bill (H. R. 6584) was introduced by Congressman Jenkins. It contained two provisions that were eliminated from the Customs Simplification Bill passed on August 8, 1953.

H. R. 6584 was passed by the House and is now before the Senate Finance Committee. This is a technical bill relating to the adoption of export value in place of foreign value in assessment of duties and to the official recognition of multiple rates of exchange in the conversion of currency for duty assessment. No hearingse have been held by the Senate Finance Committee and the bill will not be reported without hearings. Its bearing on the Antidumping Act of 1921 and the countervailing duty

provisions of the Tariff Act of 1930 has made it a controversial bill and its adoption is doubtful.

A third Customs Simplification Bill (H. R. 9476) was introduced by Congressman Byrnes of Wisconsin designed to consolidate tariff classification, reinterpret the Antidumping Act with respect to fair value and to repeal certain obsolete statutes relating to Customs administration.

Hearings were held by the House Ways and Means Committee on H. R. 9476 and a new bill, H. R. 10009, was favorably reported out of committee. It passed the House on July 26, 1954.

In the Senate a controversy developed over whether material tariff changes could be made under the proposed power to consolidate classifications and the bill passed the Senate with amendments on August 13, 1954. The House adopted the Senate version on August 16, 1954. Public Law No. 768, 83rd Congress.

Under H. R. 10009, as amended, the Tariff Commission function will be confined to a report setting forth logical classifications and terminology of imported articles for tariff purposes, and bringing up to date changes that have occurred since 1930. The Commission would suggest no changes in tariff rates except where changes would be incidental to accomplishing the classification changes. In that event each incidental change is to be specified. No actual change can, however, be made before public hearings on any suggested change is held.

The American Federation of Labor supports the principle of customs simplification to the end of greater efficiency of administration and to avoid impediments to the flow of legitimate trade. However, customs simplification should not be used as an indirect means to change tariff rates materially. These should be made on their own merits.

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

The Trade Agreements Act was renewed in its existing form for another one-year period (Public Law 464, 83rd Congress). This outcome represented a compromise between the Administration request on the one hand and a group of almost identical protectionist bills introduced by eight Republicans and eight Democrats in the House, on the other.

The Administration bill (H. R. 8860), introduced by Representative Kean, represented the legislative effort to carry out the recommendations of the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, better known as the Randall Commission. It called for a three-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act with Presidential authority to reduce existing tariffs 5 per cent each year for a period of three years by negotiation with other countries, reduction of all rates now above 50 per cent to 50 per cent and reduction by as much as one-half of all rates on items that are not being imported or imported only in negligible quantities.

The protectionist bills, known as the Hunter-Bailey bills, sought to withdraw from the Executive the power to enter into further trade agreements but would have adopted all the reduced rates now in existing

trade agreements as the tariff of the United States by statute. All further tariff changes would thereafter have been made through the Tariff Commission but only after hearings and investigations to determine the merits of each case. However, instead of making recommendations to the President as the Tariff Commission does now in Escape Clause cases, the Commission's recommendations would be sent to Congress. If neither House rejected the recommendation within 60 days it would take effect. The Department of State would have been given the privilege of filing simultaneously with Congress its views with respect to effects of the proposed changes on our foreign relations, for consideration by Congress in reaching its own decision.

The Hunter-Bailey bills proposed specific guides to the Tariff Commission in its adjustment of the tariff. The principal objective as expressed by the proponents was to assure a maximum volume of trade on the basis of fair competition without inflicting injury on American labor, industry and agriculture.

The compromise reached led to passage of the one-year extension by a vote of 281-53 in the House. No vote was taken on the Hunter-Bailey bills.

In the Senate an effort was made by Senator Gore to substitute the President's relinquished three-year for the House-passed one-year extension bill, but this effort failed by a vote of 45-32.

The net result is a postponement of action for another year on the matter of trade agreements legislation.

The American Federation of Labor has long favored a maximum of foreign trade that can be carried on without undermining our own wage structure and working conditions and without causing unemployment in our own ranks. We continue to adhere to this position and call for proper vigilance in upholding these standards against foreign competition that derives its cost advantage from lower wages and inferior working conditions that may prevail abroad. We are therefore concerned with practical and workable administrative remedies that will assure correction of injurious competition without unnecessarily restricting imports. Protection should be extended only to the point needed to overcome unfairness of import competition. However, to that extent we must go if we are to preserve the standards to which we are dedicated.

FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

This year, as in 1953, the 83rd Congress failed to take legislative action of any kind on this subject. As a result, sixty or more bills to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act died in committee.

The principal bill on this subject was introduced by Senator Murray and Representative Metcalfe of Montana (S. 2914 and companion bill H. R. 7862). This proposal would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act by:

(1) Striking out the "closely related" 'and "directly essential" re-

quirements of the 1949 amendments in the definition of "produced," thus restoring the original language of this definition.

(2) Adding four new definitions for: "activity affecting commerce," "hired farm labor," "farm enterprise," and "man-day."

(3) Increasing the statutory minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.25 an hour with special provisions for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands under which the $1.25 minimum would become applicable to industries in these islands three years after this rate becomes effective elsewhere in the United States. (The wage order provisions of the present sections 6 (c) and 8 would be repealed.)

(4) Reducing the maximum workweek from 40 to 37½ hours during the first two years after the effective date of the amendments and to 35 hours after the expiration of the fourth year from such date.

(5) Striking out the fourteen workweek seasonal exemption under section 7(b) (3) and the exemptions provided under section 7(c) for employes of employers engaged in the specified processing operations on certain agricultural products.

(6) Revising section 13 to limit the wage and hour exemptions thereunder to: executive, administrative or professional employes; employes of a retail and service establishment where the employer has less than five such establishments with a total volume of sales or services of not more than $500,000 annually: any person employed in agriculture during any calendar quarter by a farm enterprise which used less than 600 man-days of hired farm labor during each of the preceding four quarters; or any employe to the extent that he is exempt by regulations or orders of the Administrator issued under section 14. Employes of an employer subject to the provisions of part I of the Interstate Commerce Act would be exempt from the hours provision of the Act.

(7) Amending section 12(c) to prohibit the use of any oppressive child labor in or about or in connection with any enterprise where an employer is engaged in any activity affecting commerce. Section 13(c) and (d) of the Act would be amended to limit the employment of children in agriculture to employment outside school hours of children 14 years of age or over, and to restrict the employment of minors in the delivery of newspapers to consumers other than at their residences, to minors 16 years of age or over.

(8) Providing that subminimum wages established for learners, apprentices (except indentured apprentices), and handicapped workers under Section 14 be fixed at not less than $1 per hour.

(9) Increasing the statute of limitations provided under section 16(c) of the Act and section 6(c) of the Portal to Portal Act from 2 to 4 years.

(10) Extending the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to cover all activities affecting commerce.

The proposed revisions contained in S. 2914 and H. R. 7862 includes the changes suggested by the American Federation of Labor and are in accordance with the action taken at our last convention. This proposal will be reintroduced in the next Congress.

The President in his Budget Message to Congress on this subject said that while an increase in the present minimum and an expansion of coverage are desirable, the exact nature and timing of these changes must be worked out with a view to the best interest of the economy. He further stated that the Secretary of Labor is continuing his study of

this problem and at a proper time recommendations will be made to Congress.

Based on the President's Budget Message, prospects for consideration of this legislation in the next Congress are very good.

Additional report under title of "Wage and Hour Administration."

TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS

Canal Zone

Fringe Benefit Study—H. R. 9429 and H. R. 9433

By direction of the Senate Appropriation Committee, the Panama Canal Company engaged the management consultant firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton to make a study of the compensation paid to and the fringe benefits given the U. S. citizens employes on the Canal Zone.

The results of the study indicated a U. S. citizen in the Zone area could demand and get net earnings ranging from 47 per cent to 74 per cent over what his net earnings would be in the States. The present net earnings of the Canal employe was calculated to be only 22.7 per cent. To bring this percentage more in line with present overseas practices the consultant firm made five recommendations:

1. Retain the 25 per cent differential.
2. Make the differential tax free.
3. Effect a rent reduction of 50 per cent.
4. Provide free transportation once every two years for employes and dependents on leave and once each year for employes' children in their last two years of college in the States.
5. Retain the present status of other fringe benefits.

The Panama Canal Company took the position that insofar as the study was made for the Congress, it would be up to the Congress to indicate what action they desired taken. However, the Company concurred in the five recommendations in their letter of transmittal when sending the study to the Congress.

The Canal Zone Central Labor Union prepared and had introduced H. R. 9429 and H. R. 9433 to partly attain the desired results.

Hearings were held on the study and the bills before the Panama Canal Subcommittee of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee.

Overseas Allowance Act of 1954

Proposed legislation has been drafted by the President's Adviser on Personnel Management on pay and personnel practices of Federal employes stationed overseas. The Canal Zone has been excluded from this act pending an on the location inspection.

Two members of the President's Advisory Board visited the Canal Zone from July 6 to July 18 to gather data for next year's legislation.

Federal Employes' Group Life Insurance—S. 3681

The Federal employe Group Life Insurance legislation, while not completely satisfactory to the Zone worker, is a welcomed relief in this field. Many insurance companies consider the Canal Zone as an extra premimum area. In some cases, this extra cost has resulted in the employes carrying an insufficient amount of insurance.

Federal Employes' Unemployment Insurance—H. R. 9709

The Canal Zone does not, at the present time have an unemployment compensation program. The present practice of requiring all employes to leave the Zone within 30 days however, will place all employes under the provisions of H. R. 9709 when they return to the United States.

The Governor of the Canal Zone has been approached to establish an unemployment compensation program for those employes who are terminated and are allowed to remain within the Canal Zone. This small group consists of working wives and dependent children living with their parents. H. R. 9709 passed the House on July 8 and was favorably reported by the Senate Finance Committee.

Travel Allowance for Overseas Employes—H. R. 179

The enactment of this bill authorizes the payment of the expenses of round-trip travel and transportation for employes and their families once every two years to their stateside homes for the purpose of taking leave. This is part of the Booz, Allen and Hamilton recommendation No. 4. H. R. 179 passed the House on July 8 and was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

Maritime Act 50-50 Amendment—S. 3233 (Public Law 664)

This bill was successfully amended to exempt the Panama Canal Company steamships from compliance with the 50 per cent privately owned United States-flag commercial vessel clause.

Tort Feasor Bill—H. R. 4881—S. 1810

This bill amends the Canal Zone Code to provide for the survival of a cause of action in tort after the death of the person liable for the injury and after the death of the injured person. H. R. 4881 passed the House on February 2 and has been favorably reported by a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee and passed. (Public Law 635, 83rd Congress.)

Alien Cash Relief—H. R. 5861 and S. 2038 (P. L. 299)

This Public Law increased the Alien Cash Relief payment from $1 per month to $1.50 per month for each year of service and increased the allowable maximum payments from $25 to $45 per month.

Deceased Employes' Account—H. R. 3477 (P. L. 347)

This Public Law allows the Canal Zone employe the same privileges accorded Federal employes in the United States regarding final pay, accumulated leave pay and other monies due a deceased employe.

Income Tax—H. R. 8300

Section 152 (b) (3) amends the Internal Revenue Code to allow the U. S. citizens on the Canal Zone the same exemption consideration as they would receive if they resided within the United States.

Legislative Achievements—1953 Edition

Each year, distribution of our booklet titled "Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor," has grown.

The 1954 edition available early in January brought up to date the transactions in the Congress for the First Session of the Eighty-third Congress. During the year, we counted 14 items of legislation in which we had a direct interest and which became law. Under the heading "Hostile Legislation Prevented," there were nine measures. Only those bills on which action for the year has been completed are included in the summary.

Some of the more important laws in that session included increased appropriation for civil defense, repeal of the Thomas rider limiting Government employe leave rights, extension of defense area aid-to-education, extension of hospital construction for two years. Federal inspection of plants producing drugs and food, school lunch appropriation maintained and others.

Adverse legislative plans which we stopped included appointment of the author of the original "right-to-work" laws to the House Labor Committee, blocking of big grab of public domain and natural resources, preservation of the Lloyd-LaFollette Act, plan for removal of NLRB examiners who held jobs prior to passage of Taft-Hartley Act and others.

There has been a gratifying demand among the International Unions, State and City Central bodies, research students and libraries for copies of the "Legislative Achievements." The introduction to this booklet presents, in understandable manner, the process leading to the presentation of our position before the Congress.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING LAWMAKERS, JUDICIARY, AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYES

President Meany's testimony supporting the pay increase for members of the Congress and the Judiciary was presented to the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries. He proposed that the lawmakers receive an increase from $15,000 to $25,000 and that members of the Federal Courts be increased from $25,500 for chief justice to $40,000 and with increases in the Inferior Courts going from $15,000 to $25,000 and with salaries of intermediate judges proportionate. The proposal for revising such salaries was included in S. 1663.

No final action was taken on this legislation.

Liberalized Congressional Pensions

Provisions of the Retirement Act affecting members of the Congress

and their staffs were liberalized under the provisions of Public Law 303.

This act provides that, without increase in contribution rate, retirement may be had at age 60 after 10 years of service at a reduced annuity. This was in lieu of full benefits at age 60 and with 10 years of service as against the previous act which provided full benefits at 62 with eight years of service. A further provision permits credit toward a pension for up to five years of military service regardless of when the service was performed.

Under Public Law 18 of the same Congress, the lawmakers voted survivorship benefits for their dependents for the first time, with Public Law 18 becoming effective January 1, 1953.

Virgin Islands

The enactment by Congress of S. 3378—"Revision of the Organic Act of the Virgin Islands" is a step forward towards a greater degree of autonomy, economic as well as political, to the people of the Virgin Islands. (Public Law No. 517, 83rd Congress.)

The Virgin Islands have a population of approximately 25,000 and a land area of 133 square miles. There are no military installations in active use in the islands. Yet the 1936 Organic Act was based on the old Danish system in the islands, which sets up three separate local governments, plus an elaborate central administration. The duplication in the legislative structure was repeated in the executive branch. There were two separate police departments and police courts; two departments of education health, public welfare, public works, and the like.

The purpose of S. 3378 is to provide a new Organic Act, or basic charter of civil government, for the people of the Virgin Islands. Under the new Act a single island-wide legislature and a single Virgin Islands government of not more than nine executive departments is established. The Executive power is vested in the Governor of the Virgin Islands, under the supervision of the Secretary of Interior. The Governor is to be appointed by the President of the United States. The Act also contains a new Bill of Rights which is in part similar to the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

This revised Organic Act of the Virgin Islands should eliminate much of the waste of duplication in governments and governmental services, thus affording the islands a more efficient and more representative government.

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico has a population of 2,250,000 American citizens, with an aggregate labor force of 675,000. Ten to fifteen per cent of that number are unemployed. There is also a substantial amount of under-employment. It has been estimated that only 75 per cent of the employed labor force work more than 30 hours per week. Wage rates are about one-third of those prevailing on the mainland.

The minimum wage established by the Wage and Hour Administrator for Puerto Rico under the Fair Labor Standards Act ranges from 17½ cents to 75 cents per hour. This is below in some cases the 30 cents minimum wage that was paid in 1940 when Puerto Rico was covered under the minimum wage provision of the Act.

The most serious problem in Puerto Rico is the lack of employment opportunities for its abundant labor force. The Government is faced with the necessity of bringing about rapid industrialization. To induce industrial expansion the Government turned to measures that might appeal to industries in the United States. These measures are of two kinds, one for the provision of capital for investment in plants and facilities, and the other a tax holiday on business and on the profits arising out of business.

Industrialization Program

To implement this program, the Government set up several types of agencies, including the Economic Development Administration, the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company, and the Government Development Bank of Puerto Rico. These agencies offer different types of aid to companies desiring to locate in Puerto Rico. This aid includes construction of buildings for sale or lease, loans, training of workers, special services and promotion.

The tax holiday offers new industry a blanket exemption from income, property and municipal taxes for 10 years. The Tax Exemption Act of 1948, as amended, has no termination date and assures new companies of the full 10-year exemption, regardless of the date of the start of operations.

Under this program, Puerto Rico's campaign to attract new industries to the island is moving along at a good pace. During fiscal 1952-53, a total of 81 new plants started operations, as compared with 69 during fiscal 1951-52 and 32 in fiscal 1950-51. Total factory employment, excluding home-workers, in government-aided plants increased from approximately 12,600 at the beginning of the fiscal year to an estimated 19,500 as of June 30, 1953.

The textile industry is one of the largest that has received aid under this program. Included are: broad woven fabric mills, knitting mills, and carpets, rugs and other floor coverings. There are also several plants engaged in dyeing and finishing textiles. The apparel industry is even larger, from the standpoint of number of plants, but its total assets are smaller.

While textiles and needlecraft dominated the early phases of this program, the swing now is to the Electronics Industries. Electronics pay better wages, and the big companies are coming into the island.

Other industries which have located in the island in the past few years, include canning and other food products; lumber and wood products, including furniture and fixtures; paper; footwear and other leather prod-

ucts; stone, clay and glass products; fabricated metal products; electrical industrial apparatus and appliances; communication equipment; precision instruments, toys, jewelry; costume novelities; button; fabricated plastic products; pens and pencils.

In all, there are 275 new plants that were established in Puerto Rico under this program, as of June 30, 1953. Total factory employment in these plants are approximately 20,000 at present and they are expected to double that number in the near future.

Goals for the next two years are even more spectacular. Prospects look so good that the Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company decided to change its entire promotional campaign. The new approach will blanket the United States. It is called "area promotion." Trained salesmen will contact and sell prospects on the advantage of establishing in the island. The goals are 175 new industries in the fiscal year 1954-1955 and another 175 in 1955-56, with, 16,500 more jobs in each of the next two years. The economists generally agree one direct job creates another indirectly. Therefore, 33,000 new industrial jobs in two years will create a total of 66,000 for island workers. The market for the products manufactured under this program is the United States.

It is evident that if the program goes along as planned and the low wage is allowed to continue, our domestic industries here on the mainland will be seriously affected. To make matters worse, the workers in these industries are unorganized. The need for an immediate organizational campaign in all industries in the island is apparent.

Legislation

Legislative matters relating to Puerto Rico in this session was limited to a technical revision in the laws enacted by Congress. Since Puerto Rico has become a Commonwealth, reference to possessions and territories in legislative measures could be interpreted as excluding Puerto Rico unless the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is spelled out in the legislation.

This technical revision was made in all legislative measures enacted by Congress in this session.

Philippines Trade

H. R. 9315, extending duty-free trade with the Philippines passed Congress on July 2, 1954. Public Law 474, 83rd Congress.

The State Department had requested the extension of duty-free trade to permit time for a general overhauling of the trade agreement between the two countries. After July 4, 1954, a 5 per cent duty was scheduled to take effect. This would be increased to 10 per cent next year.

The Act as approved by Congress will extend for 18 months after July 4, 1954, on a reciprocal basis free entry of Philippine articles in the United States.

DISPOSAL OF ALIEN PROPERTIES

In the 2nd Session of the 83rd Congress, we resumed support of our membership involved in prospective disposal of former enemy alien properties under the Trading with the Enemy Act.

The main issue in the legislation (S. 3423) pending before the Senate Judiciary subcommittee, as we viewed it, was what would become the fate of the some 9,000 American Federation of Labor men and women employed in the plants across the country by the General Aniline and Film Corporation.

In cooperation with our chemical workers, pipefitters, electricians, sheetmetal workers, operating engineers, typesetters, teamsters and machinists and others in jobs in Rensselaer, New York; Binghamton, New York; Johnson City, New York; Linden, New Jersey; Oakland, California, and Detroit, we objected to the provisions of S. 3423 and upheld S. 2171, the Smith-Hendrickson Bill, which bill would permit the sale of these and other properties to the highest American bidder with the proceeds going to the original owners rather than turning the properties and assets over to the prior owners with the possibility that such properties and valuable patents could fall into the hands of Iron Curtain spheres.

Our members have maintained good working relationships with managements in these plants in substitution of previous negative Labor philosophy.

Further, we foresaw the danger of the complete removal of such plants and dissolution of jobs involved and the reestablishment under cartel standards. While such plants have been under the control of the Alien Property Custodian, their value has enhanced materially, the number of jobs has increased several fold and the American industrial production has been appreciably increased by their having been under the present direction.

There were a number of other bills on the general subject of disposal of such plants and assets, including the St. George Bill, H. R. 9076.

Also: S. 28, S. 145, S. 34, S. 146, S. 151, S. 155, S. 249, S. 2477, H. R. 535, S. 1765, S. 2085, S. 2231, S. 2420, H. R. 2681, H. R. 3174, H. R. 3303, S. 3423, H. R. 3594, H. R. 3636, H. R. 3978, H. R. 4080, H. R. 4873, H. R. 4926, H. R. 5064, H. R. 5674, H. R. 5675, H. R. 5952, H. R. 8774, H. R. 9076, H. R. 9475.

We took no position on any other phase of former enemy property disposal but limited our remarks to the point of supporting the stand of our members insofar as their interests extend. Neither did we oppose the principles of restitution.

Despite conflicting testimony by two Departments, the Department of State and the Department of Justice, the Dirksen bill (S. 3423) was reported.

Secretary of State Dulles said relinquishing General Aniline and Film Corporation would improve American relations with Germany. Col.

Dallas Townsend, Assistant Attorney General in charge of Alien Property has testified in opposition. While Deputy Attorney General Rogers contested a windfall for former enemies would result and that the Justice Department "is opposed and continues to be opposed to the proposed legislation."

H. R. 9985 by Representative St. George was offered in the House as a duplicate of the Dirksen bill, as reported without results.

LEASE-PURCHASE PLAN BECOMES LAW

For three years, the American Federation of Labor took an active interest in several lease-purchase bills designed to enable the government to acquire real estate by contract extending over a number of years with a purchase price to be amortized in the form of rents.

During the 82nd Congress, this legislation began taking form, and we closely watched the bills being considered in six committees of the Congress, none of which at the outset contained provisions reasserting the Davis-Bacon principles.

With a potential building schedule extending into every state in the union and the District of Columbia awaiting disposition of the legislation and totaling several billion dollars in new construction and remodeling, it was important that existing Labor laws be not ignored in advancing this legislation.

Having obtained sanction for inclusion of Labor Standards Laws in one bill, the task remained to see that the same was included in bills in all other committees which, at that time, were the two committees of the Public Works and the two committees of the Government Operations.

The Government Services Administration agreed to such inclusion and the task then developed into one of seeing that at no time were the provisions dropped from the bills.

While various moves were made to alter some of the details of the legislation with respect to legislative sanction of individual provisions, the Davis-Bacon clauses remained in and now apply to all such projects to the extent the basic laws stipulate.

In this connection, H. Doc. 212 of the 1st session of the 83rd Congress sets forth the lists of building projects to be started under the new law, which formally was H. R. 6342.

The pattern for the Government's acquiring and occupying structures will be along these lines:

Space requirements to be satisfied by lease-purchase requirements must be urgent and permanent. Temporary needs will be met only on a rental basis. New buildings, in the main, will be acquired by lease-purchase. Design and construction along GSA specifications will be observed strictly. All lease-purchase projects must be clearly justified. Widespread competition will be encouraged on such contracts.

The President signed the lease-purchase bill into law (Public Law No. 519) which includes provision for House and Senate Public Works Com-

mittees to approve lists of preferred projects. Both the Post Office Department and General Services Administration will acquire property under the new law. Facilities thus acquired will be paid for in the form of rents over stipulated periods at the end of which the property title passes to the Government. In the interim, the property remains on the taxrolls. This is calculated to effect savings to the Government and still provide modern buildings to replace a long list of outmoded properties.

INTERNATIONAL ENVELOPE CO. (DAYTON PLANT)

Despite the strenuous campaign waged by country weekly newspapers which are typically non-union, efforts to take work away from our members in the Dayton, Ohio, plant of the International Envelope Company failed once more.

Three bills, one by the House Post Office and Civil Service Chairman, Rees of Kansas (H. R. 573), one by Budge of Idaho (H. R. 2688), and a third by Winstead of Mississippi (H. R. 4786).

All were designed to forbid lithographing or engraving on envelopes sold by the Post Office Department. Several days of hearings were held last year by subcommittee Chairman Cole of Missouri on these bills and the proponents appeared at full force.

The Post Office Department which at first expressed no position later stated it had no objection to passage of the bills which then moved to the House calendar, but because of our success in resisting its reporting in the Rules Committee failed to advance further.

Several billion prepaid embossed envelopes are produced annually in the Dayton Plant under contract with the Post Office Department. This work has progressed now in this manner for 86 years. Our members in this plant are happily situated operating under good working conditions. For these contracts to be scattered to the four corners and distributed to the great majority of non-union plants would constitute a definite reversal which we had to resist.

We enlisted the assistance of Democratic members of the Rules Committee who agreed that these were "picayunish bills," unworthy of the time of the lawmakers or of those who were pushing for their enactment.

WORKERS OF WAKE, GUAM AND CAVITE

Another year brought some progress in obtaining remedial legislation for our members captured in the Pacific in World War II, starved and thoroughly abused, by the Japanese.

S. 541, passed in 1953 by the Senate, gathered dust in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee till the final weeks of the session when subcommittee hearings were held on this bill and the House version (H. R. 4422). The subcommittee's attitude was sympathetic to the point that S. 541 was reported and shortly thereafter was passed by the House.

These former prisoners are without social security benefits and were ill-equipped to work or even find jobs they were able to do after release and return to the mainland. In the meanwhile, bills benefiting former military prisoners of World War II and the Korean War have gone on to become law.

Under Public Law 896, the War Claims Act of 1948, civilian internees received $2 a day for the time interned. Military prisoners got $1. A second bill passed for the military and gave them an additional $1.50 from impounded Japanese and German Government funds.

Those who would be subject to the provisions of H. R. 4422 and S. 541 are former employes of Navy contractors engaged in building air bases on Wake, Guam and Cavite with the majority on Wake where they, in conjunction with the Marines, held off the Japanese 16 days. All civilian workmen found by the Japanese to have borne arms were lined up and sentenced to die. The decision then came to put these workmen to the task of repairing airfields heavily damaged by the enemy in taking the possession. Overwork and undernourishment brought heavy casualties. All the worst effects of malnutrition today are hastening these men to their graves.

We managed to get Department of Labor aid in recognizing one of these most advanced cases by getting the malnutrition file referred to the National Institute of Health for review. The result was favorable and the claimant was declared eligible for full and permanent disability.

After many obstacles were overcome in the closing days of the session the House amendments were agreed to by the Senate and the bill sent to the White House. It became Public Law No. 744, 83rd Congress.

FINE ARTS COMMISSION

A Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor held hearings on H. R. 9111 (Howell, N. J.) a bill to create a Federal Fine Arts Commission which would stimulate federal participation in the advancement of music and the other fine arts. We filed a statement supporting the purposes of this and other bills proposing similar action. No action was taken by the Subcommittee.

BILLS ON PROHIBITION

A familiar subject was the basis for House and Senate hearings this year. This included the Bryson bill (H. R. 1227) and the Langer bill (S. 3294), both to place strict limitations on advertising of alcoholic beverages "in the mails or otherwise" between states.

It has become the habit of many to underestimate the persistence of the prohibition forces and to belittle their efforts as was done in the days prior to 1918 when national prohibition was invoked. Our Unions appeared in strength before both Committees on Interstate and Foreign Commerce as did our own representative.

Proponents of the bills were not as persuasive in front of the Com-

mittees as they have been on individual members of the Congress. Even so, they succeeded in inducing some members to appear in their behalf.

Our main argument in opposition to the bills was alcoholic beverage manufacturing, distribution and sale are entirely legal so far as federal law is concerned. To place limitations upon a legal industry would be to hobble or destroy that industry.

The bills remained in committee.

U. S. TRAVEL COMMISSION

We testified in favor of H. J. Res. 350 (Javits) which would create a U. S. Travel Commission to further more travel by American citizens in foreign countries for the purpose of promoting international understanding, scientific advancement, and cultural enrichment. We also proposed certain amendments to safeguard the safety and health of traveling Americans and to make certain that labor standards would not be impaired. We also suggested the inclusion of representatives of labor on the Commission. The Subcommittee hearing the resolution did not report it.

LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE PROGRAM WITH FOREIGN NATIONS

One of the most valuable programs in the international field is the exchange of visits by groups of leaders from all walks of life, including the labor movement, between the rest of the free world and the United States. In the State Department budget the Eisenhower Administration askd for $15,000,000 to continue this program. The House Committee cut this figure to $9,000,000. The American Federation of Labor immediately protested this action as we believe the visits of leaders of thought and action from other countries has been invaluable in the fight against Communism. The Senate restored the original amount and only $300,000 was lost in the conference between the two Appropriation Committees. Thus, $14,700,000 or nearly the full amount requested is available to carry on this program. Public Law No. 471, 83rd Congress.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

The 1955 appropriation for this program is $83,236,197. This amount is an increase of $15,000,000 over the 1955 budget estimate and approximately the same as appropriated for 1954. It is one of the few Federal programs that did not receive a reduction under the economy drive in this session of Congress. (Public Law 437—83rd Congress)

The Budget recommended the elimination of funds for the purchase and distribution of commodities pursuant to Sec. 6 of the National School Lunch Act for which $15,000,000 was appropriated in 1954. Such economy at the expense of school children is incredible.

The purchase of foods under Sec. 6 has helped schools provide a balanced diet for our children. In order to meet nutritional requirements there is still a vital need for Sec. 6 purchases, particularly fruits and vegetables.

Congress recognized this need and disagreed with the Budget by

approving the full amount for this purpose in 1955. The total amount appropriated however, is still grossly inadequate because it will provide lunches for only 10 million of the nation's 30 million or more school children.

We recommend an expansion of the program to meet more adequately the needs of our children. State Federations and City Central Bodies should make the administration of this program their vital concern.

APPOINTMENT OF TRIAL EXAMINERS

Ever since enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act, efforts have been made to displace all trial examiners in NLRB and in other agencies who were appointed during the days of the Wagner Act.

Beginning in the 80th Congress, Senator Wiley, then chairman, Judiciary Committee, undertook to force these examiners to undergo certain tests which resulted in the great majority of them being declared disqualified to continue the duties they had performed for years. At one time, the Civil Service Commission took an active interest in carrying out the program laid down by Wiley.

Through one means or another, almost all of these examiners did remain on their jobs despite the examinations.

More recently, Senator McCarran, Chairman, Judiciary Committee while the Democrats were in control of the Congress, introduced S. 1708 to amend the Administrative Procedure Act. Under this bill, the President would appoint, with Senatorial advice and consent, "such number of qualified and competent examiners as may be required for proceedings pursuant to sections 7 and 8." The jobs then would pay $14,000 on a lifetime basis "or during good behavior," removable only "for neglect of duty, misconduct in office or physical or mental disability."

While the bill does not specify NLRB, this agency would be included, along with Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission and anywhere else that examiners are employed.

We opposed this legislation from the beginning and succeeded in having objections raised at the time it was called on the Senate calendar. The report on the bill showed no evidence of hearings ever having been held to determine the merits of the measure and no comments from any agency in the Executive Branch either for or against.

SUGAR ACT

Two bills to amend the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended, were introduced in this session of Congress: namely, S. 3019, introduced by Senator Ellender and others, to increase the mainland cane sugar quota by 100,000 tons, and S. 3181, introduced by Senator Dworshak, to increase the domestic beet sugar quota by 200,000 tons. Companion bills (H. R. 8072 and H. R. 8621) were introduced in the House.

Both proposals were inspired by the Southern Cane Sugar Growers and the Beet Sugar Producers of the West. It is claimed that the present quotas are too low and that the proposed adjustments are necessary in order to maintain a stabilized economy in the American Sugar Industry.

Under these proposals, the increase in mainland quotas would be charged against the Cuban quota. This would mean a reduction of 300,000 tons in Cuba's quota. Such action, it is indicated, would cause a serious unemployment problem in Cuba.

Quotas under the present Act expire on December 31, 1956, unless extended by an Act of Congress. The Administration opposed any change at this time and the bills died in Committee.

SAFETY

Industrial and Government

The Murray bill (S. 368) was introduced in this Congress at the beginning of the First Session. This was the same bill on which hearings were held in the preceding Congress, but which was never reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The Murray bill would have established sound safety principles as a basis for state-by-state cooperation on reasonable standards. Most state safety commissioners have endorsed the purposes of the Murray bill and the Department of Labor had previously supplied its support.

The Bailey bill in the House (H. R. 4145) was the companion to the Murray measure. No action was taken by the House Committee on Education and Labor.

In the Congress' closing days this year, hearings were called in the Senate Committee on S. 3088 "to provide for the establishment in the Department of Labor of a Federal Safety Division." We opposed passage of this bill on the following grounds:

Such division would usurp some of the functions of the Bureau of Labor Standards and would set up a division higher than the level of a bureau. The Department of Labor is suffering from budgetary malnutrition. For this reason, if the Congress is willing to provide sufficient appropriation, it should allot it to the Bureau of Labor Standards where safety work already is being administered and where a creditable job is being done considering the means provided. The Bureau has a new Director who has a depth of experience in the field of safety. Secretary Mitchell has told President Meany that due to the lateness in the present Congressional session, it is too late to draw the lawmakers' attention to the need for S. 368, but that this will be a live subject in the new session.

Diverting Mine Safety to the States

Among the serious proposals which may be expected to be submitted to the Congress next session is a plan to turn over to the states the task of administering the details of mine safety.

The American Federation of Labor took an aggressive part in the campaign to bring about enactment of Public Law 552 of the Eighty-second Congress. Attempts had extended over a span of 70 years to get this law onto the books. Tremendous opposition arose at every turn, year after year. Finally, the mine operators came around to the idea of withdrawing their opposition. Many since that time have declared their pleasure at having ceased their fight against such law.

The states long had given little active attention to the subject of mine safety. Disasters continued in great severity and with loss of life running well into the hundreds on occasion.

The principal purpose of Public Law 552 was to minimize the number of disasters. Admittedly, accidents involving individuals would continue, though even these would be expected to decrease noticeably through education and coordination with state efforts through the central federal agency, Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior.

Now, a committee including Dr. Curtis L. Wilson, dean, Missouri School of Mines; John C. Kinnear, Sr., former vice president, Kennecott Copper Corporation; Dennis L. McElroy, vice president, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Company; J. R. Butler, president, Butler Johnson Corporation, and Spencer S. Shannon, formerly of National Security Resources Board, have proposed this safety work be handed over to the states entirely. Interior Secretary McKay has concurred.

The plan calls for what is described as an educational campaign which eventually would permit the states to take over the federal Government's mine inspection chores. This move is part of a get-Government-out-of-business program. The recommended date for handing over the inspection work would be July 1, 1955.

With anthracite coal mining as an example of the fatalities per million tons in recent years, the figures are: 1950, 2.09; 1951, 2.41; 1953, 2.13; through April, 1954, 2.50.

Based upon million man hours, the fatality figures show: 1950, .80; 1951, .95; 1952, .99; 1953, 1.11.

In each illustration, the figures dropped immediately following enactment of Public Law 552. The recent rise is regarded as being caused by submarginal mine operation rather than among the larger mines best equipped to install and maintain safety measures in closer conformity to provisions of the act.

In the bituminous field, the picture is as follows:

Year	*Killed*	*Injured*	*Frequency of Million Man Hours*
1950	550	28,390	0.92 fatal 47.73 nonfatal
1951	684	28,081	1.16 fatal 47.56 nonfatal
1952	449	31,051	.83 fatal 57.22 nonfatal
1953	396	21,820	.84 fatal 47.04 nonfatal
1954 (through April)	112	5,930	.91 fatal 48.59 nonfatal

There are employed in and around mines the following crafts, included among them are:

Bricklayers, painters, iron workers, blacksmiths, teamsters, sheet-

metal workers, molders, operating engineers, pattern makers, plumbers, carpenters, and machinists.

With an agency no longer willing to administer a law, the direct consequence is failure to budget for a function. The Congress all too frequently takes its cue and fails to appropriate. Thus, does the law remain on the books but with slight or even no enforcement.

In effect, this is repeal and illustrates what happens to federal services in the field of health, general safety and welfare. We may not even have to fight the battle to ward off change in the basic legislation. The real battle will be over obtaining appropriations to be forced upon an unwilling agency.

Safety on the Railroads

This year, a determined effort was made by the Interstate Commerce Commission to lump appropriations for the Bureau of Railroad Safety and the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection into a single legislative item. This was not the first time this had been attempted though it was pushed with greatest vigor this time.

The merger of appropriations plan was passed by the House of Representatives at the instance of its subcommittee on Independent Offices. The contents of appropriations bills are not made public until the bills are reported to the House with floor action following promptly. thus precluding time leeway for opposition. Often correction of House action must come on the Senate side.

We joined forces with our Unions and the Railway Labor Executives Association by appearing before the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and before the Senate Appropriations subcommittee. Before the former Committee was pending a bill (S. 3059) to merge the two bureaus. We pointed out that the same provisions were in the House-passed appropriations bill and asked that action on S. 3059 be withheld pending disposition by the Appropriations Committee. Of the latter Committee, we asked that the House action be corrected.

We won on both fronts. At least for another year, these bureaus will remain separate, as they were meant to be at the time of creation of their functions.

There are, however, other forces at work some from the Congress itself. The Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee has directed the Commission to streamline its operations and to bring about the greatest possible degree of what it has described as effectiveness. The Committee has taken the position that the Commission has become rusty in many respects and, in effect, has moved in to take an aggressive share in an internal reorganization.

There has been a tendency to minimize the importance of safety on the railroads. It became necessary to point out to the Congress that even more complicated and faster dieselization and tighter schedules and longer trains have brought new problems which must be met and

solved by specialists, not by inspectors presumed merely to possess general qualifications in several lines.

The language in the 1955 fiscal year appropriation for locomotive inspection (Public Law No. 428) is clearly spelled out:

> "For expenses necessary in the enforcement of the Act of February 17, 1911, entitled 'An act to promote the safety of employes and travelers upon railroads by compelling common carriers engaged in interstate commerce to equip their locomotives with safe and suitable boilers and appurtenances thereto,' as amended, etc."

On the other hand, the separability of funds for railroad safety is set apart in language which prescribes insurance of:

> "Maximum of safety in the operation of railroads, including the authority to investigate, test experimentally and report on the use and need of any appliances or systems intended to promote the safety of railway operations, including those pertaining to block-signal and train-control systems, as authorized by the joint resolution approved June 30, 1906 and the Sundry Civil Act of May 27, 1908, etc."

We pointed out to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce that at the present rate of reduction in numbers of respective personnel that the entire Bureau of Locomotive Inspection would be wiped out in only 5½ years, through a simple device of budgeting and reduction in appropriation.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

The so-called "Dual Benefit" bill (H. R. 356) which passed the House last year was passed by the Senate on June 2, 1954, Public Law 398, 83rd Congress. This legislation repeals retroactively the "Dual Benefit" provision of the 1951 amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937, as amended.

Under the "Dual-Benefit" provision, the Railroad Retirement annuity or pension of an individual was reduced if such individual had creditable railroad service before 1937 and was receiving or entitled to receive on application, an old-age benefit under the Social Security Act. The repeal of the "Dual-Benefit" provision restored to the individual the full benefits provided for under the Act, regardless of old-age benefits received under the Social Security Act. An individual can now receive if eligible the full benefits provided for under both the Railroad Retirement Act and the Social Security Act.

Other important improvements to the Railroad Retirement Act follows:

H. R. 7840, amending the Railroad Retirement Act, the Railroad Retirement Tax Act, and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance passed Congress on August 19, 1954. Public Law No. 746, 83rd Congress.

The new Act provides several major improvements:

1. Widows may draw survivor benefits at 60 instead of 65.

2. Widows who themselves have railroad service entitling them to pensions may draw both their own and their husbands' pension, not permitted prior to the enactment of this Act.

3. Disabled railroaders may earn up to $100 a month instead of $75 without losing Railroad Retirement disability benefits.

4. Survivors benefits for disabled children and widowed mothers were liberalized.

5. Unemployment benefits are increased to a maximum of $8.50 per day instead of $7.50.

6. The tax base on which pay deductions are made is increased from the first $300 to the first $350 of monthly earnings to pay for the improvements. Those in the over $300 a month wage brackets will draw correspondingly higher benefits.

The enactment of this legislation despite the opposition of the American Association of Railroads was a real victory for the A. F. of L. railroad unions.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

We supported S. 3589, as passed by Congress, to strengthen the Export-Import Bank of Washington. (Public Law 570, 83rd Congress.)

The A. F. of L. expressed the view that the Export-Import Bank should be an essential instrument of U. S. Foreign Policy whose operations can directly assist in raising living standards throughout the world. The new law will strengthen the operations of the Export-Import Bank and establish a special Advisory Committee composed of representatives of business, agriculture, and labor. Through this Advisory Committee, organized labor will have an opportunity to make recommendations regarding the bank's financial operations.

"EQUAL PAY" FOR WOMEN

The subject of "equal pay" for women in industry was the reason for a number of House bills and two Senate bills, as follows:

S. 176 by Senators Morse and Murray and S. 3288 by Senator Cooper. In the House these bills, all identical, were offered: H. R. 306, H. R. 1014, H. R. 1017, H. R. 1260, H. R. 1266, H. R. 1387, H. R. 7597, H. R. 7675.

The Bolton bill (H. R. 7172) attracted most attention because the Representative circularized many American Federation of Labor affiliated bodies soliciting their comments on the measure. President Meany's views were set forth in his reply to Mrs. Bolton. The points in his letter included these:

The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department, beginning in 1945, has sponsored and actively advocated federal legislation to make it possible to enforce payment of equal compensation to women in interstate commerce or otherwise under federal jurisdiction. The A. F. of L. regards this proposal unwise and has withheld its support.

Starting in 1881, the A. F. of L. has championed equal treatment toward women. By practical experience, our affiliates have sought to better wages, hours and working standards for women wage and salary earners. In our Federation, there are 2,500,000 women members in industrial, trade, service and professional skills and occupations. These include textile workers, garment workers, foundry, railroad, stage and

screen workers, teachers, shipyard, electrical, printing trades, chemical, office workers and many other lines.

Through direct negotiation and collective bargaining, historic differentials have been eliminated in comparable work. Better job opportunities for women have helped break down traditional barriers against women. These efforts toward betterment will be continued by the A. F. of L.

It was the American Federation of Labor which caused elimination of the wage sex differential insisted upon by employers in the National Recovery Administration codes in 1933-34. President Meany further pointed out to Mrs. Bolton that work is "more likely to be 'comparable' than 'equal.'" By relying upon the "comparable" rather than the "equal" standard, we have speeded the progress of eliminating the wage differential because of sex and have removed the opportunities for employers to argue and quibble over the exact identity of jobs in question.

For these and for a number of other reasons, President Meany explained to Mrs. Bolton, "I cannot give support to the proposal to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act as you suggest."

For the remainder of the Eighty-third Congress, the issue remained inactive.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The expiring Congress saw more measures to alter the provisions of the Constitution of the United States than had been true for many years.

Nearly 200 constitutional amendment measures were introduced in the two houses. The subjects included conditions for admission to statehood, control over appropriations, conditions affecting members of the armed forces, steps to be taken in filling vacancies in the Congress, copyrights and patents, elections procedures, equal rights, government in business, item vetoes in appropriations, Indians, judgeships, private property, Supreme Court membership, taxation, treason and others.

Bricker Amendment

Foremost among these was the Bricker Amendment (S. J. Res. 1), offered by 62 Senators and intended to limit Presidential powers in treaty-making. Various substitutes were offered over the months with the floor debate raging over a protracted extent. Few constitutional amendments could have stirred as much discussion. Endorsing Senators compromised by accepting modifications of the original Bricker amendment until finally the George amendment became the order of business as a substitute for the Bricker amendment. The vote on the George substitute fell short one vote of the requisite two-thirds, 60-31.

Senator Lennon of North Carolina, who was absent at the time the vote was taken and who announced that had he been present he would have voted for the George measure, served notice of intention to call up the substitute for reconsideration. He never made his motion for reconsideration and the Bricker fight became history. Opponents of the amendment numbered many who were convinced that if the amendment

should ever be presented for a vote in the House, it would be passed resoundingly.

The American Federation of Labor was especially interested in the outcome of this vote because of the implied attacks on the International Labor Organization.

Vote for 18-Year-Olds

The plan to amend the Constitution to provide for voting by 18-year-olds was enthusiastically endorsed by the President. Opponents declared this was a function reserved for determination by the States. The amendment failed to carry in the Senate, 34-21.

HOUSING LEGISLATION

Public Housing Appropriations

As in past years, opponents of the low-rent public housing program again attempted to kill the program by securing enactment of a rider to appropriations legislation. Our efforts to at least preserve the continuity of the program helped defeat the rider which would have prohibited construction of any additional public housing units after June 30, 1954. As the result, on March 31, 1954, the House of Representatives passed the Independent Offices Appropriation Act (H. R. 8583) with a provision permitting the construction of the estimated 33,000 public housing units already under binding contracts. The bill passed the Senate in the same form on May 19 and became law on June 24, 1954. (Public Law 428, 83rd Congress.)

Housing Act of 1954

As introduced in both the House and Senate, the proposed Housing Act of 1954 (H. R. 7839 and S. 2938), sponsored by the Administration, was extremely inadequate and failed to meet the nation's most urgent housing requirements. It was particularly deficient in that it contained no provision whatsoever to continue the low-rent public housing program after June 30, 1955.

On April 2, the House of Representatives passed H. R. 7839 with no public housing provision after defeating by a vote of 211-176 a motion to recommit the bill to the House Banking and Currency Committee with instructions to report the bill back to the House with an amendment authorizing construction of 140,000 public housing units over a four-year period.

Supporters of public housing were more successful in the Senate. As recommended by the A. F. of L., the Senate Banking and Currency Committee reported out a bill which would have permitted construction of up to 200,000 public housing units a year until the 810,000 units authorized by the Housing Act of 1949 had been completed. The bill (S. 2938) recommended by the Committee was amended to restrict public housing construction to 140,000 units over a four-year period, the program recommended by President Eisenhower. With this provision included, the bill passed the Senate on June 3 by a vote of 66-13.

On July 16, the Joint Senate-House Conference Committee reported out the House bill, H. R. 7839, with a provision limiting public housing construction to only 35,000 units for one year and restricting occupancy of public housing projects to families displaced by slum clearance. This provision is intended to all but kill the public housing program. On July 20 the House of Representatives passed the bill in this form after first defeating by a vote of 234-156 an amendment which would have authorized the 140,000-unit four-year program. Likewise, it passed the Senate and was signed by the President on August 2, 1954. (Public Law 560, 83rd Congress.)

Full details regarding these and other housing developments may be found in the section of this report on housing.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Among the ten million men and women who belong to unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, there is a large number who suffer from all types of handicaps. Some were injured in battle, others in traffic accidents, still others while on the job. Some were born that way. Our basic interest is the rights and welfare of those members, without regard to race, creed or color or degree of physical handicap.

Organized labor believes that providing equal opportunities in employment for the physically handicapped is an important function in each community. The employment problems arising from disability are serious and only by enlisting the support of community agencies, private organizations, and all public-spiritd citizens can those so afflicted be assured of opportunities to earn their livelihood.

We heartily endorse the efforts of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped and the many rehabilitation and placement agencies, both public and private, with which it cooperates. We believe, however, that more efforts in rehabilitation and in employment are needed if the physically handicapped are to have equal opportunities with their fellow workers.

National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week

The tenth anniversary of "National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week" will be observed this year from October 3 through October 9. For the countless millions of handicapped in America, this week will be just a little brighter than the last. The annual Presidential proclamation establishing "NEPH Week" serves to highlight the problem. The problem is how to bridge the gap which separates the large number of unemployed handicapped workers from self-reliant, productive, useful jobs. It is one of the major responsibilities confronting our nation today.

The American Federation of Labor again calls upon all affiliated national and international unions, state federations, central bodies and local unions, to participate to the fullest extent possible in this program. Each union should establish a permanent committee to help arrange job placements for partially handicapped workers.

President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped

The purpose of the President's Committee is to further the observance of "National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week" and to provide for a continuing program of public information and education for the employment of physically handicapped workers. Governor's Committees on Employment of the Physically Handicapped have been established in each state to work with the President's Committee in the promotion of this program. Fall and spring meetings are held each year in Washington to report on the progress that is being made in the states.

The American Federation of Labor has taken an active role in the program during the seven years of its existance. State Federations, Central Labor Bodies and local unions have likewise actively supported cooperating state and community committees. Many thousands of physically handicapped workers, a great many with severe physical impairments, are getting jobs as a result of these efforts.

The constructive educational program of the committee is performing an excellent service. But, so far, only limited success has been achieved. The solution is effective group action. And, to be effective, this action must be year-round and not just during the period of and during "NEPH Week."

"Exposition" and Parade of Progress on Rehabilitation

In conjunction with the spring meeting, the President's Committee sponsored an "Exposition and Parade of Progress on Rehabilitation and Employment of the Handicapped," which was held on April 28, 29 and 30, in the Labor Department auditorium, Washington, D. C.

The "Exposition" was an outstanding success. More than 50 exhibitors, including the American Federation of Labor, pooled their talents and their experience in bringing to the American people the great advances in rehabilitation. It also featured handicapped workers on the job in interesting and useful work, as well as rehabilitation on-the-job training.

The A. F. of L. exhibit was the most striking live demonstration. It displayed four handicapped trade unionists, a machinist, carpenter, metal polisher, and welder performing at their respective trades. The performance of all was most impressive and proved conclusively that its a person's abilities that count—not his disabilities.

To the thousands of visitors who personally visited the auditorium, the "Exposition" was the most dramatic story of the handicapped ever told.

Jobs for the Handicapped Through Union-Management Cooperation

In order to further enlist the interest and support of State Federations, City Central Bodies and local unions in state and community committee programs for the physically handicapped, the American Federation of Labor has prepared and released a "Brochure" setting forth some of the basic considerations in union-management coopera-

tion in promoting job opportunities for the physically handicapped. Copies of this pamphlet can be obtained from our national office.

Union representatives will find the "Brochure" useful as a source of information on the basic policies of the American Federation of Labor in services to the physically handicapped. Recommendations to local union officers on cooperation with public agencies and with committees concerned with employment of the physically handicapped, and information concerning union-management committees for the handicapped, are also included in this pamphlet.

Vocational Rehabilitation for the Handicapped

Notable forward strides in vocational rehabilitation were made in this session of Congress. The passage by Congress of S. 2759—the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1954, is a real step forward in recognizing the needs of the handicapped. Public Law No. 565, 83rd Congress.

Rehabilitation Program

Efforts of the Federal Government to rehabilitate handicapped persons began with the enactment of the Federal Vocational Rehabilitation Act in 1920. Before that time, a few states had demonstrated the possibilities of vocational rehabilitation. Services, at first, were limited to individuals injured in industry. The program continued from 1920 to 1943 on a limited basis, with services confined principally to vocational training and counseling services.

In 1943 extensive amendments were made to the law by the Barden-La Follette Act. (Public Law 113, 78th Congress.) The amendments broadened the scope of services and enabled the program to expand gradually during subsequent years.

Under the amended Act, State Rehabilitation Agencies could now, with the aid of Federal funds, make available to eligible handicapped persons medical and vocational diagnosis, hospitalization for a limited period, corrective surgery, training supplies, tools and equipment and counseling services throughout the rehabilitation process. Approximately 1,500 professional workers under the Federal-State program rehabilitated 60,000 persons last year. Federal appropriations for grants for the same period was $23,000,000 and state and local funds available for the program was $13,000,000.

While remarkable progress has been made since the enactment of the Barden-La Follette Act in 1943, the program falls far short of meeting the needs of the two million disabled individuals in the United States today who through vocational rehabilitation can be restored to gainful employment. These individuals comprise a backlog which has accumulated, over the years, in part because the available rehabilitation services and facilities have never been adequate to serve more than a fraction of those who might have been helped. In addition, available data indicates that each year approximlately 250,000 disabled by disease, accidents or other causes become in need of vocational rehabilita-

tion; yet only slightly more than 60,000 of these people have been rehabilitated each year under the program.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1954

In view of the widespread interest in the rehabilitation and employment of the physically handicapped, shown by the American Federation of Labor and other interested organizations, extensive hearings were held by the House and Senate Labor committees on this subject. The House committee also visited selected vocational rehabilitation centers in several states. These hearings which included testimony by the American Federation of Labor provided valuable information on the needs of the handicapped and proved conclusively that the problem of disability among our citizens is of major proportions and that it is growing.

As a result of these hearings, the House and Senate Committees reported favorably on separate bills. Namely: H. R. 9640 and S. 2759. Both bills passed their respective Houses, with amendments by a unanimous roll call vote, 81-0 in the Senate and 347-0 in the House. In conference, the conferees accepted the most liberal provisions of both bills and reported out S. 2759 with amendments, which passed both Houses unanimously by voice vote.

The bill S. 2759 as enacted provides for a major expansion of vocational rehabilitation, predicated on the full participation of the Federal and State Governments and voluntary agencies and organizations engaged in this field. The major objective is to increase the number of handicapped to be rehabilitated from 60,000 to 200,000 by 1959. Federal funds authorized for grants to the states under this program will increase from 23 million to 65 million within three years.

Under the Act, many of the basic features of the program which still constitute sound rehabilitation procedures will continue. These include diagnosis and related services required to determine the individuals' eligibility and to develop a rehabilitation plan; counseling and guidance; vocational training to prepare the person for a suitable occupation; and placement in a job. Such services may be furnished to the extent that the disabled person requires them, regardless of financial resources.

In addition, surgery, therapy, hospitalization, prosthetic aids, maintenance during rehabilitation, occupational tools, equipment, initial stocks and supplies, books, training material, transportation and occupational licenses may be provided when needed, to the extent that the disabled individual is financially unable to defray the cost of these services from his own resources. (Transportation in connection with determination of eligibility and nature and scope of services may be furnished without regard to financial need.)

The Act (Public No. 565, 83rd Congress) provides that, in addition to training, maintenance, placement, and guidance, the State agency must provide physical restoration to disabled persons as a part of the plan. More discretion is also given the States through elimination of

the provisions requiring Federal approval of maximum schedules for medical, surgical and related services. The 90-day limitation on Federal participation in the cost of hospitalization is also eliminated. It will also bring into the scope of the Act those improvements in services, administrative practices and methods of financing which are required to take full advantage of new scientific knowledge and of administrative experience gained in recent years.

The Act will be strengthened in the following ways:

(1) **New Grant System.** There is substituted for the present method of granting funds to the States a three-part system of grants which will take into account the varying needs and financial capacities of the individual states, while assuring that each state which maintains its 1954 level of available states funds will receive a Federal grant not less than the grant it received in 1954.

(2) **Expansion of Types of Services.** It will expand the type of vocational rehabilitation services and facilities which states can provide with the aid of Federal funds so as to permit the states to improve their services qualitatively and quantitatively.

(3) **Meeting the Requirements for Training Personnel.** It provides for temporary Federal financial assistance in the training of qualified rehabilitation personnel in those professional fields where shortages now impose serious limitations.

(4) **State Plan Requirements.** It revises the provisions required to be included in state plans so as to increase state responsibility and authority for administration of state programs and facilitate improvements in state administration.

(5) **Federal Administration.** The Federal administrative responsibilties are redefined to emphasize the role of the Federal agency as one of providing technical advice and assistance to the states, helping in training of shortage personnel, and otherwise supporting state programs through research and dissemination of information on improved rehabilitation methods and procedures.

(6) **Coordination Among Public Agencies.** It contains provisions for encouraging a constantly improved cooperative relationship between the vocational rehabilitation agency and all public agencies which provide services needed in the vocational rehabilitation and job placement processes.

(7) **National Advisory Council.** There is established in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare a National Advisory Council on vocational rehabilitation, consisting of the secretary, or his designee, who shall be chairman and twelve members appointed, without regard to Civil Service Laws, by the Secretary. The twelve appointed members shall be leaders in the field concerned with vocational rehabilitation or in public affairs and six of such twelve shall be selected from leading medical, educational, or scientific authorities who are outstanding for their work in this field. Three of the twelve appointed members shall be persons who are themselves physically handicapped. The Council

is authorized to review applications for special projects and to make recommendation for grants to the secretary.

(8) United States Employment Services. The United States Employment Services must have in each state or Federal employment office, at least one handicapped placement specialist, whose duties shall include employment counseling and placement services for handicapped persons.

(9) Home-Bound Physically Handicapped Individuals. The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare shall make a thorough study of existing programs for teaching and training handicapped persons, commonly known as "shut-ins" whose disability confine them to their homes or beds, for the purpose of seeing whether additional or supplemental programs or services are necessary in order to provide adequate vocational training for such handicapped persons. The Secretary shall report to Congress not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act.

(10) Grants for Special Projects. The Act broadens the vocational service by authorizing Federal participation in the cost of establishing (1) Public and other non-profit rehabilitation facilities; (2) Public and other non-profit workshops for the severely disabled; (3) A pilot demonstration rehabilitation center in the Metropolitan Washington area to be used as a guide for rehabilitation centers which may be set up later in other parts of the country.

In addition, to the services provided for under this Act, Congress passed H. R. 8149 (Public Law 482) which includes authorization for Federal funds to the amount of $10,000,000 annually for three years, beginning in 1955, for the construction of rehabilitation facilities under the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey Construction Act.

Though the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1954, and the amendments to the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey Construction Act as outlined above, may not meet the immediate needs of the physically handicapped, the enactment of this legislation is a major achievement in the field of vocational rehabilitation. The states and other interested organizations should participate to the fullest extent in this worthwhile program.

Further details regarding the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey Construction Act may be found elsewhere in this report.

HOUSING

Deficiencies in the nation's housing policies and programs have been more pronounced during the past year than ever before. In the spring of 1954, the country was rocked by revelations of appaling inadequacies and outright fraud in federal programs of financial assistance for private home builders. Yet no materially effective action has been taken to prevent future corruption and misuse of government aid to real estate developers and builders. Moreover, the Administration and the Congress left unheeded the urgent need for an up-to-date housing program, geared to the requirements of our rapidly growing population,

which could contribute to an expanding economy. While the economic downturn has not brought about an actual decrease in the volume of residential construction, the average rate has been kept down to 1.1 million units a year—the extremely inadequate rate maintained during the past five years. This was about one-half the annual rate of construction needed to rebuild the ever-growing slum areas that are tearing at the vitals of our metropolitan communities and to assure that the housing needs of the 200 million population anticipated by 1970 will be properly met.

Our Federation was the first to recognize that the nation needs construction of at least 2 million dwelling units a year. This estimate which our Housing Committee reported to last year's convention has since been confirmed by independent surveys of many other experts in the field. In fact, the nation's need for a double rate of housing construction can no longer be seriously challenged.

President's Advisory Committee on Housing

On September 12, 1953, President Eisenhower appointed an Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs. This Committee was directed to survey the activities of the Federal Government in the housing field and to make recommendations on the proper role of the government dealing with the nation's housing problem. The membership of this 21-member Committee was heavily overbalanced in representation by the real estate, home-building and banking interests. The Committee had only two members drawn from labor, President Richard J. Gray, of the A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department, and James Thimmes, Chairman of the C. I. O. Housing Committee.

After three months of intensive study, the Committee issued its report. It was no surprise that the recommendations contained in the report largely reflected the special interests of the bulk of the Committee's membership. Although some estimate of the dimensions of the problem would have seemed to be absolutely essential, the report failed to indicate either the size of the nation's housing need or a desirable goal of housing activity. Most of the Committee's suggestions were confined to new schemes for expanding already over-generous government financial assistance to speculative homebuilders and mortgage finance institutions. The Committee grudgingly recommended continuance of the low-rent public housing program, but failed to suggest the size of the program or the method of its financing. It also failed to challenge the crippling limitations which Congress had placed on public housing in riders to appropriation bills. The Committee gave in effect new ammunition to the opponents of public housing by recommending a so-called "low-cost" private housing program which, however, was generally recognized to be unworkable.

In the face of the overwhelming need for clearance of slums and replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas, the Committee offered only a patch-up and paint-up program under the high-sounding title of

"urban renewal." The Committee had no solution for the urgent requirements of middle-income families for housing within their means. Indeed, the Committee's recommendations could only worsen the housing problem of such families for they called for higher costs for home purchasers through increased interest rates and longer amortization periods for homes sold with mortgages federally guaranteed or insured.

Finally, disregarding the urgent recommendations of the A. F. of L. for at least minimum consumer protections in government programs of financial assistance to private homebuilders and banking institutions, the Committee proposed not a single safeguard for home purchasers and specifically rejected the A. F. of L.'s urgent recommendation for a mandatory builder's warranty to home buyers against structural defects in the houses they purchase.

Frauds in the FHA Mortgage Insurance Program

The dereliction of the President's Advisory Committee in passing over in silence the worst defects in the federal housing programs was highlighted when on April 12, 1954, Administrator Albert M. Cole of the Housing and Home Finance Agency announced that investigations had disclosed widespread frauds in the program of mortgage insurance administered by the Federal Housing Administration. While official announcements gave the impression that these scandals were being revealed for the first time, the fact is that our Housing Committee, for more than ten years had repeatedly called Congressional attention to extreme irregularities in the administration of the FHA program and had warned Congress again and again of deficiencies both in the basic legislation and in administration of this program. These defects in the laws and administrative rules paved the way for unscrupulous builders and contractors with the connivance of FHA officials to bilk consumers, building trades workers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The most widespread abuses disclosed were: (1) cheating of homeowners on FHA-insured home repair and renovation loans and (2) insurance by FHA of loans on large-scale rental housing projects far exceeding actual costs of the projects. The fraudulent misrepresentation by crooked dealers and contractors in the FHA repair and renovation program were made possible because the FHA refused to police these transactions, claiming that it dealt only with the banks making the loans. The fraudulent valuation of FHA-insured rental housing projects has meant that thousands of tenants have had to pay exhorbitant rents based on the excessive loans. Building trades workers were also exploited when a number of non-union builders padded their cost estimates by paying their employes less than the prevailing rates required by the law and at the same time claimed that the labor costs were based on the required rate.

Soon after the FHA frauds were given publicity, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee opened hearings to obtain recommendations for putting an end to such scandalous misuse and maladministra-

tion of financial assistance provided by the government. In a statement submitted to the Committee, Harry C. Bates, Chairman of our Housing Committee made the following recommendations for the A. F. of L:

1. A mandatory builders warranty to be required of every builder of FHA-insured housing against structural defects arising within two years after completion of the house.
2. Protection of homeowners under the FHA home renovation and repair program by licensing of dealers and contractors operating under the program, requiring such contractors or dealers to certify costs, requiring loans to be made directly to the customers and limiting FHA-insured loans to genuine home repair, renovation and modernization.
3. Certification of construction costs by all builders of housing assisted by government insurance or guarantees.

The Senate Committee's investigations were scheduled to continue through the summer, following numerous disclosures of hundreds of millions of dollars of windfall profits reaped by unscrupulous builders under the very eyes of FHA officials.

Housing Act of 1954

Prior to the announcement of the FHA frauds, the Administration introduced in both Houses of Congress the proposed Housing Act of 1954 (H. R. 7839 and S. 2938) based largely on the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Housing. Like the Committee's recommendations, this bill didn't come to grips with the housing needs of the nation. Indeed, it was admittedly geared to indefinite continuance of a one-million-units-a-year housing rate, only half of the two million units actually required.

The main features of this bill, as originally introduced, were:

1. Federal financial assistance for so-called "low cost" private housing involving FHA insurance up to 100 per cent of loans. This would enable FHA to insure 100 per cent loans for a maximum amortization period of 40 years for houses costing no more than $7,000.
2. A so-called "urban renewal" program relying primarily on rehabilitation and remodeling of old rundown dwellings in slum areas.
3. Encouragement of continued use of existing housing by equalizing financial terms for government-insured mortgages on new and existing housing.
4. Liberalization of terms for predominantly high-priced FHA-insured new housing which would permit higher interest rates and longer amortization periods for almost all housing.

In testimony before the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees which considered these bills, the A. F. of L. included the following among the changes in the proposed legislation it recommended:

1. Authorization for construction of 600,000 low-rent public housing units over three-year period.
2. A broadened urban redevelopment program providing financial assistance to cities for slum clearance and rebuilding and replanning of metropolitan areas with reliance on lesser methods such as "rehabilitation" and "neighborhood conservation" only where clearly economical and workable.

3. Expanded government assistance for middle-income housing through lower financial costs with priority to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.
4. Requirement for payment of prevailing wage rates to all employes engaged in the construction of housing under federal programs.

Friends of housing in both Houses of Congress attempted to obtain improvements in the bill before final passage. Public housing was the most controversial issue. The bill as introduced had no provision whatsoever for continuing the public housing program. When the bill was under consideration in the House of Representatives, supporters of public housing sponsored a motion to recommit the bill to the House Banking and Currency Committee with instruction to report back to the House an amendment to authorize construction of 140,000 public housing units over a four-year period. This was the token public housing program which the President had recommended. Their efforts were unsuccessful and this amendment was defeated by a vote of 211-176 after which the House of Representatives passed the bill with no provision for public housing.

In the Senate, supporters of public housing made greater headway. The Senate Banking and Currency Committee, adopting the A. F. of L's recommendation, amended the original bill to permit construction of up to 200,000 public housing units a year. On the floor of the Senate the bill reported by the Committee was amended to limit public housing construction to 140,000 units over a four-year period as recommended by the President. With the benefit of the disclosure of the FHA frauds, the Senate bill also contained some of the provisions designed to protect the consumer, recommended by the A. F. of L.

The House-Senate Conference Committee to reconcile the Senate and House versions of the bill, was heavily weighted with opponents of public housing. The bill reported out restricted public housing construction to only 35,000 units for one year and limited occupancy of public housing projects to families displaced by slum clearance. The bill was passed in this form by the House of Representatives after an attempt to amend it to include the 140,000 unit, four-year program recommended by the President was defeated by a vote of 234-156.

Final passage of the bill came on July 29 when the Senate, by a vote of 59-21, approved the bill in the form reported out by the Conference Committee including the provision crippling the public housing program. Before the vote was taken, supporters of public housing made a last-ditch effort to obtain enactment of at least the minimum public housing program of 140,000 units over a four-year period recommended by the President. Describing the bill's public housing provision as a "sham and a delusion," friends of public housing warned the Senate that they were "witnessing the planned execution of the public housing program."

In addition to its anti-public housing provision, the bill as enacted provided for:

1. Authorization for the so-called "urban renewal" program.

2. Liberalization of terms for FHA mortgage insurance on sales housing to permit lower down payments and longer amortization periods. In addition, the bill raised maximum mortgage limits for FHA-insurance on high-priced houses to $20,000, and narrowed the differential in mortgage terms for new and existing housing.

3. Permission for a non-occupant, including an employer, to make down payment for an FHA-insured house on behalf of the purchaser and to guarantee payment of the mortgage. The A. F. of L. vigorously opposed this provision because financial obligation of workers to their employer might seriously restrict the freedom of such employees. This provision is likely to revive company housing.

4. Gradual transfer of the Federal National Mortgage Association from government to private control. This is the secondary mortgage market institution which in the past has at least occasionally been used to provide necessary financing for especially needed types of privately built housing.

5. Some safeguards in the FHA program to protect the consumer and the government, including some tightening up of the home repair and renovation program, a builder's warranty much watered down from the original A. F. of L. proposal and requirement for cost certification by builders of rental housing to prevent windfall profits.

Public Housing

In recent years, the low-rent public housing program has been crippled by congressional limitations. In 1949 Congress authorized construction of 810,000 public housing units over a six-year period, but each year since then, in riders to appropriations bills, Congress restricted public housing construction to only a small fraction of the annaul rate originally intended. Last year in the Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1953, Congress established a 20,000 unit limitation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, and also provided that no further construction would be authorized in subsequent years. This year opponents of the low-rent public housing program again attempted to end the program by enacting a rider to appropriations legislation. Their efforts were defeated when the House of Representatives passed the Independent Offices Appropriation Act (H. R. 8583) with a provision permitting construction of public housing units for which binding contracts were outstanding on June 30 of this year. This will permit construction of a maximum of 33,000 units during the next fiscal year.

The Congressional limitations which have all but halted the public housing program are unconscionable in view of the proven need of low-income families for decent housing within their means and the successful experience hundreds of communities have had in meeting this objective through construction of low-rent public housing. Hundreds of cities and towns throughout the nation have demonstrated their need for public housing and their determination to cooperate with the Federal Government in making low-rent public housing available to low-income families. The people of these communities know that slum clearance and urban redevelopment cannot go forward unless public housing is available in advance to house low-income slum dwellers.

They also know that private home builders have not and will not make available decent housing that low-income families can afford. That is why, despite the efforts of public housing opponents to stop the program by sponsoring local public referendums and anti-public housing proposals in state legislatures, the program has been going ahead in more than a thousand communities.

The net effect of this year's Congressional action has been to all but stop the public housing program. Yet, the need for public housing is as great as ever before. It's well-tested formula combining federal aid and local community responsibility is unchallenged as the only effective method for making decent housing available to low-income families. Therefore we must not permit the action of this year's Congress to be final. Instead we should make a determined effort in the next session of Congress to secure enactment of legislation authorizing resumption of a full-scale public housing program providing for construction of not less than 200,000 units a year. Public housing is the keystone to the success of the nation's housing program.

Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment

Congressional restrictions on public housing construction have also had severe repercussions on the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program. Like public housing, slum clearance and urban redevelopment were authorized by the Housing Act of 1949 which provided for federal loans and grants to assist local redevelopment programs.

In planning slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs, local communities had expected that most of the families displaced by slum clearance operations would be rehoused in public housing units. The limitations on public housing construction have greatly handicapped the slum clearance and urban redevelopment program because with only a trickle of public housing construction, communities have had great difficulty in finding living accomodations for families occupying the slum sites slated for clearance. In some communities where slum clearance has proceeded despite a lack of suitable low-cost housing, the displaced families, a large proportion of whom are Negro, have suffered severe hardship when they have been forced to move into other slum areas already overcrowded. With the further limitations in this year's public housing legislation, this situation is likely to become even worse. The restriction on occupancy of public housing to families displaced by slum clearance, while ostensibly intended to facilitate slum clearance and urban redevelopment, will actually severely hinder it. This is because for slum clearance to go forward, public housing must be available to shelter the displaced families in advance of clearance operations.

Effective slum clearance and urban redevelopment are also threatened by the provision in the Housing Act of 1954 for so-called "urban renewal". This program would encourage local communities to engage in half-baked efforts to rehabilitate areas which are beyond renovation rather than undertake the comprehensive city rebuilding which was intended by the Housing Act of 1949. Misplaced or overstressed re-

habilitation will merely perpetuate slums. What is needed is fundamental replanning and rebuilding of the blighted sections of our metropolitan communities so that they will provide decent homes in good neighborhoods.

Our local affiliates and their members should direct close attention to urban redevelopment programs as they are planned and carried out in their communities. They should urge that local efforts be directed primarily toward genuine and lasting urban redevelopment geared to the needs of the people of the community for good homes in neighborhood environments attuned to the requirements of modern metropolitan life. These programs should also be planned and developed so that they will assist and enhance civil defense efforts.

Objectives for Housing Policies and Programs

A housing construction rate of at least two million units a year is our estimate of what is needed to assure a good home to every American family. It is also the objective which provides the test of the adequacy of housing policies and programs. This doubled level of housing construction must be achieved as quickly as possible and then maintained as a minimum rate of activity if housing is to play its full role in supporting the nation's economy. Rapid attainment of this goal is particularly essential now to help bring the country back to full prosperity. Since housing includes not only construction, but also household equipment, furnishings and a wide variety of community services and facilities, it, more than any other sector of our economy, offers the greatest opportunity for expansion of economic activity and employment.

Construction of a minimum of two million housing units a year will not be possible unless the nation's housing program is directed primarily toward assuring the availability of good housing within their means to millions of low- and middle-income families who are still ill-housed. To realize this goal will require authorization and construction of at least 200,000 low-rent public housing units a year for low income families. For middle-income families, new techniques and new methods of financing will be required to make mortgage funds available at low interest rates and for longer amortization periods. Priority and government aids for middle-income housing should go to cooperative and non-profit groups since cooperative housing provides the best housing for the least money. Unfortunately it is not enough to enact these programs, difficult as it is. Even then they will not succeed unless the administration of federal housing programs is revamped so that the tight control of special interests is eliminated and the welfare of home owners and tenants becomes the paramount concern.

Our Housing Committee, under the vigorous leadership of its Chairman, Vice President Harry C. Bates, has during the past year carried on the housing activities of the Federation. Other members of the committee are James A. Brownlow, Robert Byron, Richard J. Gray and Adolph Held, with Boris Shishkin serving as Secretary. The Committee has taken advantage of every opportunity to place the housing policies

and programs of the A. F. of L. before the Congress and Administrative agencies.

Recognizing that the Federation's efforts cannot be successful without broad support of our affiliates and members, the Housing Committee has sought to inform our affiliates of important housing developments on the Washington scene. To strengthen its work, the Committee has had the advantage of reports by many local affiliates of noteworthy local housing developments. The Building and Construction Trades Department has assisted and closely cooperated with the Committee in all of its activities. The National Housing Conference, with our active support, has been effective in bringing to the notice of Congress and of local citizens the grave jeopardy to the hard-won housing programs and the need for expansion of the nation's housing effort.

Labor should not underestimate the force of the onslaught the foes of housing are making on the programs for which we have long striven. Our Federation must successfully meet this challenge so that housing programs for the people are not sacrificed to the greed of speculative interests. But merely to repel the attack is not enough. Labor must keep the lead it has held in the past in developing new policies and new programs, attuned to the requirements of a growing America, which will assure good homes to all families.

STATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

The 1952 convention referred to the officers of the American Federation of Labor a resolution requesting that a central clearing house be developed at national headquarters to keep the State Federations informed regarding legislative developments in the several states. The 1953 convention specifically recommended that increased services be made available in the field of workmen's compensation.

The officers assigned this task to the National Legislative Committee on June 17, 1954. Various requests for information have been sent to the State Federations and the response has on the whole been good. Those State Federations which have not as yet sent in the information requested are urged to do so at once as practically all state legislatures will meet during 1955. (Attention is directed to the report under "Federal Legislation" on the Taft-Hartley Law.)

We are gradually accumulating and collecting a great deal of material on numerous subjects. Your officers and the National Legislative Committee will devise the best ways and means to improve this service. This report includes detailed data on developments in "right-to-work," unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation legislation. These

major fields of state legislation will receive increasing attention during the coming months. Vast improvements are needed in all of them and we will endeavor to bring to the attention of the State Federations pertinent developments and suggestions.

A member of the National Legislative Committee will attend conferences scheduled by the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions in Quebec on October 3-7, 1954, and also certain subcommittees which will meet previously. There is no question that benefit payments under many workmen's compensation laws have lagged woefully behind increased wage scales and that upward revisions are very much in order.

TWENTIETH CONFERENCE ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Governors' delegates from 41 State Labor Departments and State Federations of Labor attended the Twentieth National Conference on Labor Legislation under the auspices of the U. S. Department of Labor. As usual, the members of our National Legislative Committee joined in the sessions and supplied technical assistance and coordination for the benefits of the Labor delegates.

Among the truths affirmed at this Conference: Labor is no commodity. Free collective bargaining best promotes a climate for industrial harmony. The best preventive for recessions is to place greater purchasing power into the hands of the masses. No better means of expanding purchasing exists than enactment of and vigorous enforcement of sound labor standards.

The conference strongly reaffirmed its support of a wage floor, raising of standards against child labor and guarantee of suitable standards for the nation's jobs opportunities for our youth.

We succeeded in passing resolutions calling for substantial improvements in unemployment compensation laws, for tightening restrictions on wetbacks and establishing proper safeguards on the use of other alien migratory labor, and for increased budgets for state labor departments and the federal Department of Labor.

Workmen's Compensation Law—1954

Arizona

S. 1 (Approved 3/24/54). Revises the Insurance Code. Exempts insurers from compliance with Insurance Code provisions which conflict with or duplicate any regulation of the Industrial Commission as to workmen's compensation insurance.

S. 47 (Approved 3/17/54). Raises maximum funeral benefits from $150 to $300. (Amends sec. 56-953, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 86 (Ch. 126) (Approved 4/9/54). Provides that if an injured person receiving hospital services from a licensed hospital files a claim or suit for damages on account of the injuries which necessitated such hospitalization, the hospital shall have a lien upon such claims. Exempts from this act all accidents or injuries coming under the jurisdiction of the Workmen's Compensation Act. (The State workmen's compensation law provides full medical benefits to injured workers subject to the act.)

Colorado

S. 6 (Approved 2/11/54). Raises benefits for permanent total disability from 50 per cent to 66⅔ per cent of average weekly wages, subject to the weekly minimum and maximum amounts stated in the act. Thus makes the percentage conform with that used for death and other types of disability, raised from 50 per cent to 66⅔ per cent by S. 69, Laws of 1953.

(Amends sec. 356, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

Kentucky

H. 400 (Approved 3/25/54). Amends certain sections describing procedure for employes to withdraw notices of election to come under the act, to provide instead for their withdrawing notices of rejection. Thus brings these sections into conformity with a 1952 amendment providing that an employe shall be covered unless he rejects, instead of not being covered unless he so elects.

Deletes the $4,500 maximum on the salary to be paid the executive secretary of the Workmen's Compensation Board; and deletes the maximum of $5 per day for transportation and other expenses of the Board or its employes on official duty. Authorizes the Board to publish copies of its proceedings within its discretion and to charge a subscription fee to defray expenses, instead of setting a limit of 1,000 copies of any proceeding with the expenses paid from the maintenance fund. Provides that the maintenance fund, used for ordinary recurring expenses of the Board's operation, may reach $200,000 rather than $150,000 before assessments on self-insurers are suspended and assessments on insurance carriers paid into the general fund of the State Treasury rather than into the maintenance fund.

(Amends secs. 342.122, 342.230, 342.235, 342.295, 342.400, 342.405, 342.415, 342.480, and 342.485, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

Louisiana

S. 340 (Act No. 723) (Approved 7/8/54). Amends the section relating to time and place of payment of benefits. Provides that payments may be made by mail upon the employe giving to the employer a sufficient mailing address, if the employe is not living at the place where wages were paid or is absent from there. Formerly it was provided that pay-

ments could be made by mail to the last known address of the employe if he was not living at the place where wages were paid.

(Amends sec. 1201, Workmen's Compensation Law (La. Rev. Stat. 1950).)

S. 342 (Act No. 724) (Approved 7/8/54). Provides that in cases where a bona fide dispute exists, and settlement agreements are reached between employer and employe, such agreements may be approved by the court in the parish where the employer lives or does business, the parish where the accident occurred, or the parish where the employe or his dependents live, at the option of the employe or his dependents. Formerly, such agreements were to be approved by "the court having jurisdiction." (Another section of the law provides that claims may be filed with the district court which would have jurisdiction in a civil case, in the parish where the employer lives or does business, or in the parish where the accident occurred.)

(Amends sec. 1271, Workmen's Compensation Law (La. Rev. Stat. 1950).)

H. C. R. 48 (Adopted 7/4/54). Creates a new Louisiana Employer's Liability Revision Commission to continue the work of the commission appointed in 1952 to study the workmen's compensation law and prepare recommendations for revision. Directs the commission to report to the legislature at the beginning of its 1956 session.

H. 596 (Act No. 222) (Approved 7/1/54). Specifically excludes from coverage under the workmen's compensation act "any agricultural employe while he is being transported to or from work, regardless of the means of conveyance or the ownership thereof" and also "all members of the crew of any airplane engaged in dusting or spraying operations insofar as such members of an airplane crew might be regarded as independent contractors, sub-contractors, or employes of any person, firm or corporation engaged in the principal business of agriculture or farming operations."

(Adds sec. 1045 to Workmen's Compensation Law (La. Rev. Stat. 1950).)

Maryland

S. 26 (Ch. 29) (Approved 3/12/54). Extends from 15 to 30 days the time within which an employe may give to the employer a notice of injury or strain causing hernia. (Effective 6/1/54.)

(Amends sec. 35 (5)(a), Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 39 (Ch. 24) (Approved 3/2/54) (Effective 6/1/54). Clarifies the definition of "injury" by reinserting the word "accidental" which was inadvertently deleted by Ch. 289, Acts of 1951.

(Amends sec. 68 (6), Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 54 (Ch. 49) (Approved 3/12/54) (Effective 6/1/54). Raises weekly maximum benefits for temporary total disability from $32 to $35.

(Amends sec. 35 (2), Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 119 (Ch. 83) (Approved 4/2/54) (Effective 6/1/54). Extends coverage to all employes of county boards of education and of the board of school commissioners of Baltimore City and all public school employes in the State.

(Adds para. 45B to sec. 20, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

Massachusetts

S. 674 (Ch. 265) (Approved 4/5/54). Specified that the definition of "employer" under the workmen's compensation law shall include not only "an individual, partnership, association, corporation or other legal entity" but also "any two or more of the foregoing engaged in a joint enterprise."

(Amends para. (5), sec. 1, General Laws.)

S. 760, Appendix B (adopted 5/4/54). Revives and continues the special committee established in 1953 to study the workmen's compensation law and recommend such substantive and non-substantive changes as may be desirable. Directs the committee to file its final report with the Senate by the third Wednesday in January, 1955.

H. 2976 (Adopted 6/9/54). Directs the Committee on Judiciary to sit during recess to consider several bills, including S. 760, Appendix A, relative to revising the workmen's compensation laws without making substantive changes. Directs the committee to file its report and recommendations with the House of Representatives by the fourth Wednesday in January, 1955.

Michigan

S. 1150 (Act No. 175) (Approved 5/5/54). Raises minimum and maximum weekly benefits for death and all types of disability. Sets maximum weekly benefits ranging from $32 to $40 (depending on number of dependents) rather than $28-$36, for death; and from $32-$42 rather than $28-$38, for total and partial disability. Sets minimum weekly benefits at a range of $18-$26 rather than $14-$22 for death, and $18-$28 rather than $14-$24 for total disability. Amends the definition of total and permanent disability to include permanent and complete paralysis of both legs or both arms or one leg and one arm, and also incurable insanity or imbecility.

Increases the time limit for making claims from 2 years to 3 years after the injury. Provides that an injured employe, if he so requests, shall be furnished a copy of any physical examination made at the request of the employer. The former law required that such report be "accessible at any reasonable time" for examination by the employe.

Deletes the provision that an employe who is suffering from an occupational disease but is able to earn wages at another occupation shall receive reduced benefits in proportion to reduced earning capacity. Retains the provision that benefits for occupational disease shall be the same as for accidental injuries. (In the case of partial disability, such

benefits are bases on the difference between average weekly wages before the injury, and what the worker is able to earn thereafter.)

Specifies that every employe going to or from his work while on the premises where work is to be performed and within a reasonable time after or before working hours, shall be presumed to be in the course of his employment.

(Amends Part 1, sec. 10; Part 2, secs. 1, 15 and 19; sec. 5 as amended by Act 263, Acts of 1952, and secs. 9 and 10 as amended by Act 198, Acts of 1953; and Part 7, sec. 3, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

New Jersey

Ch. 191 (A. 377) (Approved and Effective 7/22/54). Specified that the provisions of the "Employer's Liability Insurance Law" (article 5 of the Workmen's Compensation Law) shall not apply to any duly incorporated mutual agricultural insurance company so long as the company confines its insurance policies to persons engaged in agricultural pursuits. Insofar as the Employer's Liability Insurance Law applies to insurance companies, it makes such companies directly liable in case of insolvency of the employer, or the employer's failure to pay benefits for any other reason, and provides that a claimant for benefits may join the insurance carrier with the employer in his petition to enforce his claim. It also requires all companies subject to the act to be members of the Bureau of Compensation Rating and Inspection, under the supervision of the Commissioner of Banking and Insurance, which establishes rules, regulations and premium rates for workmen's compensation and employers' liability insurance. The Act also provides for assessments upon such companies to be paid into the second-injury fund. The Act contains a provision exempting employers of farm and domestic help from the requirements to purchase insurance; but prior to the present amendment it did not provide an exemption from the provisions regulating the writing of insurance for agricultural insurance companies.

(Supplements art. 5 (secs. 34:15-70—34:15-95.2), Workmen's Compensation Law.)

New York

S. 325 (Ch. 19) (Approved 2/20/54) (Effective 7/1/54). Raises maximum weekly benefits for disability from $32 to $36. Raises maximum weekly benefits for death from $21 to $24 for wife or dependent husband, and from $35 to $40 for wife and children, by increasing the amount of wages to be taken into account in computing benefits from $227.50 to $260 a month.

(Amends subdiv. 6, sec. 15, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

S. 1282 (Ch. 277) (Approved and effective 3/26/54). Clarifies provision relating to the keeping of payroll records. Specifies that such records shall be kept by every employer subject to the workmen's compensation law, rather than by every insured employer.

(Amends sec. 131, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

S. 1336 (Ch. 109) (Approved and effective 3/15/54). Provides that in each case where the podiatry practice committee determines a question as to the fairness of a bill rendered by a podiatrist, the parties to the proceeding shall each pay a sum equal to 5 per cent of the amount payable under the decision of the committee, or a minimum of $2, whichever is greater. Specifies that such collections shall be credited to the expense of administering the workmen's compensation law.

(Amends subdiv. 6, sec. 13-k, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

S. 2411 (Ch. 617) (Approved and effective 4/10/54). Authorizes groups of cities, villages, fire districts, or town boards, to take out a single policy of insurance to cover liability for injury to volunteer firemen. Specifies the conditions under which such a single policy is authorized.

(Adds subdivision 6 to sec. 50, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

S. 2412 (Ch. 616) (Approved and effective 4/10/54). Authorizes a town, on behalf of fire protection and fire alarm districts within the town, territory within the town but outside such districts, and the town in relation to such districts and to unorganized territory, to contract for a single insurance policy to cover liability of such areas for injury to volunteer firemen. Also authorizes cities and villages within the town to be covered within such a policy, at their request.

(Adds subdivision 7 to sec. 50, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

S. 2445 (Ch. 687) (Approved 4/13/54) (Effective 7/1/54). Provides that if a person receiving permanent partial disability benefits dies from a cause other than the injury before benefit payments are completed, and if there are no surviving dependents and no estate, the benefits shall be paid to the person or persons paying his funeral expenses in an amount not exceeding the maximum set under the law for funeral expenses ($400).

Retains the provision that if there are dependents, permanent partial disability benefits to which the deceased employe was entitled shall be paid to them; or if there are no dependents, then to the estate in an amount not exceeding reasonable funeral expenses ($400). Makes no change in another provision of the law stating that in case of death of an employe entitled to any benefits under the law, the benefits shall be paid to survivors or, if none, to the estate.

(Amends subdiv. 4 (d), sec. 15, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

A. 740 (Ch. 712) (Approved 4/15/54) (Effective 10/1/54). Amends the procedure for determining fair value of hospital services, if there is a dispute as to the bill rendered. Provides that the question shall be determined by an arbitration committee of three persons appointed by the chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Board, one of whom is to be nominated by the State hospital association, and one by the employer or insurer, rather than by a committee composed of two persons designated by the State hospital association and two physicians nominated by the employer or insurer, with a fifth arbitrator appointed by

the chairman of the Workmen's Compensation Board in the event of equal division.

(Amends subdiv. 3, sec. 13-g, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

A. 2076 (Ch. 496) (Approved 4/6/54) (Effective 7/1/54). Adds to the definition of "newspaper carrier boy" one who is engaged in "delivering" newspapers to customers at their homes or places of business. Formerly the law covered only those engaged in "selling and delivering" newspapers to such customers. Thus the same standards apply to boys 12 to 18 "delivering" newspapers to such customers as to boys "selling and delivering," including a 12-year minimum age; a 4-hour daily limit when school is in session and a 5-hour limit when not in session; and coverage under the workmen's compensation laws.

Also provides that the picking up of newspapers at a newspaper plant (under certain specified safeguards) shall not be construed as employment in a factory, to which a 16-year minimum age specifies. Formerly this provision applied only to the pickiup up of newspapers by a newspaper carrier boy.

(Amends sec. 3219a, Education Law, as added by ch. 575, Laws 1953; subdiv. 3, sec. 2, Workmen's Compensation Law, as last amended by ch. 575, Laws 1953; subdiv. 5, sec. 130, Labor Law, as added by ch. 575, Laws 1953.)

A. 2261 (Ch. 662) (Approved 4/12/54) (Effective 7/1/54). Makes the Chairman of the Labor Relations Board and the Chairman of the Board of Mediation, as well as the Industrial Commissioner and the Chairman of the Board of Standards and Appeals, additional members of the Industrial Council appointed by the Governor under a provision of the Labor Law for the purpose of advising the Industrial Commissioner.

Removes the medical appeals unit from the Industrial Council and sets up such a unit under the workmen's compensation law. Retains in the medical appeals unit the same functions as before, including consideration of matters referred to it by the Workmen's Compensation Board, preparing rules to cover procedure of investigations and hearings by the medical practice committee on charges against physicians doing compensation work, and reviewing of charges by a physician against the medical practice committee that has authorization to do compensation work has been improperly refused or revoked. Retains the same composition (three physicians licensed to practice in the State and representing school of medical practice eligible to practice under the workmen's compensation law), and substantially the same provisions for procedure.

Amends sec. 10-a, Labor Law; and adds sec. 13-aa, and amends secs. 13-b, 13-c, 13-d, and 13-e, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

Rhode Island

H. 634-A (Ch. 3297) (Approved 4/23/54) (Effective: as to establishment of Workmen's Compensation Commission and procedures there-

under, upon passage; as to benefits, November 1, 1954; as to other provisions, July 1, 1954).

Repeals the former workmen's compensation law and enacts a new law.

Coverage

Make coverage compulsory rather than elective for employers of four or more, including private employers, the State, and public service corporations. Authorizes the Director of Labor to declare occupations hazardous, and subject to compulsory coverage, even if otherwise exempted.

Retains voluntary coverage for employers of three or less and employers of employes engaged in domestic service or agriculture.

Retains voluntary coverage for towns and cities.

Retains the provision permitting employes to reject coverage under the act in favor of action at common law, by giving due notice.

Retains the provisions authorizing cities and towns to vote to accept the workmen's compensation act without being required to take insurance.

Provides, as before, that members of the national guard and of the Rhode Island State Guard injured in the performance of duty, and members of all civil defense forces injured on duty or in training for duty, shall be considered State employes, and entitled to benefits under the act.

O. D. Coverage

Retains full coverage for occupational diseases, with benefits the same as for accidental disability or death.

Requires nonresident employers to file with the Director of Labor a power of attorney appointing a competent person resident in the State to accept process and make appearances for the employer.

Benefits

Raises benefits for death and disability, and raises certain medical benefits.

Medical

Allows up to $600, rather than $500, for medical, dental, and hospital services and medicine if the employe spends more than 14 days in the hospital.

Retains the $300 limitation if less than 14 days' hospital treatment is required, at the maximum rate of $12 a day for room, board, and general nursing care, plus up to $75 for any diathermy or massage.

Retains also the administrative authority to order additional payments in unusual cases.

Retains the requirement that the employer shall provide all medical, optical, dental, and surgical apparatus reasonably required for cure or relief from the injury.

Death

Sets minimum weekly death benefit at $16, rather than $12, a week and sets the weekly maximum for a widow at $18, rather than $16, plus, as before, $2 a week for each dependent child. Specifies that the number of persons totally dependent shall be taken as of the time of injury or the time of death, whichever is greater, rather than only at the time of injury, as before.

Retains the maximum period of 600 weeks from date of injury.

Retains benefits for partial dependents in proportion to extent of dependency, as before.

Retains maximum burial expenses of $500.

Total Disability

Sets weekly benefits for total disability at a minimum of $17 rather than $15, and a maximum of $32 rather than $28, with a total maximum of $16,000 rather than $14,000. Retains the maximum period of 1,000 weeks.

Partial Non-schedule

Set maximum weekly benefits for non-schedule partial disability at $22 rather than $18. Retains the maximum period of 800 weeks.

Schedule

Sets weekly benefits for schedule injuries at a minimum of $12 rather than $8, and a maximum of $24 rather than $20. Retains the same benefit periods as before, ranging from 10 weeks for loss of any toe other than the big toe, to 300 weeks for loss of an arm or leg, two hands or two feet, or one hand and one foot, or 90 per cent loss of normal vision.

Provides that when benefits are paid for more than one type of schedule injury, they shall run concurrently, rather than consecutively as before.

Per Cent of Average Weekly Wage

Retains the provisions for calculating benefits at 60 per cent of average weekly wages for death and total disability; 50 per cent of average weekly wages for schedule injuries; and for non-schedule partial disability, 60 per cent of the difference between average weekly wages before the injury and the earning capacity thereafter.

Waiting Period

Provides a waiting period of three ways for total disability only. Eliminates the former waiting period for partial non-schedule disability. Retains the provision that benefits shall be paid for the first three days of disability extends beyond two weeks.

Lump-Sum Settlements

Retains the provision permitting lump-sum settlements where it is shown that this is for the best interest of the beneficiary. Deletes the provision that such settlements may be permitted on the ground that

continuance of weekly payments will work a hardship upon the employer, and specifies that in considering a petition for lump-sum settlement a commissioner shall give due weight to the fact that it is the policy of the act that benefits be paid weekly.

Minors

Retains the provision for double compensation to a minor injure while illegally employed.

Medical Advisory Committee

Sets up a medical advisory committee of seven physicians appointed by the Governor. Provides that one of the duties of the committee shall be to advise the Director of Labor and the Workmen's Compensation Commission established under this act in an annual study of every case of total disability or severe permanent partial disability on which benefits have been paid for more than a year, to see if action can be taken to speed recovery and rehabilitation.

No Waiver

Retains the prohibition on waiver of employe rights to benefits.

Second-Injury Fund

Retains the provision for a second-injury fund to be maintained by an assessment on insurers of one per cent of gross premiums, and special payments of $750 for each fatal injury where there are no dependents. Provides as before that payments into the fund shall cease if it exceeds $150,000 on or before May 1 of any year, and shall be resumed if it falls below $100,000.

Provides, as before, that payments from the fund shall be made for: (1) the difference between permanent total disability, benefits and benefits for a second injury in cases where the second injury combined with a previous injury causes permanent total disability; and (2) lifetime benefits (including medical expenses, not previously specified) for permanent total disability extending beyond the 1,000 week maximum period for which such benefits are otherwise payable.

Adds a new provision that if the balance in the second-injury fund on May 1 in any year exceeds $250,000, totally disabled employes whose benefits under the Temporary Disability Act terminate may receive, in addition to benefits provided under the workmen's compensation act for total disability, $2.50 per week from the second-injury fund for each dependent child under 16 or each child over 18 but physically or mentally incapacitated but not more than $8 per week.

Provides that such additional benefits shall cease if the balance in the fund falls below $250,000.

Administration—W. C. C. Procedure: Disputes: Agreements: Appeals

Changes the administration and the procedure of administration under the act. Establishes a Workmen's Compensation Commission composed

of three attorneys with no less than 10 years' experience (who shall not engage in private practice or employement during the term of office) and a clerk, all apopinted by the Governor. Set initial salaries at $12,500 for the chairman, $12,000 for a commissioner, and $6,500 for a clerk. Authorizes any Commissioner to hear and decide disputed claims and authorizes the commission to determine questions arising under the act. Formerly dispute cases were heard initially by the Department of Labor, and if the decision was appealed, were heard by the superior court; and questions were resolved by the superior court. Provides for pre-trial conferences to expedite the hearings and reduce issues to a minimum.

Retains the functions of the Labor Department in approving agreed claims, and administering the second-injury fund, the insurance provisions, the curative centre fund, and other provisions unless a dispute arises. Makes no provision for any appeals to the superior court, but retains the right of appeal to the supreme court on questions of law or equity and adds the following grounds for such appeal: (1) that the Workmen's Compensation Commission acted without or in excess of its authority; (2) that the order, decree, or award was procured by fraud. Provides that benefits shall not be suspended upon the taking of an appeal; formerly the taking of an appeal either to the superior court or to the supreme court did suspend benefits.

Abolishes the office of "hearing officer" within the Workmen's Compensation Division of the Labor Department. Provides that all workmen's compensation cases pending before "hearing officers" on July 1, 1954, shall be transferred immediately to the Workmen's Compensation Commission; that all cases pending before the superior court on that date shall be decided by a judge of the court if testimony has been heard, or transferred to the Commission if no testimony has been heard; and that all cases on appeal in the supreme court shall follow the same course as before.

Procedure: Prompt Benefit Payments

Adds several provisions to effect the prompt payment of benefits. For example, sets a 2-day time limit after notice of injury or death for either reaching a voluntary agreement and commencing payment of benefits or notifying the Director of Labor of a dispute. Sets a $50 penalty to be added to any award against an employer who fails either to conclude a voluntary agreement or give notice of a dispute within the time set. Sets further penalties of an additional 10 per cent of unpaid payments if any benefits are not paid within 14 days after they become due under an agreement, or an additional 20 per cent if they are due under an order or award.

Provides that benefits shall become due on the same day that a voluntary agreement is signed or an order becomes effective, and weekly thereafter.

Review if Employer's Condition Changes

Permits review of agreements or awards, as before, upon the grounds that the incapacity of the injured employe has diminished, ended, increased, or returned, or that the weekly benefits have been based upon an erroneous average weekly wage. Provides that such review may be made within 10 years after compensation has ceased, whereas the former law required such review to be made before the expiration date of the maximum benefit period provided for the disability in question.

Provides, as before that the employer must notify the employe and the Workmen's Compensation Commission (formerly, the Department of Labor) before discontinuing, suspending, or reducing benefits.

Provides that 15 days must elapse after giving notice before taking action, whereas under the former law the employer could discontinue, suspend, or reduce payments upon filing the petition and pending a hearing.

Statue of Limitations

Retains the two-year limit for filing employe claims.

Third Party Suits

Retains the right of the employe to collect benefits and at the same time sue a third party, providing that the employer is reimbursed for benefits paid out.

Permits alternative schemes under the same conditions as provided before, namely: (1) approval of the Workmen's Compensation Commission (formerly, the superior court), with authority for revocation of approval for valid cause; (2) benefits provided at least as great as those provided under the act; (3) if employe contributions are required, additional benefits at least equivalent to these contributions; (4) provision for equitable distribution of funds, after meeting liabilities, if any scheme requiring employe contributions is terminated.

Insurance and Self-Insurance

Permits employers, as before, to insure with an authorized insurance company in the State or to self-insure, upon furnishing satisfactory proof of financial ability to pay benefits. Increases the penalty for failure to insure compensation from $100 to $1,000 fine. Adds alternatives of imprisonment for not more than one year, or both fine and imprisonment. Adds similar penalties against an uninsured employer who knowingly disposes of any property after an injury to an employe, with the intent of avoiding payment of benefits.

Accidents Reports

Requires written reports from the employer to the Department of Labor on any injury requiring medical service, as well as any injury which causes loss of wages for three full days or death, as required under the former law. Retains the time limits for making such reports,

of 48 hours after death or 10 days after a nonfatal injury or knowledge of an occupational disease. Directs that the blanks supplied for this purpose be expanded to include an explanation of the cause of the injury, and that the duplicate copy be made available to the Division of Statistics and Census of the Department of Labor. Retains the provision for transmitting copies of such reports immediately to the Division of Industrial Inspection. Retains the $50 fine for failure to report, and the protection of the confidential nature of such reports by $100 penalties for violation.

Rehabilitation

Provides, as before, for a Curative Centre Fund to be administered by the Director of Labor, supported by annual payments of 1 per cent on gross premiums and the payment of $750 into the fund for each fatal injury where there is no person entitled to benefits. Retains the penalties for failure to make proper payments into the fund: (1) suspension of privilege of writing workmen's compensation insurance in the State; (2) $1,000 penalty for writing such insurance after suspension; (3) 50 per cent additional payments for filing false returns. Retains the authority of the Director of Labor to appoint a medical director for the centre. Retains the provision for an advisory board consisting of the Director of Labor, the Director of Health, the Chief of the Workmen's Compensation Commission (formerly, the Chief of the Division of Workmen's Compensation), two members each to represent labor, industry (employer and insurance carriers), and Rhode Island Bar Association, and two medical men.

Appropriations

Appropriates $55,000 for the balance of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, and for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, to administer the act.

South Carolina

H. 2277 (Adopted 3/20/54). Continues for another year the committee created in 1953 to investigate rates for workmen's compensation insurance.

Virginia

S. 209 (Ch. 233) (Approved 3/13/54). Requires appointments to the Industrial Commission, which administers the workmen's compensation law, to be made by the General Assembly rather than by the Governor. Retains the six-year terms for the commissioners. Provides that each present member shall remain in office until his term expires, whereupon the Governor shall appoint a successor to serve until 30 days after the beginning of the next regular session of the General Assembly. Provides that any vacancies occurring when the General Assembly is not in session shall be filled in the same manner.

(Amends sec. 65-9, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 227 (Ch. 654) (Approved 4/7/54). Raises maximum weekly benefits from $25 to $27 for partial and total disability and death. Raises total maximum benefits from $10,000 to $10,800 for total and partial disability, and from $7,500 to $8,100 for death.

(Amends secs. 65-51, 65-52, 65-62, and 65-68, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 435 (Ch. 518) (Approved 4/5/54). Amends sections relating to voluntary settlements under the workmen's compensation act. Specifies that such an agreement shall be approved by the Industrial Commission, and if not approved shall be void. Directs that such an agreement shall be approved only when the majority of the Commission is clearly of the opinion that the best interests of the employe or his dependents will be served. Specifies that approval of such an agreement shall bind infant or incompetent dependents. Requires Commission approval of agreements entered into while an appeal is pending before the Supreme Court of Appeals.

(Amends secs. 65-41, and 65-90, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 438 (Ch. 450) (Approved 4/3/54). Incorporates in sec. 65-93, a provision deleted from sec. 65-92 by Ch. 370, Laws of 1954, requiring that a copy of the award and a statement of findings of fact, rulings of law, and other pertinent matters be filed with the record of the proceedings.

(Amends sec. 65-93, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

H. 439 (Ch. 370) (Approved 4/2/54). Deletes from sec. 65-92 the requirement that a copy of the award and the findings of fact be filed together with the proceedings. (This provision was inserted in Sec. 65-93 by Ch. 450, Laws of 1954.)

(Amends sec. 65-92, Workmen's Compensation Law.)

RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS

Since our last convention the anti-labor forces have intensified their drive to enact "right-to-work" laws in the several States. Unfortunately, they were successful in passing such legislation in Mississippi, Bill S. 1394, February 24, South Carolina, Chapter 739, March 19, and Louisiana, Chapter 252, July 2, despite vigorous opposition from our State Federations of Labor. In Kentucky we were successful in killing a bill in committee, thanks to a well-organized and militant drive against it organized by the Kentucky State Federation of Labor.

The Executive Council report to the 1953 convention (pages 204-205) contains a complete summary of the legislation previously enacted. These laws prohibit all forms of union security clauses in contracts with employers and pose a serious threat to the future of our movement. The sponsors of the legislation with tongue in cheek contend they are trying to defend the "right-to-work" of all Americans; actually the bills are designed to destroy unions.

Several State Federations have reported that campaigns are now

being organized in their States to pass such legislation during the forthcoming 1955 meetings of their State legislatures. Among these States are Maryland, Ohio, Missouri, Oklahoma and Washington.

The National Legislative Committee has been instructed by the officers to accumulate data on this question and to furnish information and assistance to the State Federations in combating this legislation. There is no more serious threat to the labor movement than this plot on the part of reactionary elements in our society. All International Unions, State Federations and City Central bodies should be fully aware of this attack on union security clauses in collective bargaining contracts. Constant vigilance will be needed to prevent the further spread of this obnoxious legislation and intensified efforts should be made to repeal the laws now on the statute books.

In Idaho a successful attack in the courts threw out an initiative petition to place "right-to-work" legislation on a referendum ballot. The court held that the name of the proposed legislation was misleading and hence the referendum would be contrary to the Idaho constitution.

"STATES RIGHTS" SLEEPER

An attempt was made in the House to slip through a bill, H. R. 8211 (Smith, Va.), which would have made all State Laws affecting labor which are more stringent than the Federal Laws take precedence over Federal legislation. The bill was introduced ostensibly to validate the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition Law which had been invalidated by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court in the case of Commonwealth vs. Nelson on the grounds that Federal anti-sedition legislation preempted the field. Close examination showed the bill would also validate various State anti-picketing laws which have been thrown out by the Garner case. Conversely there is also reason to believe it might imperil the union shop amendments to the Railway Labor Act. The House Judiciary Committee held a quick hearing on the bill about one week after it was introduced, but after we lodged a protest against the bill no further action was taken.

An identical bill S. 3745 (Jenner, Ind.) was introduced in the Senate during the closing weeks of the session. It is probable a similar effort will be made in the next Congress. Should such legislation become law there is real danger that bad State labor legislation of various descriptions would supersede favorable Federal legislation. (See Report on Taft-Hartley Law under Federal Legislation.)

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Coverage

Four States (California, Kentucky, Massachusetts and New York) enacted amendments to their coverage provisions. The most significant of these is the New York amendment to cover, after December 1954, employers who are subject to the Federal Unemployment Tax Act.

Qualifying Requirements

Five States (California, Michigan, Mississippi, New York and Virginia) made some changes in the qualifying provisions. For example, Michigan changed its definition of "credit week" to require wages in excess of $15 instead of $8 in a calendar week, thus raising the wages necessary to qualify from $112.14 to $210.14; Mississippi added a requirement of additional earnings for claimants who exhaust their maximum duration of benefits before they can draw benefits in the following benefit year. Virginia limited payments following any one separation to 16 times the weekly benefit amount.

Weekly Benefits and Dependents' Allowances

Three States increased the maximum weekly benefit amount: California, from $25 to $30; Michigan, from $27 to $30; Virginia, from $22 to $24.

Massachusetts and Michigan increased the allowances for dependents. Massachusetts provided a partial earnings limit of $10.

Duration

Michigan increased maximum duration from 20 to 26 weeks.

Disqualification

Three States (Michigan, Mississippi and Virginia) made changes in the disqualification provisions, the tendency being toward more severe disqualifications, although some of the changes are alleviating.

Experience Rating

Five States (Arizona, California, Michigan, New York and Virginia) amended their experience rating provisions. Most of these were minor technical changes, except for Michigan which changed from a benefit ratio to a reserve ratio system.

Additional report under title of Developments in Social Security.

District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Law

For many years the District of Columbia Unemployment Compensation Law has been one of the poorest in the country, providing only 20 weeks maximum coverage and $20 maximum benefit. The Washington Central Labor Union has been endeavoring for several years to make improvements in the law. Efforts to work out a suitable compromise bill with the Washington Board of Trade were fruitless.

The message of Secretary of Labor Mitchell to the States urging the liberalization of Unemployment Compensation Laws to a duration of 26 weeks and benefits of 50 per cent of wages gave renewed impetus to the fight.

Senator Case (S. Dakota), Chairman of the Senate District Committee introduced S. 3482, which carried a provision for 26 weeks and

$30 maximum benefits. Reluctantly, the Washington Central Labor Union backed this measure as the best liberalization obtainable. The Labor Department and your National Legislative Committee also gave them support.

The bill also carried some drastic features tightening disqualification and cancellation provisions which we opposed. The Washington Board of Trade supported these proposals but opposed the 26-week, $30 feature, proposing instead 22 weeks and curtailed benefits.

The bill was reported with the drastic disqualification and cancellation clauses, but with the 26-week, $30 feature. On the floor of the Senate, Senator Morse succeeded in knocking out the cancellation clause and modifying the disqualification sections. As the bill passed the Senate it was acceptable to us as a compromise.

(House action to come).

We were successful in convincing the Senate conferees, Senators Beall, Payne and Mansfield, of the numerous bad features of their report. Senator Morse was helpful in achieving this end. Consideration was given to the advisability of setting the bill aside for this session.

As a result it was decided by these same Senators that the liberalization in maximum weekly benefits from $20 to $30 and the weekly coverage from 20 to 26 weeks, which was agreed to in conference, was long overdue and should not be postponed until next year. They finally decided to pass the bill as an interim measure and to reconsider the objectionable features of the bill in the next Congress.

On August 17, the bill (S. 3482) passed Congress and became Public Law No. 721, 83rd Congress. Immediately following its passage Senator Morse (for himself, Mr. Neely, Mr. Beall, Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Payne) introduced a bill (S. 3878) to modify the disqualification and cancellation provisions of the new act. We were assured of early consideration of this proposal when the next Congress convenes in January of next year.

REPORT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

In the year that has passed since the last Convention, the Office of the General Counsel has rendered valuable services to the American Federation of Labor and various of its subordinate bodies in connection not only with litigation arising under the many existing state and federal laws in the field of labor relations, but also in advising courses of conduct which would avoid such litigation. We are pleased to report that, although defendant in a number of lawsuits, the American Federation of Labor has not sustained a single judgment against it during the past year and has successfully defended itself in various court proceedings. In addition, it has participated in litigation establishing important principles of law advantageous to labor. Numerous legislative proposals, including atempts to revise Taft-Hartley and attempts to cope with the problem of alleged Communism affecting our defense industries, have required careful study and analysis by the Office of the General Counsel. In addition, the protection and advancement of the interests of the Federation before the National Labor Relations Board and other governmental agencies and tribunals continues to be an important function of that office, as well as the giving of advice and assistance in connection with the internal affairs of the Federation and various of its subordinate bodies. The services of that office were extensively utilized in connection with the construction of the new headquarters building and in connection with the project of revising the Constitution. These and other activities of the Office of the General Counsel are briefly reported on herein.

Litigation Before The Courts

During the last year the American Federation of Labor was made a party defendant in several cases in which heavy damages were claimed. In *Collins v. A. F. of L.*, brought in the state court of Georgia, preliminary motions to dismiss the litigation are still pending. In a similar case *(Lowry v. Boilermakers and A. F. of L.)*, brought in the federal court in Mississippi, motions to dismiss the American Federation of Labor from the litigation were sustained, thus terminating this litigation as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned. Quite recently, a suit for damages was instituted against the American Federation of Labor, Frank Edwards and certain broadcasting companies, alleging that certain statements made on the Edwards' broadcast were libelous. Responsive pleadings in defense to this suit have been filed.

The damage suits, brought in the state courts of Alabama and Ohio against the American Federation of Labor and other defendants prior to the last Convention and referred to in our last report, are still pending and remain unresolved, with the exception that in one *(Russell v. UAW-AFL)* a decision was obtained terminating the case so far at it related to the American Federation of Labor. In another suit for damages

(Howell v. A. F. of L.), instituted in a state court of Ohio, the complaint against the American Federation of Labor was dismissed on motion. An amended complaint, however, was subsequently filed and was likewise attacked by motion. This motion awaits disposition by the court.

The American Federation of Labor, by direct intervention, has become a party to test litigation instituted in the State of Oregon for the purpose of determining the constitutionality of an anti-picketing law in that state, which forbids organizational picketing or picketing in the absence of majority representation by the union. One of the cases *(Scherer v. Culinary Alliance)* was won at the first stage, the trial court holding the anti-picketing law unconstitutional. The case has been appealed to the Supreme Court of Oregon, and the Office of the General Counsel, along with Oregon counsel, is in the process of preparing a brief in this important litigation involving the constitutionality of state laws which seek to outlaw organizational picketing.

The case of *Bergh v. United States*, involving claims for overtime payments by certain classes of per diem government employes for work performed on Sundays and holidays during World War II, and mentioned in the last report, is still pending in the Court of Claims. Various changes in personnel in the Department of Justice have operated to delay a stipulation of the facts, which, however, should be forthcoming shortly, under which the case will be presented to the Court of Claims without the necessity for trial.

The Office of the General Counsel rendered important assistance in connection with two cases before the United States Supreme Court involving the question of the preemption of state anti-labor laws by the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. In one *(Garner v. Teamsters Union)* the American Federation of Labor appeared as amicus curiae, and in the other *(Building Trades Council v. Kinard Construction Co.)* the American Federation of Labor undertook the entire appeal. In both cases the Supreme Court rendered unanimous decisions holding that the states cannot regulate or interfere by injunction with labor conduct in interstate commerce when that conduct is already the subject of federal legislation. These decisions, as well as another of the Supreme Court rendered in a case arising in California *(Capital Service, Inc., v. N.L.R.B.)*, in which it was held that the federal courts could prevent enforcement of state court injunctions issued contrary to the *Garner* principle, will operate, it can be hoped, to prevent the flagrant abuse of the injunctive process under which employers have in the past obtained numerous injunctions in the state courts although interstate commerce was involved. A detailed discussion of the principles involved in the *Garner* case and their effect is contained in the December, 1953, issue of the *American Federationist*. The decisions in the *Garner* and *Kinard* cases, however, were somewhat tempered by a subsequent decision of the United States Supreme Court rendered in *Laburnum Construction Com-*

pany v. United Mine Workers. There, the Court held that where a remedy by way of damages was not afforded in Taft-Hartley for activities in violation of that law, which activities, however also constituted violations of state law, an action for damages could be maintained in the state courts under the state law. In that case, damages of almost $200,000 were sustained against the union defendant.

During the past year the Office of the General Counsel has participated, along with specially retained counsel in New York and elsewhere, in a number of cases in the state and federal courts in connection with the establishment of the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-AFL. These activities involved some dozen separate and varied court proceedings, injunction proceedings, contempt proceedings, and litigation over ownership of funds and properties.

Proceedings Before The National Labor Relations Board

In connection with efforts to obtain certification as collective bargaining representative for longshoremen in the New York-New Jersey area, the American Federation of Labor instituted proceedings before the National Labor Relations Board *(American Federation of Labor v. New York Shipping Association).* After extensive hearings, an inconclusive election was held. The American Federation of Labor filed objections to the conduct of the election, alleging that organized fear, violence and intimidation were utilized by the Independent International Longshoremen's Association in an attempt to influence the result of the election. These objections were upheld and a new election was ordered in which, however, the IBL-AFL failed by a narrow margin to obtain certification as bargaining representative. In all, approximately 36 separate Labor Board proceedings were involved in connection with these organizational activities which required the services of the General Counsel and the local attorneys specially retained.

In the case of *McAllister Transfer Co.*, the National Labor Relations Board undertook to reexamine its holding in the *Conway Express Company* case, under which it had decided that clauses in collective bargaining agreements permitting workers to refuse to cross picket lines or to work on or handle unfair goods were not precluded by the Taft-Hartley Act. The Office of the General Counsel filed a brief and participated in oral argument before the Board in this case, urging that the *Conway* doctrine remain unchanged. The Board has not yet rendered a decision in the case although it was argued many months ago.

Upon request of the National Labor Relations Board the Office of the General Counsel filed a brief and participated in oral argument before the Board on behalf of the American Federation of Labor in the case of *American Potash and Chemical Co.*, involving the question of severance of craft units in representation proceedings. In its decision in this case the Board reviewed its past policies and indicated that it would in the

future follow a more liberal policy in regard to craft severance where true craft units are involved.

The Office of the General Counsel afforded representation to various Federal Labor Unions in a number of cases before the National Labor Relations Board both at the hearing stage and before the Board. In addition, assistance was rendered the Metal Trades Department in connection with an important case involving the Savannah River Atomic Energy project at Aiken, S. C. The issues are many and complex, and a decision has not yet been rendered.

Analysis of Legislation

As disclosed by the section of this Report dealing with legislation, many bills of paramount interest to the Federation were introduced in the Congress of the United States since the last Convention, including numerous bills to amend Taft-Hartley, and dealing with Communist infiltration in the labor movement and in defense plants. All had to be carefully studied and evaluated, and many demanded close legal scrutiny and analysis by our General Counsel's office, for a large number of these bills directly affected the legal rights, not only of organized workers but the rights of all Americans, and some appeared to impinge dangerously upon these rights, particularly those fundamental ones embraced within the First Amendment to our Federal Constitution. This requirement of close legal study and analysis placed severe responsibilities upon our legal department during this past year, and these responsibilities were ably met and discharged.

Likewise, during this past year, a considerable number of state legislative proposals demanded careful legal appraisal and comment so that representatives of the American Federation of Labor in these states might have a thorough understanding of the full impact of these proposals on union activities if enacted into law. Among the bills presented in state legislatures and examined by the General Counsel's office was the Virginia Right-to-Work law which became effective July 1, 1954, which further restricts labor's rights and seeks to bring international unions more readily within the jurisdiction of the state courts.

Legal Work in Connection with Construction of New Headquarters Building

Elsewhere in this Report the progress of the Federation toward the construction of its new headquarters building in the City of Washington is related. The Office of the General Counsel has rendered valuable legal services in connection with the completion of necessary transfers of real estate and the granting of a building permit required by the Zoning Board of Adjustment of the District of Columbia. Continuing legal assistance is being given as required in connection with the actual construction of the building.

Miscellaneous

The 1953 Convention requested the Executive Council to prepare modernizing and clarifying revisions to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. In this connection, as was to be expected, the Office of the General Counsel was heavily relied upon in preparing the draft of suggested changes because of the necessity that all changes express the exact meaning intended and be made in the light of existing law as embodied in numerous court decisions and statutory enactments.

The Office of the General Counsel has rendered legal services in connection with the draft of a plan, to be submitted to this Convention, for settlement of jurisdictional disputes within the American Federation of Labor. In addition, it has assisted in the preparation of the no-raiding agreement between various affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which plan is now in effect.

Extensive legal services have been rendered in connection with cases involving Federal Labor Unions throughout the country. Included in such cases were several seeking the recovery of funds of Federal Labor Unions and several arbitration proceedings.

In the performance of its functions, the Office of the General Counsel engaged in numerous conferences with officials of the National Labor Relations Board, the Department of Justice, the Department of Labor, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other governmental agencies. A large portion of the services rendered consisted, as in the past, of rendering opinions and advice, either by correspondence, telephone or personal conference, concerning the many legal questions that normally arise in connection with the daily operations of the American Federation of Labor and its subordinates—questions which arise by virtue of the ever-increasing number of state and federal laws in the field of labor relations. The Office of the General Counsel has performed its many functions with diligence and care and has afforded a splendid service to the American Federation of Labor during the period since the last Convention.

THE PRESENT WORLD SITUATION

A. Dangerous Illusions

With the conclusion of the armistice in Indo-China and the partition of Vietnam, as the obvious first step towards turning over the entire country to the Moscow-Peiping Axis, the world situation has reached a new low point of deterioration. At the Seventeenth Parallel, peace is today even less secure than it was at the Thirty-Eighth Parallel in Korea in 1945.

On the one hand, Geneva (July 21, 1954) marks the culminating tragedy of the all to many political, economic and military mistakes

made by the free world in the last decade. On the other hand, Geneva is the high watermark of Communist imperialist aggression since July 22, 1944, when Moscow launched its present drive for world domination by setting up its Lublin Committee of National Liberation—for the destruction of Poland as an independent democratic nation.

Every act of aggression in every part of the world, since the defeat of the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, has been fomented and financed, sponsored and supported by the Soviet Union. (Greece, Malaya, Korea, Indo-China.) That is why Moscow has consistently opposed and sabotaged the establishment of effective international machinery and the strengthening of the United Nations to counteract and curb aggression.

Two main developments characterize the course of international affairs since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. These are: (1) the continuous advance of Communist totalitarian tyranny and (2) the increasing disunity, hestitation, and weakness of policy in the fold of the democratic countries.

Communist China has emerged as a first-line military power (Korea, Indo-China). The political importance of Communist China in the world arena and its drive to become the spokesman of all Asia have made great progress. But the victories scored by Communist imperialism have been due not so much to Soviet economic strength or military prowess as to the wrong policies of the free nations. Since Stalin's death, the illusions about Russia's "new look" have sprouted like noxious weeds despite the continuous terror, the execution of Beria, and the tightening of the dictatorial regime within the U. S. S. R. These illusions have persisted despite Moscow's unceasing intransigeance in its foreign relations—as evidenced by the Soviet rejection of all western proposals for disarmament and plans to ban atomic and other weapons of mass destruction through setting up machinery for effective international inspection and control. At the Berlin Conference, Molotov rejected every allied effort to secure the full sovereignty and national reunification of Germany in freedom and blocked the granting of a State Treaty to Austria. At Geneva, it was Molotov who dominated the policies of Communist China and the Viet Minh and cracked the whip for imposing the outrageous armistice.

These fatal illusions are not confined to any one section of the population in the free world. Government officials, political leaders, business men, and labor spokesmen have been their victims. At this late date, some still hold that the Soviet dictatorship is progressive and sincerely seeks peaceful co-existence with free countries. They have faith in the Kremlin's "peace" offensive and in negotiations and pacts with Communist regimes. They forget that the dictator in the Kremlin has posed as the angel of peace before. In 1939, Stalin, who taught Malenkov and Molotov the art of "peace-making," declared after his pact with Hitler, which was the signal for World War II, that: "It was not Germany who attacked France and England, but France and England who attacked

Germany, assuming the responsibility for the present war." The "peace-loving" Soviet dictator then also stressed that: "The ruling circles of England and France rudely declined both Germany's (Hitler's) peace proposals and the attempts of the Soviet Union to attain the earliest termination of the war."

Those who have forgotten this unforgettable "peace-making" role of the Soviet dictatorship now dream of separating the peoples from their oppressors by making commercial deals with and lavishly appeasing those who oppress them. Others believe that the Chinese Communist dictatorship can be reformed—transformed into a peace-loving democracy and turned against its Moscow overlords—by granting Mao Tse-tung huge commercial credits, by helping him to consolidate his control, by enabling him to build a gigantic military machine, and by admitting him into the United Nations. There are diplomats who boast of their "skilled and patient statesmanship" because they consider as realistic democratic diplomacy only those policies and proposals which the Moscow-Peiping Axis is prepared to accept in negotiations.

India's Prime Minister Nehru has been propagating the notion that "Communism is an ideology. If the Chinese are odd enough to prefer it, that is their own affair. They have a right to be left alone." But totalitarian Communism is not something which the Russian or Chinese dictators keep to themselves. They fanatically seek to export and impose Communism on other countries through subversion and war (Indonesia, Korea, Indo-China). Moreover, the people of China have never preferred or voted for Communism. Mao Tse-tung does not dare give the Chinese people a chance to express freely their choice or preference. Instead, he wipes out the rights of Chinese labor and all other democratic rights and destroys the national independence of other peoples (Tibet).

Realistic statesmen know that we are living in an age, when we are not only Britons, Indians, Italians, Germans, or Americans, but also free men or slaves under totalitarian tyranny. We are all concerned with what happens in other countries. Freedom, like peace, is indivisible.

After nearly thirty-seven years of experience with Communist dictatorship, with its millions of slave laborers, brutal terror and aggression, there are political leaders (Aneurin Bevan) who have yet to learn the true nature of Bolshevik totalitarianism, its ruthless reaction endangering the progress achieved in the last six centuries of man's uphill struggle for the dignity of the individual and human liberty.

In our own country, illusions about the intentions of the post-Stalin regime and the reduction of its military expenditures have fostered the false "new look" policy in American military strategy, the costly lack of clearly defined policy at critical moments (Indo-China), and even isolationism. The illusions of the European and Asian neutralists are most clearly expressed in our country by the labor-hating Chairman of the National Steel Corporation, Ernest T. Weir, who "cannot see Russian occupation of other countries as much of a subject for negotiation,"

who holds that "today government in Russia is not by dictatorship," and who interprets the Kremlin's various maneuvers as "emphasis placed on peace by Russian leaders."

Such fantastic illusions account for diplomats in London, Paris, and New Delhi believing that the "settlement" at Geneva constitutes a triumph for the policy of peace by negotiation with the Moscow-Peiping Axis. If this were so, the surrender of the most pivotal area in Southeast Asia, with its great natural resources and more than twelve million people, to Iron Curtain slavery would serve the cause of world peace and freedom. Echoing this fatal self-deception, Tito's official organ, BORBA, hastened to rejoice: "The cause of peace and peaceful solution of international problems is given a great boost by the truce in Indo-China. This is a real encouragement which inspires us with confidence that we may look to the future with increased hopes." (July 21, 1954.)

A few more such "successes" and there will be no free Britain, independent Yugoslavia, free Europe or free Asia! Neither peace nor freedom is served when the free world has suffered a major Munich-like disaster and the Communists score a smashing victory. There is no reason to believe or hope that the Moscow-Peiping aggressors will now relax their pressure and renounce further aggression. Geneva, like Munich, is an historic point of no return. The balance of strength between the Soviet slave empire and the free world has been decisively changed in favor of the Moscow-Peiping Axis. To refuse to learn from the mistakes of the past and failure to adopt a new course for altering this balance in favor of the free world can lead only to irreparable disaster for all mankind.

B. The Road to Deterioration

1. It is understandable that there should be *great war-weariness* in Europe after such trials and tribulations as those endured in World War II. It is likewise understandable that the American people should be fed up with the war in Korea and the French with the war in Indo-China. This reaction has been an extremely important factor influencing policy in the democratic world where the people do express their desires and affect the decisions made by their governments.

2. Precisely because American economic and military aid has enabled the free European countries to reconstruct and recover, in varying degrees, has there developed among them *a feeling of security*. This feeling, unwarranted by the facts, must be reckoned with. The Europeans do not feel themselves threatened by Communist aggression. They no longer have a sense of urgency about the world crisis. Momentarily, it would appear that the Geneva Conference has strengthened this mood, for, though the Muscovite warlords have not abandoned their expansionist plans, they have also not made new efforts to change the status quo in Europe by force. This only adds to the feeling of false security

and, therefore, to the readiness of democratic Europe to trust Soviet diplomacy.

3. *Anxious for peace* and, therefore, relying on the Kremlin's peaceful intentions, some Europeans have even pointed to what happened in Iran, Greece, and in the Berlin blockade as evidence of Soviet devotion to peace. Persistent Communist propaganda, envy of American vitality and energy, and a feeling that they no longer need American help, have combined to make the neutralists, appeasers, and *many sincere lovers of peace forget that it was democratic strength, rallied in defense of peace and freedom, and not Soviet discontinuance of a policy of aggression that has led the Kremlin dictatorship to drop its criminal adventures against the people of Iran, Greece, and Berlin.* It was the American and allied airlift and not any rise in Moscow morality or its humanitarian uplift that saved the great city of Berlin from strangulation and starvation.

The Soviet aggressors have yielded only where sufficient strength was mobilized to resist and defeat them. They have, however, been quick and resourceful in exploiting to the limit every sign of hesitation and weakness in the allied ranks. Geneva provides crushing confirmation of this for Europe as well as Asia. We point to the more aggressive and harsher occupation policy now being pursued by Russia in Austria.

4. In some quarters, *Moscow-Peiping aggression in Asia (Indo-China) is considered a distant affair* which does not really concern the western world. Turning a deaf ear to the cries of the Vietnamese for national freedom, liberty and peace, the European and other isolationists have yet to learn that the menace of Communist subversion and Soviet imperialism is global and centrally directed. The free world cannot be strong in the Atlantic but weak in the Pacific and hope to survive and thrive.

5. Mistakes made by our own government have played an important part in bringing about this deterioration. Our allies could hardly have a keen sense of urgency when our own government slashes its military budget by five million dollars, talks oft and loud about "instant massive retaliation" while it reduces its armed forces and withdraws divisions from Korea. When Washington cuts its technical aid program to the bone and the House Committee on Appropriations disallows the $17,958,000 asked for the technical assistance activities of the United Nations, our country can not expect from its allies greater common concern and cooperation. At Geneva, allied diplomats occasionally revealed a community of fear but not that community of democratic faith which is the first prerequisite for deterring and defeating Communist enslavement.

The democratic powers have allowed events to overtake them. Between Berlin and Geneva, they threw away their last chance to have France break with colonialism in Indo-China, rally the people of Vietnam to fight for their own freedom and strengthen the political and military position of world democracy. Under such circumstances, the Navarre Plan and Dien Bien Phu were doomed.

In the Korean armistice, the U. N. at least confirmed what was the issue; in the Indo-China armistice, the democracies were forced into a compact to give up part of the free world—the most developed and resource-laden section of Vietnam. In the Communist sector, the Ho Chi-Minh machine will, in preparation for the projected elections, wipe out all opposition. But in the southern sector, the armistice terms permit the Communists full freedom of subversion and blackmail. No wonder, (within a few days after Geneva) Ho Chi-Minh boastfully broadcast on the Peiping radio that all Vietnam will be in Communist hands.

Only against this background can one understand the weird phenomenon at Geneva where western colonial powers (France, Britain) frantically sought to make a deal with Communist colonial powers (Russia, China) at the expense of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Yet Nehru has implored his "Free Asia" to rejoice at the "prospects of peace" enhanced by this sinister settlement! At Geneva, the French colonialist interests had no more right to give away to the Communist bully part of Vietnam than they originally had to grab the whole of it for themselves. After Paris had signified its readiness to grant Vietnam full national independence, America and its allies should have called upon the United Nations to guarantee the national integrity and freedom of all the Associated States of Indo-China, instead of making a deal with the Moscow-Peiping Axis to prevent their people from keeping their country whole and free.

This is no way to reward the Vietnamese democratic nationalists who have believed in French promises and fought alongside of France during eight years of civil war. This is certainly no way to inspire and encourage the small nations of Europe and Asia whom we so often urge to trust our democratic aspirations and to join the big democratic powers in protecting peace and promoting freedom. As long as such attitudes persist, there can be *no firm hope for future united action by the democracies for preserving peace and promoting freedom in Asia.* Adding Britain and France to the Anzus (Australia, New Zealand, United States) pact would only appear to be a "white man's club" and an easy target for the Communist demagogues yelling "Asia for Asians," as the Japanese imperialists once did. This would aid their racialist propaganda among the many millions who once suffered or still bear the burdens of western colonialism.

This is fertile soil for the intense growth of neutralism in Asia under the leadership of Nehru. Here is the soil in which flourish fantastic illusions about the Chinese one-party Communist dictatorship which rules by means of Russian tanks and planes and unrestrained savagery in suppressing all democratic rights and human dignity, for plundering the peasantry and wiping out all free labor organization. It is this "new China" that is now being identified by Nehru with the cause and future of Asia.

The Moscow-Peiping Axis has little regard for the policy of Asians

settling their own problems as Asians. At Geneva, Chou En-lai rejected the proposal to have the Colombo nations (India, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia) supervise the military truce in Indo-China. Molotov and his junior partner insisted instead on the Kremlin's European satellite (Poland) coming in. In the same light, must be judged the Moscow-Peiping creation of phony resistance movements in Laos and Cambodia as blows against their newly-granted independence.

Nehru has forgotten his original protest against the Communist Chinese seizure of Tibet whose autonomy is vital to the security of India. Today, Nehru hails his treaty recognizing this Communist grab as a model for world peace, freedom, and just international relations. Today, Nehru hails Chou En-lai's demagogic battlecry "Asia for Asians," without asking what kind of Asia. And for which Asians? Will it be a democratic Asia? Or a totalitarian Communist Asia? Will it be an Asia in which the Chinese Communists will be given the privilege of dual citizenship in every other country, the privilege Mao Tse-tung is now seeking for the two million Chinese residents in the dangerously infiltrated Republic of Indonesia? Will it be an Asia for free and independent peoples or an Asia of Communist colonies and satellites like Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary and Albania?

6. In this situation, Moscow moves with energy and speed to destroy every possibility for any German contribution to the collective security and peace of free Europe. Molotov has quickly followed his success at Geneva with a move to expand and exploit western disunity by calling for a new international conclave to consider the so-called European collective security plan he offered at the Berlin conference last February. Though then rejected by Britain, France, and the United States, this Moscow maneuver may prove very dangerous in the present political climate. Britain's Bevanites will applaud and assist every Moscow maneuver to keep democratic Germany defenseless, despite the fact that the Communist-controlled Eastern Zone has already built up strong military forces.

The Communist aggressors have made enormous headway in *winning and mobilizing new giant sources of manpower and fabulous material resources* for their drive to conquer and recreate the world in the brutal image of totalitarian slavery. Encouraged by the confusion and disunity of the democracies, they are planning new direct and indirect acts of aggression and subversion in order to *increase their industrial prowess.* High on their agenda are plans for dominating industrialized Japan, securing western technical assistance to refurbish their badly-worn military machine, economic aid from the democracies to enable the Peiping dictatorship to proceed with further aggression.

THE SOVIET ORBIT—ITS PROBLEMS AND PERILS

It would be a fatal error to assume that the post-Stalin Soviet Empire has been having an easy time and making no mistakes. The

Malenkov regime of the U.S.S.R. faces many serious problems and perils. Despite surface changes in some domestic policies and tactical maneuvers in some foreign policies, it has remained firm and unswerving in its adherence to the Communist principles and final goal of dictatorship, subversion, aggression, military conquest, and world domination. The problems and perils besetting the Soviet Empire present the democracies with opportunities for serving the cause and strengthening the ranks of peace and freedom. Should the free world fail to meet this situation, should the free nations permit themselves to be deluded into aiding the Kermlin to overcome its difficulties, the cause of liberty and human decency would be in gravest jeopardy.

Today, the post-Stalin dictatorship faces the following principal problems and tasks:

1. To secure in its international relations a breathing spell during which the Malenkov regime could consolidate its hold over the peoples of the U.S.S.R. without the risk of outside factors endangering the Communist dictatorship as such or having to make any concessions or retreats. This requires foreign policy moves to make the people at home and the outside world believe that the Kremlin sincerely wants peace. In line with this strategy, Moscow has sought to engage in extensive negotiations with the democracies (Korea, Berlin, Geneva). It must be noted that Moscow's policy of "peace through negotiations" systematically avoids U.N. channels. The Kremlin wants limited big power conferences at which the smaller nations are excluded or denied any real voice. The Soviet rulers want to create the impression that the fate of the free world is being settled by two power blocs, that power politics and no fundamental issues are at roots of the world crisis. This serves Soviet propaganda in concealing the nature and aims of Communism and facilitates misrepresentation and slander against the democracies.

2. Steps to exploit and expand the differences and divisions among the democracies in order to reduce their pace and program of rearmament were taken. The huge Soviet bureaucracy, shaken by the death of Stalin, would thus be given a feeling of added security, the democracies softened in negotiations and easier to attack and crush, if need be. Toward this end, the time-worn policy of so-called co-existence is now being feverishly propagated.

3. The Malenkov regime faces the task of overcoming the serious economic dislocation and popular discontent caused by false Communist economic policies—the years of too rapid heavy industrialization, neglect in production of consumers' goods, the ruthless and crippling collectivization of agriculture, and the crushing burdens of gigantic armaments aggravated by the needs of Chinese militarization and the Korean war. That is why the Kremlin spread the notion that it was going to liberalize the regime and increase the production of consumers' goods especially for the disaffected peasantry. For the same reason, the Kremlin stepped up its campaign to expand trade with and secure extensive credits from

the western democracies. That the maneuver to sell this Communist "new look" to the West has had some significant success, is clearly revealed by Churchill's declaration: "I do not find it unreasonable or dangerous to conclude that internal prosperity rather than external conquest is not only the deep desire of the Russian peoples but also the long term interest of their rulers."

The serious agricultural difficulties now gripping the U.S.S.R. only emphasize the importance of this success. For years, this crisis was hidden from the free world which was saturated with propaganda about the phenomenal successes of Soviet collectivization. The difficulties finally became so acute that the Communist bureaucracy could no longer hide it or misrepresent it completely. Communist party Secretary Khrushchev has, since September, 1952, been compelled to make a number of revelations regarding the plight of Soviet agriculture so severe that even the sharpest western criticisms look generous by comparison.

Moscow now officially admits that Soviet per capita food production is lower and that the average diet is leaner and poorer—especially for the peasantry—than it was before the much-ballyhooed first five year plan. Of course, neither the principles behind these false policies nor the principal architects of the Communist fraud are being held responsible. All guilt has been heaped on the lower level bureacrats for their faulty application of Communist dogma and manner of carrying out Khrushchev's so-called reform measures. These have proved to be wrong, unrealistic, or hastily improvised—never going to the root of the difficulties or source of the crisis. This is how the Russian rulers, in the light of the Churchill illusion, have demonstrated their "deep desire" for "internal prosperity rather than external conquest."

Today, the Soviet "paradise" has 4,500,000 less cows than Russia had in 1916; it must import food from Sweden, butter from Denmark and from the United States (via Britain), and meat from Ethiopia! In defeated Germany, the average citizen eats 134 eggs a year, but in victorious "Socialist" Russia, the average Communist subject can get only 52 eggs a year. The average citizen of "capitalist" Germany consumes eighty pounds of meat and twenty-six kilograms of fat annually, but the average Soviet denizen is limited to only 28 pounds of meat and 8.6 kilograms of fat per year. With a grave shortage of bread grains as well as coarse grains, the collective farms, after fulfilling their deliveries to the government, do not have enough grain with which to pay their members for their labor. The state supplies are insufficient for meeting the rising needs of Soviet economy and gathering reserves for exports. It is important to note that in recent months so much of the military reserve supplies have been used that the Soviet authorities are now very concerned and driving hard to replenish them.

To overcome these serious shortages, Malenkov has pledged to the Supreme Soviet a "drastic upsurge in the production of consumer goods." Towards fulfilling this pledge, millions have been mobilized, under the

slogan of the "Battle of the Grain" to move eastward to carry out various reclamation projects. Even unskilled youths, of nine to fifteen years of age, in the Komsomol have been rallied to expand the plowing of virgin soil and wasteland! Clearly, in present-day Soviet economy, slave labor is a far more vital factor than the enthusiasm of the average worker and peasant. But even among the millions in the slave labor camps, active unrest is rising, as was shown in last year's heroic strike of the Vorkuta miners in Russia's bleakest Arctic region.

In Hungary, Czechslovakia, Romania and the other satellites, the crisis of agriculture is also acute and the shortages and difficulties surrounding industry are numerous. Here the critical economic situation and falling standards of life and labor have been aggravated by Soviet looting and expropriation for feeding the Kremlin's military machine.

4. To eliminate or at least allay the widespread and deeply-rooted discontent in the satellite countries, to imbue them with a feeling of hopelessness and futility in resisting Soviet exploitation and Communist oppression, to give these people a feeling that they have been neglected and betrayed by the world outside the Iron Curtain, the Kremlin has taken a number of important measures. It has begun to discontinue its previous policy of promoting industrialization of its European satellites; it has instead begun to weld these countries to the Soviet economy. This is Communist colonialism and colonization in the heart of Europe.

5. Simultaneously, Moscow has accelerated its drive to strengthen its own world prestige by widening the base of Soviet operations and enhancing the influence of world Communism. This accounts for the intensified Kremlin campaign to include Communist China in the U.N. and among the big powers. This explains Moscow's recent special efforts to extend its influence in the New World (as a force against the United States) by building a Soviet bridgehead in Latin-America (Guatemala) and by developing extensive commercial and intimate cultural relations with the Peron dictatorship. This is the motivating force of Moscow's stepped-up campaign to "neutralize" Germany and keep it defenseless, so that it can be easily forced into the Soviet orbit. Were the Kremlin to succeed in these maneuvers, it would dominate all Europe and Asia and harness all the manpower and material resources of the two continents against whatever would then be left of the free world.

CHALLENGE AND MENACE TO THE FREE WORLD

The over-riding question of our age is: Will the non-Communist world react soundly and in time to the challenge of Communism and the menace of Soviet imperialist aggression? Will it resort to *total rearmament*—economic, political, social, and moral as well as military—to meet the challenge and defeat the threat? Will it be united, able, and ready to exploit and expand the difficulties, divisions, and perils besetting the Soviet Empire? Or will it be fooled by Moscow and help the U.S.S.R. overcome the disastrous consequences of the economic and political pol-

icies of totalitarian Communism by expanding trade with and extending credit to the Iron Curtain rulers? Will the free world help Moscow strengthen and streamline its huge military machine and aid Peiping to build a new Communist military juggernaut on the Chinese mainland?

The choice before the free world need not be between immediate war against or outright (or continued) submission to the Soviet dictatorship. The free world can develop a positive overall program to unite its forces, help the colonial peoples secure national freedom and democracy, advance the living standards of the people outside the Communist orbit by increasing their purchasing power and productivity and make it militarily too costly for Soviet aggression. Such a program would help keep alive the flame and strengthen the forces of freedom in the totalitarian world, foster a separation of the peoples from their oppressive regimes, and make it harder for the Moscow-Peiping warlords to resort to aggression and war.

However, the free world must, first of all, avoid being entrapped by the present Soviet strategy which aims to get extensive material aid from the democracies in order to overcome the Communist orbit's political difficulties and economic weaknesses. To avoid such entrapment, the non-Communist countries must never forget that though Moscow's tactics may now and then change, these tactics are *at all times* bound together by a single purpose and directed toward the one goal—the promotion of Soviet power for domination of the world under the banner of totalitarian Communism. The Muscovite goal of totalitarian world domination is incompatible with the very existence, let alone the progress, of the free world. Any free world policy which aids the Communists in achieving this goal is destructive of freedom, human dignity and decency, and genuine social progress.

A. "Reducing International Tension"

To the Moscow-Peiping Axis, the reduction of international tension means the reduction, the slackening, or the cessation of democratic resistance to Communist subversion and aggression. For the democracies, the reduction of international tension can be attained only when its causes are removed—only when the aggressors drop their policies and practices of subversion and aggression and begin to return the loot they have grabbed and begin to restore the freedom they have destroyed. Otherwise, all Soviet talk about reducing international tension is only a smokescreen behind which the gains of past aggression can be consolidated and the plans for future aggression hidden. Such a smokescreen might well serve as a cover for maneuvering the democracies into indorsement and support of the destruction of the national independence and human rights of many millions of people. To fall for such maneuvers is to hasten the day of Communist enslavement of the entire world.

To accept the Kremlin's conception of reducing international tension

is to enable the Soviet warlords to disarm the free world, divide its ranks, deprive it of all initiative, and destroy its capacity to resist and defeat Communist aggression. The Soviet aim is to enter into agreements only on its own terms and to utilize such "agreements" for the purpose of delaying or paralyzing united action by the democracies for peace and freedom. Moscow will permit our diplomats to wag their tongues at conferences as long as such sessions tie the hands of the democracies.

The Communists' strategy in conferences is simple: They hold what they grabbed—as beyond negotiations. They proceed to make new impossible demands for more. When they veer away the slightest from their impossible demands, they cry that they have made concessions and insist that it is now the democracies' turn to make concessions to them—actually to compensate them with genuine and generous concessions for their fraudulent ones. Through this technique, the Communists use international conferences as a forum for broadcasting insults, for solidifying their own ranks and rallying new support for themselves. At such sessions, the Communists do not really negotiate with the representatives of the free nations but talk over their heads and against them to the "masses." The Communists use the platform of international conferences for beclouding issues rather than clearing the atmosphere.

It is a tragic farce to talk of "peace through negotiations" while the shooting continues. If such talk were at all sincere, cease fire orders would have to precede every conference instead of being bought and paid for at its sessions and attained after their adjournment. The machinery set up by such conferences for settling issues cannot serve the cause of peace, for Moscow always plants in the "neutral commission" a Communist representative with veto power—a practice which is contrary to U.N. procedure for special commissions (Korea). Conferences held under such circumstances do not restrain the aggressors but only the victims of aggression.

Negotiations with the Soviet Union should be primarily through the permanent diplomatic agencies of the respective governments and the United Nations. The democracies should never enter into any special conferences with Moscow unless and until they first have basic agreement among themselves and machinery for giving life to such agreement. Otherwise, negotiating with Moscow will merely provide it with opportunities to divide and weaken the free nations and prepare the ground for the final Communist assault on the democratic world.

B. Co-existence—Communist Theory and Practice

The history of the Communist dictatorship shows that it seeks co-operation with non-Communist nations only if and when it needs such co-operation and when co-operation can be secured, in such a form or on such a basis, as will aid the Kremlin in advancing its goal of world

domination. This is the aim and game of the Communist strategy of co-existence. In an address to the Moscow Party Nuclei Secretaries, Lenin stated frankly on November 26, 1920: "As soon as we are strong enough to defeat capitalism as a whole, we shall immediately take it by the scruff of the neck. . . . As long as capitalism and socialism exist, we cannot live in peace; in the end, one or the other will triumph—a funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism." (Selected Works, Vol. VIII, pp. 282-297).

Because of the enormous growth of Communist power since the above course was charted by Moscow, the peace ingredient in the Kremlin "co-existence" strategy is today smaller than ever. If the Soviet rulers were at all serious or sincere in their "co-existence" talk, they would first of all call off completely all Communist activities outside their Iron Curtain orbit. These activities aim at subverting, overthrowing, and replacing governments with which the U.S.S.R. is supposed to be at peace and with which it may even have special treaties of friendship—like the Sino-Soviet Friendship Pact of 1945. Moscow has to meet this absolutely necessary prerequisite before the policy of "co-existence" can have the slightest substance to it. Common sense, if nothing else, demands that the Kremlin discontinue all activities against the existence of those with whom it seeks co-existence. If Moscow were in earnest, it would, first of all, order and assure the liquidation of all Communist parties and agencies, outside the Soviet orbit. Moscow knows how and whom to liquidate when it really wants to do so.

All Communist activities, fomented, financed, and directed by Moscow, are a form of indirect Soviet aggression. The history of the U.S.S.R. shows that while preaching "co-existence," the Kremlin practices the opposite and resorts to a special form of indirect or by-proxy aggression against the very people who accept its preachments in good faith and, therefore, reduce their vigilance and means of self-defense. Thus does the Kremlin use forces (Communists and their fellow-travellers) inside Korea, France, Italy, India, United States, Britain or Germany (1) to extend its influence and power in order to subvert the authority and sap the strength of those governments which refuse to become the puppets or partners of the U.S.S.R. or (2) to establish inside a particular country a fifth column strong enough to wage open civil war for overthrowing the legitimate government and replacing it with a quisling-type regime. This is exactly what has happened to the once-free and independent Republics of Czechoslovakia and China.

Such subversive activities aim to secure "an internal coup d'etat or a political change favorable to the aggressor." That such activities are a form of indirect aggression was recognized by Molotov himself in 1939. While the Kremlin was still negotiating with Britain and France (and before Stalin decided that a deal with Hitler would be better for the interests of Soviet power and Communism), Molotov, in an annex to the treaty he wanted London and Paris to sign, demanded that the two

democracies should also pledge themselves to come to the aid of the Soviet regime "in the case of direct or *indirect aggression*, that is to say, an internal coup d'etat or a political change favorable to the aggressor." London was then prepared to fight, even in case there was "a political change favorable to the aggressor" in those countries allied with Britain or in the event any such government "considers that it is obliged to defend the independence and neutrality of the state."

Had the United States and Britain subsequently adhered to the course urged by Moscow—when it was afraid its dictatorial regime would collapse under the hammer blows of another totalitarian dictatorship—China would today be free and independent and world peace and freedom would be far more secure. But to the Kremlin dictatorship co-existence pacts are only different paths to subversion and domination.

Lest we forget, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania once were privileged "to enjoy co-existence" with the U.S.S.R. under the shelter of a treaty of mutual aid and protection. Today, these former Baltic Republics enjoy the co-existence of the cobra and its victim—with the victim securely inside the boa constrictor.

Those who now worship at the altar of the idol of "co-existence" would do well to ask themselves: What form will the "co-existence" take? Between Russia and the Ukraine both of whom are in the U.N.? Between Moscow and Warsaw? Between Moscow and Riga? Between Moscow and Peiping? Or between Russia and the "sovereign" government of Pankow? The choice or preference they envisage in this instance is of the greatest importance to world freedom and peace.

No doubt, Moscow would prefer to achieve world domination without costly and risky warfare. Hitler also preferred to impose Nazi world domination without going to war. Hitler also cried "peace" and "co-existence" with France while he was planning to wage war against her. Let us never forget that all dictatorships are adept in employing high-sounding phrases for covering their low-down deeds.

C. Towards A New Locarno?

In this light, the free nations should reject all proposals for a "Locarno" (1925) type of co-existence treaty with the Soviet-Peiping Axis. A "New Locarno" would, even if it worked, divide the world into definitely delineated spheres of influence for two power blocs. Such big power arrangements bar freedom and breed war. Besides, even if the Moscow and/or Peiping dictatorships do sign a non-aggression pact, their hands will not, thereby, be tied and their hordes hobbled and immobilized against further aggression in Asia or Europe. Policies rooted in such illusions are not realistic—unless self deception and national suicide be regarded as the height of realism. The grave danger today is that the free nations may be willing to appease the Moscow-Peiping Axis at the expense of the smaller countries on its perimeter which are too weak to defend themselves (Indo-China).

If this danger can be avoided, it should provide favorable conditions for the solution of the other problems. But as long as this danger remains, world tension will be intensified and a satisfactory solution of the other problems will be impossible. With the Communist victory in Indo-China, its national independence and the prospects for its people enjoying democracy have been dealt mortal blows. Not even the "New Locarno" advocates believe that the cruel terms imposed by the Moscow-Peiping Axis in the Geneva "compromise" of delineating parallels will promote and protect the security and national freedom of Burma, Malaya, and Thailand. It is not so easy to appease and satisfy the Communist imperialist appetite in Asia. It has been impossible to satisfy its expansionist appetite in Europe—even after Moscow gobbled up Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Albania and Eastern Germany. No piece of paper or parchment pledging the Communists not to engage in further aggression is worth anything as a guarantee for peace. Peaceful countries need not pledge that they will not resort to aggression. Even to imply aggressive motives for any of the present allies is to provide the Kremlin with some justification for its own post-war aggressions to date. Such a pledge, as part of a "New Locarno" pact, would merely put another propaganda weapon into the hands of the Communist slanderers who, of course, never admit that they themselves ever can or do commit aggression.

History does not bear out the notion that the Iron Curtain Empire is aggressive today, is not carrying out its treaty obligations, because it is afraid of attacks by the democracies. In fact, history shows the very opposite to be true. Fear has been a force for Soviet compliance with, rather than contempt for, treaties it has signed. The only important treaty Moscow has ever carried out faithfully is the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939. The Kremlin did so because it was afraid of Nazi military might. But the very moment there was a recession or an absence of fear in the Kremlin, it treated its pacts as scraps of paper and turned to aggression. Thus did Moscow honored its treaty with Nazi Germany, but dishonored and tore to pieces its treaties with Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, China and its 1945 Potsdam pledge to help Italy gain admission to the U.N. For Communists, treaties are mere pieces of paper—covers for and not barriers to further aggression.

The proposed "New Locarno" pact would seek to guarantee the existing boundaries. The democracies would have to assume and share the moral responsibility for, and the political and military support of, the territorial and other crimes perpetrated by the Communist aggressors against the people of Germany, Finland, Japan, the Baltic Republics, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Balkans, Tibet, Indo-China and other lands. Such guarantees make for more aggression and war rather than for freedom and peace. Besides, the world situation in 1954 is altogether different from what it was in 1925 when Germany was a non-aggressor democracy. Today both Russia and Communist China are totalitarian

aggressors. The very moment that Germany became a totalitarian aggressor—like Moscow and Peiping are today—Hitler repudiated Locarno as a peace pact. If the world situation were so idyllic as to induce the stronger 1954 totalitarian aggressors to honor diplomatic non-aggression pledges, to do what their weaker predecessors refused to do before World War II, there would be no need today for promises to guarantee peace in the abstract. The democracies certainly have no reason to believe that the Communist aggressors are better than their comparatively puny Nazi-Nipponese predecessors whose ambitions were more limited.

No non-aggression pact with the Kremlin or its puppets or partners would insure or aid the security of any free people. Nor would it be a sound reason for arms reduction. Of course, every avenue to peace should be explored—provided all subversion of other countries, all oppression of free peoples, and all shooting ceases. Otherwise, there can be no exploring peace in good faith. Otherwise, the Communists will be exterminating the weaker peoples and destroy the possibility of peace while we explore its prospects.

D. Trade With Soviet Orbit?

Those who have great faith in the Kremlin's "new look" advocate the expansion of trade with and credits to the U.S.S.R. They contend that, as a result of such trade, the post-Stalin regime will lose its ardor for Communist subversion and aggression. They do not see that such economic aid by the democracies will only help Malenkov alleviate the adverse consequences of the false Communist political and economic policies. Supplying the Soviet empire with consumers' "non-strategic" goods would help the Kremlin stabilize its economy and strengthen its dictatorship. Even if such trade could be limited strictly to consumers' goods, even if it were possible to draw a clear distinction between strategic goods and non-strategic goods, the importation of these supplies would make it possible for the Soviet rulers to devote more of their own economic resources to producing armaments for further Communist military aggression.

The policy of doing business as usual—and even more—with Communist China is based largely on the false hope that the democracies can separate Peiping from Moscow by helping Mao Tse-tung ease the disastrous consequences of his mistaken economic policies and by helping him build a still more powerful military machine. The logic of such reasoning is that the free nations could separate Ho Chi-Minh from Peiping and Moscow and win him to their side by helping him extend his sway over all Vietnam and neighboring Laos and Cambodia.

Those who entertain such sanguine hopes for big profits and political dividends from trade with the Iron Curtain empire overlook another very important fact. In the totalitarian world trade—foreign as well as domestic—is a state monopoly. It is a political operation and weapon rather than a commercial relationship. It is harnessed to the needs of ag-

gressive foreign policy. It is not bound by the rules and procedures of international commerce and finance but by the aims and interests of Communist subversion and aggression. Trade with the Iron Curtain orbit can as demonstrated in Italy, even serve as a means of financing the Communist conspiracy for the expropriation and extermination of the very business groups engaged in Soviet export and import transactions.

The possibilities of trade with the Soviet orbit have been greatly exaggerated. The British Trades Union Congress has aptly said: "East-West trade has often been a propaganda issue rather than a business proposition." Its special study of "Trade Unions and East-West Trade" has also stressed that "Soviet wheat cost in 1952, fifty per cent more than Canadian and Australian wheat and forty per cent more than United States wheat, and Soviet maize cost eighteen per cent more than United States maize." (June 1953)

The Communist dictatorships do not have the goods the free world wants in return for its merchandise. Russia has pillaged the satellites and has welded their economies to the Soviet industrial machine so that they have ever less to offer. This is confirmed by the declining export trade of Eastern Europe for the first nine months of last year. Indeed, the entire Soviet bloc is no paradise of peaceful trade. Free world exports to the Iron Curtain area have declined from $1,700,000,000 in 1951 to $1,300,000,000 in 1953—despite the gigantic propaganda campaign for such trade in London, Paris, Moscow, Peiping, and other capitals.

Our country should recognize that the problem of foreign trade plays a different role in an economy like Britain's than in ours. Britain is dependent on overseas commerce for about thirty per cent of its annual income. The United States is dependent on foreign commerce for only about ten per cent of its national income. Surely the people of the free world have the ingenuity and the resources to devise ways and means of replacing the Communist market or compensating our allies for losses they might incur by not trading with the Soviet orbit. No matter how much this would cost, it would be insignificant in comparison with the price the free world will pay if it engages in commercial and financial dealings which aid the Soviet orbit to repair its hard-hit economy, escape the wrath of its suffering people, and strengthen its sinews of aggression and war.

E. Discontent in the East—Disunity in the West

The lack of clarity of purpose and unity of action in the free world has been painfully evidenced at the Geneva Conference. The confusion, hesitation and division in the democratic camp have come at a particularly untimely moment—at a moment when the Kremlin was thereby greatly aided to escape the costly consequences of widespread and often acute discontent in its satellite lands. The democracies have not been able to exploit this discontent and dissension, these strains and stresses in the Soviet "paradise," for furthering the cause of peace and free-

dom. Because of unclarity and differences in their own ranks, the democracies have gotten themselves into a situation enabling the Moscow-Peiping Axis to exercise vigorous initiative and score great successes in the international arena. This deterioration in the position of the free world has resulted primarily from differences over policy towards Germany and Communist China.

F. Whither Germany—and the E.D.C.

Though the European Defense Community Pact (E.D.C.) was conceived in France, one French cabinet after another has found or invented excuses for delaying or blocking its adoption. Despite all its shortcomings, which we have time and again pointed out, the adoption of the E.D.C. has become an essential measure of allied determination to break with and overcome the prejudices and enmity engendered by the past Franco-German conflicts and to foster instead a Franco-German rapprochement as the best foundation for the greater unity, collective security and peace of free Europe. Moscow was always fully aware of the significant political, even more than the military, implications of the E.D.C. It left no stone unturned in its efforts to put roadblocks in the path of its adoption.

Here we must distinguish symbol from substance. If not the E.D.C., then some other way must be found to solidfy the West German democracy with the free nations. The failure of the various French governments to ratify the E.D.C. to date never should have been permitted to serve as an excuse for delaying an accord with the Federal German Republic granting Germany equality of status and genuine independence in its domestic and foreign affairs. These delays have played into the hands of Moscow and the apostles of reaction who are the main advocates of Russo-German collaboration and the best allies and aides of Soviet imperialism among the German people. The recent anti-western and pro-Russian declarations of German politicians like Luther, Bruening, Rauschning and Pfleiderer and the desertion of Dr. John to the Pankow puppets, lay bare the dangerous turn of events caused, in no small measure, by the hesitation, wavering and ineptitude of the Allied treatment of the German problem.

The democracies have lost ground, despite the fact that they have been the champions of German national reunification in freedom and have not sought to saddle the German people with crushing armament burdens. Allied inaction has given the Kremlin numerous openings for destructive maneuvers. It has provided the soil for false notions in some German democratic circles about the possibility of aiding the cause of German national reunification in freedom through conferring with Moscow over its so-called European collective security scheme. It has strengthened those who are prisoners of the illusion that the national reunification of the German people in freedom can be achieved through

the "neutralization" of Germany to be honored by the U.S.S.R. and the democracies.

Our country and its associated democracies need not put in the background their efforts to secure a German contribution to the defense of peace and freedom when they put much more sharply in the foreground their sincere and strong advocacy of German national reunification in freedom through free elections supervised by the U.N. Here we face no problem of priority; the two measures are mutually helpful. Though Moscow is in a military and political position to block German national unification in freedom, it is in no position to prevent the adoption of E.D.C. or some other method of attaining its basic objective.

Moscow has stubbornly refused to accept internationally supervised free elections in all of Germany. It knows that such elections would lead to the realization of a free, unified, democratic Germany. Determined to subvert and suppress democracy where it now exists, the Kremlin does not dare enter into any arrangement which would result in its losing to the free world an area now under Communist dictatorship (East Germany). With the Soviet rulers this is a matter of life-and-death principle on which they make no compromise, regardless of their maneuvers to befuddle the democratic nations.

Here is the key to basic Soviet policy not only in Germany but also in North Korea where it did everything to perpetuate the arbitrary division of the country—as long as it could not force all of it under a Communist dictatorship. This is what the Russian warlords are now seeking in their drive for their brand of German "unification." In this connection, it is instructive and appropriate to recall what the United Nations Commission on Korea reported in September 1950:

> "... It has been impossible for a Commission of the United Nations to cross the parallel to supervise or to assist in the holding of free and independent elections in North Korea, or even to ascertain whether the frequently vaunted claims of the North Korean authorities to possess already a more truly democratic form of government are borne out by facts. ...
>
> "Part of the policy of aggression was the initiation of a deceptive drive for unification by peaceful means. This drive began, early in June 1950, with an appeal for a joint conference of delegates from democratic political parties and from social organizations of South and North Korea. The appeal was launched by the Democratic Front for the Attainment of Unification of the Fatherland and would appear to have had more aims than one. ...
>
> "Had internationally-supervised elections been allowed to take place in the whole of Korea, and had a unified and independent Korea thereby come into existence, the present conflict would never have arisen."

This Commission was headed by Anup Singh (India), chosen for the task by none other than Prime Minister Nehru. Its report is the most effective exposure and refutation of the Soviet "unification" maneuvers for Germany—particularly of Moscow's fraudulent European collective security scheme.

The Pankow regime, for which Moscow is desperately seeking equality of status with the democratic Bonn government in order to foist upon Germany a Lublin formula, has been imposed on the people of East Germany by Russian bayonets and tanks. This was dramatized before the entire world by the heroic revolt of the German workers on June 17, 1953. The people of this zone would gladly join with their compatriots in Western Germany once this Russian Communist yoke were lifted. They have a passionate longing for unity and independence in freedom. It is up to democratic German labor to take the leadership in defeating this Moscow strategy, for its application in the heart of Europe can lead only to what it led in Korea. Such leadership by German labor will serve it handsomely in its struggle against the reactionary trends recently evidenced in Germany—the increasing power of Big Business which has big illusions about Russian trade and partnership, and proposals to restrict the right to strike whenever workers seek to redress legitimate grievances over low wages.

Our country should lose no time in according democratic Germany full and real, rather than the restricted, national sovereignity provided for by the Contractual Agreement. Similarly, our government should take the initiative in putting into life the new Occupation Statute for Berlin (May 26, 1952) in urging the admission of Berlin to the Federal Republic, and in convincing the Bonn government to provide this great island of freedom in the sea of Soviet slavery with the credits and trade its economy so sorely needs.

Vigorous Allied pressure should likewise be brought to bear on the Russian Occupation Authority for motor and railroad, like air, transport between the Federal Republic and Berlin not being subject to controls. Uncontrolled transport and traffic between West Germany and Berlin and between West Germany and the Soviet Zone are no mere technical or narrow commercial questions, but a vital issue touching the very heart, involving the bloodstream of free and normal relations among the German people.

G. Communist China—Aggressor Against U.N.

When the western powers agreed at Berlin last February to hold a conference at Geneva, with Communist China represented as a principal for considering the crises in Korea and Indo-China, they erred grievously. Thereby, they played into the hands of the Soviet rulers who saw in this arrangement a splendid opportunity for bringing their Chinese junior partner into the center of internatioal affairs, for advancing their strategy of pushing Communist China into the U.N., for deepening differences between the United States and its allies over the Chinese problem, and for shaking the western alliance so profoundly as to weaken seriously democratic unity and collective security in Europe as well as Asia. This costly allied error was aggravated by the failure of the

democracies to prepare even a definite agenda and rules of procedure, let alone a common policy, for the Geneva Conference.

At their sharpest point, the present differences among democracies are over Communist China and its admission into the U.N. These differences are organically bound up with the basic evaluation of the Soviet Union and the role of the Moscow-Peiping Axis in the world crisis. The proponents of putting Mao Tse-tung into the U.N. base their position on a number of untenable assumptions: they tell us that: (1) once the Peiping regime is in the U.N., it will be conciliatory and co-operative; (2) it will then separate itself from or even clash with Moscow. They argue that it is not Communist truculence and aggression which brought on the Korean war, but Mao Tse-tung's absence from the U.N. that forced him into the Korean war and made this "peaceful peasant reformer" an aggressor, much against his theories and desires.

Of course, Communist China is not a Soviet puppet like Roumania. It is too big for that. But the Communist Chinese regime was born at the mouth of the Russian cannon. Mao Tse-tung has always emphasized loyalty to Russian Communist leadership and its world aims. This emphasis reflects his fundamental Communist principles and not formal diplomatic politeness to a neighboring country. On the last anniversary of Stalin's death, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, which holds all power in its hands, proclaimed that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was "the most progressive, most experienced, and theoretically best equipped party in the world." Mao Tse-tung consistently affirms that his theories are but "a creative development of Stalin's teaching." Peiping's theoretician, Chen Yun, has declared that Stalin has "freed the European and Asian people from the threat of Fascist enslavement," so that today "the chain of peoples' democracies, from China and Korea to Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary, stand around the Soviet Union, forming the mighty camp of peace, democracy, and socialism."

Moscow flagrantly violated the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance which it solemnly signed on August 14, 1945. The U.N. is in possession of unchallengeable documentary evidence convicting Moscow of imposing on the Chinese people the Communist dictatorship which is among the most cruel of despotisms in all history.

The Peiping regime *represses rather than represents* the Chinese people. Despite its "effective control" through slaughtering millions, imprisoning and forcing into slave labor many more millions, and wiping out every semblance of human and democratic rights, the Peiping usurpers' regime does not dare hold even a Communist type of election, even a fraudulent national plebiscite of the "Peoples' Democracy" brand. So much "effective control" does Mao Tse-tung have over the people of China that he has completely and conveniently forgotten about the pledge he gave to the Chinese nation before he seized power. *"We even agree to submit to a democratic decision of the people of the whole coun-*

try the question of whether the Soviet system of society is to be adopted by the whole of China or not." (Letter to the All-China National Salvation League, 1937). Foreign labor delegations and commercial profit-seekers visiting Communist China would make a contribution to world peace and freedom if they could succeed in having Mao Tse-tung make good on this pledge. That would provide a real test and genuine proof of Mao Tse-tung's "effective control" they offer as an argument for admitting the Chinese Communist dictatorship into the U.N.

To date, the only chance the Chinese people have had to express themselves in line with Mao Tse-tung's broken pledge was in Korea. Here the overwhelming majority of the Chinese war prisoners—polled by an International Commission of which Polish and Czecho-Slovak Communists were members—voted overwhelmingly (14,000 out of 21,000) not to return to their homeland where they would be forced to live under "the Soviet system of society."

The attack from North Korea on June 25, 1950, could never have come without Russian direction and Moscow-Peiping support and participation. This attack was part of the Communist program for the conquest of all Asia and world domination. This plan had nothing to do with the moods, manners, or sensitivities of the Chinese Communist leaders as individuals. In this plan Communist China was deeply involved and, as Korea's neighbor, it was bound to play a paramount role—especially because of its vast manpower. Since the Korean armistice, Peiping has blocked every attempt to bring peace and national unity in freedom to all the people of Korea. It has shown continuous contempt for the U.N. by trampling upon this armistice, by shifting hordes of its so-called People's Volunteers and vast military supplies to the battlefields of Indo-China for enlarged and embittered warfare.

This conduct is no qualification for Peiping membership in the U.N. Membership in the U.N. for those who have contempt for it and wage war against it can only hurt the U.N.; it can never reform or improve the guilty aggressor enemy of the U.N. The experience of the U.N. with other totalitarian dictatorship regimes in its fold confirms this. There is nothing about the Peiping regime which proves that it is in accord with or ready to support the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter.

Neither the freedom of India, Indonesia and the other non-Communist neighbors of Peiping, nor the status of Hong Kong and Malaya, will be aided by a policy which lends world prestige, legal recognition, and economic and military aid to the aggressive Mao Tse-tung dictatorship in firm partnership with Moscow. Any agreement calling for enlarged trade with Communist China is bound to wipe out every pretense at distinguishing between strategic and non-strategic merchandise. This would mean that the democracies would be providing Peiping with resources for building a military machine powerful enough to destroy all free nations in Asia.

The case of Communist China is not comparable to Tito's small and poor Yugoslavia. Communist China is potentially a giant military power, capable of, and already shown to be eager for, aggressive expansion. Its admission to the United Nations would only strengthen the hands of the Soviet Union in the U.N. and make its destructive role therein still more dangerous to the cause of peace and social progress. Those who clamor so loudly for the admission of Communist China to the U.N. and for according it diplomatic recognition must believe in miracles, if they think that such a policy will strengthen the United Nations as an instrument of peace, democratic and human rights. Let those who earnestly desire such improvement of the U.N. instead divert their enthusiasm and energy into securing the admission into the U.N. of those free and democratic countries which are loyal to the principles and charter of the United Nations.

PEACE AND ARMAMENTS

The free world is now at its most critical juncture since the end of World War II. For years after the defeat of the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, it disarmed itself and dismantled the splendid military machine that crushed the Nazis. Throughout this time, the Soviet Union engaged in gigantic rearmament. In order to wage cold war against its World War II allies, the Soviet government, as a *government*, alongside of the Cominform, engaged in open subversion and attempts to overthrow the legitimate state authorities of nations with which it had full diplomatic and official peaceful relations. (Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, China.)

It took the democracies time to realize that their belated ally in the struggle against Hitler aggression was now waging war against them—in some localities with military weapons and everywhere outside the Iron Curtain with all other conceivable means and limitless resources. But there is as yet insufficient realization in the free world that Communist totalitarianism is inseparable from violence and war—whether it be fomenting civil war, waging aggressive foreign war against non-Communist countries, or terror against the peoples within the Soviet orbit.

When the free nations progressed in reconstructing their economies (Marshall Plan) and began to arm in self-defense (NATO), Moscow was enraged. Though the headway made to date by the democracies in rebuilding their defensive strength is still far from adequate, it has, on some occasions, already served to deter Soviet aggression. The Kremlin has, therefore, resorted to all sorts of moves to halt this growth of democratic armed strength, paralyze this trend, to bloc the E.D.C., to smash the NATO and to prevent the organization of any effective machinery for collective security among the free peoples of Asia. In this strategy, Moscow has registered some notable successes. The growth of neutralism and defeatism, the opposition to including democratic Germany on the basis of equality in a free European collective security system, the trend towards slackening the pace of rearmament of the

free nations confirm these Kremlin successes. Moscow's fraudulent "peace" campaigns have fooled many into believing that it sincerely seeks peace and wants to ban atomic weapons while the United States and its democratic associates are against such prohibition.

In the campaign of arch-deception, the Russian dictatorship has had far greater success than even Hitler did prior to Munich in lulling the democracies into a mood of false security. For this success the Soviet rulers are deeply indebted to their worldwide fifth column, the Communist parties and those cooperating with them and their front organizations enjoying all the rights and benefits of democracy.

A. Moscow Prevents Prohibition of Atomic Warfare

In this respect, an examination of the Soviet and democratic positions regarding the atom and hydrogen bomb is most revealing. It was the United States that took the initiative for considering international atomic energy control. At a moment when it was the sole possessor of the atomic bomb, America offered to share its secret and all its atomic resources with other powers. The United States was ready to renounce its enormous military advantage and offered to put all its atomic projects and prowess under airtight international inspection and control. More recently, it was President Eisenhower who came forward with a plan for worldwide joint harnessing of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

On the other hand, it was the Soviet dictatorship which rejected the United Nations Atomic Energy Control Plan on the ground that it would violate national sovereignty. On March 5, 1947, Gromyko rejetced this proposal because it would violate national sovereignty and put the life of the U.S.S.R. under the control of a body whose majority was hostile to her. The Soviet regime apparently does not dare to trust its own people and dreads to have them be in contact even with a very limited number of scientiests from other countries and technicians who would be on the international inspection and control teams. The Soviet game throughout has been to whittle away or destroy whatever advantages other countries possessed in the atomic field. Simultaneously, Moscow blocked and rejected every measure that might delay its own progress in this field—hidden behind the strongest totalitarian barriers.

While the Communist dictatorship shrouds in impenetrable secrecy its own experiments with atomic explosives in the Caucusus and Siberia, it orders its agents and dupes to howl against the United States for its experiments in the Pacific. Pursuing this demagogic course, Foreign Minister Molotov, in his July 25, 1954, note to Britain, France and the United States relative to Moscow's so-called European Collective Security scheme, reaffirmed the stubborn opposition of the Soviet Union to genuine and effective international inspection and control as a means of *really* banning atomic and hydrogen weapons and other instruments of

mass destruction. He hid from the world the fact that Moscow's belated "concession" to advocate a plan for international control vests such authority in the Security Council of the U.N. *where the Soviet Union has veto power. Through this veto power, Moscow would be able to cripple or stop any attempt to secure genuine inspection or effective sanctions against violations.* No matter what move Moscow makes in this field, it always maneuvers to block any sanctions against an offender except after an unanimous vote—thus *giving the offending state the right to veto sanctions against itself.* As long as Moscow clings to this position, the free world must conclude that the Kremlin harbors aggressive intentions and is planning and preparing aggression against the non-Communist countries.

Because of its continuous opposition to genuine international inspection and control and, therefore, to the actual banning and complete prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Soviet Government has, since 1945, rejected every proposal made by the democracies to attain or promote the abolition of atomic warfare. In its determination to prevent the setting up of adequate international control and inspection which cannot be tampered with, blocked, paralyzed or vetoed by any power whatsoever, the Kremlin has rejected even the Eisenhower plan for joint international use of atomic energy for peace purposes. Without strong enforcement machinery, all plans for control and inspection are just scraps of paper and articles of self-deception. Given the totalitarian nature of the Soviet regime, such self-deception would be suicidal for the free nations. Obviously, the Kremlin will stop at nothing to eliminate, or at least limit, the principal defensive military weapon of the democracies against Communist aggression. Were the free nations to fall for this blazing folly, the Moscow-Peiping Axis, with its overwhelming superiority in ground forces and its world-wide fifth column, would not hesitate to plunge mankind into another and more terrible total war for Communist world domination.

Because armed force is the principal weapon for promoting Communism at home and abroad, the Moscow-Peiping Axis and its satellites maintain vast armies and huge war machines. It is the paramount task of the democracies to expose these facts and unmask the hypocrisy and demagogy used by the Communists for hiding this fundamental policy of their movement. The democratic powers can easily show the world that it is they, and not the Soviet Union, who have tried disagreement since the last war and that it is the free nations that are today anxious for genuine disarmament and lasting peace.

The disarmament program of the free nations must be comprehensive and positive to be effective. To be realistic, any disarmament program must be gradual and come in stages. Disarmament can be assured only if it is strictly and effectively controlled and internationally-directed from the very beginning. Soviet opposition to such practical proposals for disarmament and its counter-proposal for an all-around reduction

of armed forces by one third expose the real intention of the Kremlin: to bring about a situation in which the democratic states would have inadequate forces for self defense. A one-third reduction—even if carried out honestly by Moscow and Peiping—would still leave these dictatorships with overwhelming forces. On the other hand, because they have much smaller forces than the Moscow-Peiping Axis has under arms, the free nations would be defenseless and helpless if they were to apply a similar reduction to their still inadequate defense organization. Maneuvering to impose such defenselessness on the free nations, Moscow has rejected their proposal to fix numerical ceilings for the troops of the various powers. These Soviet maneuvers prove that the entire Communist peace campaign is a hoax and a fraud. The urgency of the free nations to redouble rather than relax their vigilance and to build up rather than reduce their defense forces and resources is today greater than ever.

COLONIALISM—MENACE TO PEACE AND FREEDOM

Totalitarian Communism is the enemy of democracy and human dignity in every walk of life and not merely in the field of last resort, the field of armed conflict. This enemy cannot be defeated and uprooted by military means alone. The struggle between democracy and Communist totalitarian dictatorship, is all-embracing and cannot be settled by one type of action alone—regardless of how important that action might be. Positive leadership and action by the democracies to prepare the peoples of the economically underdeveloped areas for full national freedom, to hasten their national sovereignty, to promote their human and democratic rights, to aid them in improving their standards of life and labor are indispensable to the victory of the free world. Unless the democracies pursue such a constructive course, they cannot win to their side, as allies and partners in the present historic struggle, the peoples who still have colonial or semi-colonial status. Unless the democracies win these forces as loyal and courageous allies in the struggle against Communist imperialism, the free world cannot win this fight.

The Communists seek to distort and pervert the legitimate aspirations of these peoples aspiring to national freedom, democracy, and a fuller life. If any democratic power maneuvers to evade the granting of national freedom, the Communists come on the scene and over the threshhold. Under such circumstances, the colonial peoples will fall under the poke of the new and infinitely more dangerous Communist imperialism and become mere slaves and cannon fodder for the Moscow-Peiping war machine. If the tragedy of Vietnam and the disastrous defeat of the democracies at Geneva teach anything at all, this is the most precious lesson. The price the free world has paid to date for its hesitation in breaking with colonialism has been very heavy.

American initiative and world leadership have been hamstrung and badly hurt by our government's policy of overt or covert support of the

colonial interests of our allies. This has made it much easier for the Communists to engage in vicious propaganda against the United States as the promoter and protector of colonialists—at the very moment when Russia itself has become the biggest and most brutal imperialist power in all history. This course, based on expediency, has turned out to be self-defeating especially in Asia and Africa. Our government could not, on the one hand, say we are for the liberation of the European peoples from the Soviet colonial yoke while, on the other hand, it either kept silent or in effect objected to the liberation of the colonies of the Western powers in Asia, North Africa, and in the Western Hemisphere. As long as the United States serves as such a shield for colonialism, America will receive the heaviest Communist blows in all the underdeveloped areas.

At the heart of America's failure to provide effective leadership to the democratic nationalist forces in Asia and Africa is our government's refusal to take the lead, in line with American traditions and ideals, in the struggle against colonialism. This wrong policy was not motivated by any desire to strengthen western colonialism, but by a fear of weakening the power of Britain and France as allies against Soviet aggression. Because of this fear the United States found itself isolated at the recent Inter-American Caracas Conference where the American delegation was alone in voting against the proposal to condemn the continuation of European colonialism in the Western Hemisphere. Otherwise, a positive ad practical substitute resolution would have been offered by the United States delegation. In the United Nations, America has paid an even heavier price in loss of moral influence and prestige because its delegation has not supported the Tunisian and Moroccan democratic nationalist forces who sincerely desire to be our friends and allies.

In becoming a prisoner of this fear, the United States did not strengthen but contributed to the weakening of the fighting potential of our allies. Our government's concessions to colonialism have served to jeopardize not only America's position but also the position of our allies in Europe no less than in the Near East, in Africa, no less than in the Far East. Our surrender of initiative and sacrifice of our country's traditional anti-colonialist position weakened rather than welded America's bond of alliance with Britain and France. Our yielding to Paris and London on this score only encouraged their colonialists to make ever more demands on us for helping them maintain their privileges. Thus, at Geneva, the United States was asked to underwrite an arrangement between the old western colonialists and the new Communist colonialists for the partition of Vietnam. America's refusal to go along with this policy soon served to sharpen the differences with Britain over Communist China.

It is, on the other hand, to the credit of our government that United States influence has been brought to bear to facilitate a settlement of the Suez dispute between Britain and Egypt. This settlement will en-

hance the prestige of Britain as a genuine democracy. It will help remove a major obstacle to better relations between the Arab nations and Israel and to the peoples of this vital area playing their rightful part in resisting Communist aggression.

Our country's interests and the cause of peace and freedom will be best served, if our government, henceforth, deals directly with the democratic authorities in Vietnam rather than through the French colonial administration. At this time, it is most urgent to safeguard the honor and good name of the American people by prohibiting French trans-shipments to North Africa of any United States military equipment already in, or still earmarked for, Vietnam. Under no circumstances should we permit American weapons to be used by French colonialists for terrorizing the democratic nationalist forces.

A. F. of L. AND WORLD AFFAIRS

A. American Foreign Policy

Since the last convention, the A. F. of L. has been alert to the changing and complex international situation. During this period, we have come forward with a number of declarations on foreign policy which have attracted considerable attention at home and abroad.

Our protests against any direct or indirect attempt to weaken the genuinely independent role of the free trade unions of Germany have proved fruitful and won the gratitude of the German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.). Our energetic efforts to aid the heroic workers who revolted against Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Zone of Germany and our continued endeavors to keep alive before the free world the vital significance of the historic events of June 17, 1953, have enhanced the solidarity of world free labor and the fighting spirit of the enemies of totalitarianism on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Cognizant of the dangerous situation in the Near East, President George Meany urged our government "to do everything in its power to have the U.N. proceed vigorously in its efforts to secure an Arab-Israel peace treaty to replace the present precarious armistice." On the occasion of the strike of the oil workers in Saudi Arabia, First Vice President Matthew Woll issued a declaration of A. F. of L. solidarity and urged the Arabian American Oil Co. (ARAMCO) "as an American corporation engaged in enterprises abroad, to act in the spirit of established American policy of recognizing the right of labor to strike and organize . . . into free trade unions and bargain collectively." On February 23, 1954, Chairman Woll of the International Labor Relations and Free Trade Union Committee, wrote Secretary John Foster Dulles in opposition to the American offer of arms to Iraq and Saudi Arabia, because "the governments of Iraq and Saudi Arabia have persisted in violent opposition" to "fundamental American policy" and "to the decisions of the U.N. Security Council and the Charter of the U.N. . . . "

In his testimony before the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy,

President Meany laid down the fundamentals of "a program of international cooperation extending over a period of years and designed to bring to bear the means available to all free nations to the achievement of prosperity." (October 28, 1953.)

To the former victims of dictatorship, President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, declared that "The Unknown Political Prisoner is an inspiring symbol of mankind's best known ideal and most prized goal—human dignity and freedom."

The victory of President Ramon Magsaysay in the Philippines was hailed by the Free Trade Union Committee "as a major blow to Communism that augurs well for democracy in the Far East." Praise was accorded the newly-elected Filipino President for his "noteworthy statement on the rights of labor and the promise to promote freedoms and legal procedures facilitating the growth of a free and powerful labor movement."

On the occasion of President Eisenhower's Proclamation of Human Rights Day (December 10th), we urged the French government "to proclaim a Christmas amnesty for all trade unionists, intellectuals, and other liberty-loving Tunisians and Moroccans imprisoned because of their efforts to further the aspirations of their peoples to free nationhood."

At its February 1954 sessions, the Executive Council adopted a number of policy declarations which received extensive attention both at home and abroad. The statement dealing with the "*United States Pact With Spain*," (which the A. F. of L. opposed) pointed out how urgent it was for "our government to administer the pact in such a manner as to bring the maximum benefits to the people of Spain rather than help the dictatorship which oppresses them and the privileged interests it serves and shelters." The statement specified practical proposals to implement the agreement towards this end.

On the basis of the thorough-going analysis and evaluation of the situation in the Soviet orbit and in the free world, made by President Meany, the Executive Council adopted a "*Program for Peace and Freedom*" which contained a number of new concrete proposals for bolstering the unity of the free nations and dramatizing before the entire world that "America will not disengage itself from its responsibilities of world leadership in a narrow military or strictly economic sense." Special emphasis was placed on the need for "an international conference of all non-totalitarian countries . . . to prepare plans for raising the purchasing power and productive capacities especially among the peoples in the economically underdeveloped areas, for expanding their respective domestic markets, facilitate and expand trade among the free nations, stabilizing prices of the basic raw materials, and for more just international distribution of the natural resources . . ."

On this occasion, Giulio Pastore, General Secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor Unions (C.I.S.L.) addressed the Executive

Council which responded with a statement reaffirming "its solidarity with the dynamic free trade union forces, headed by Pastore" and pledging itself "to do everything in its power to assure continued American support of the democratic forces of Italy."

The open letter addressed by President Meany, on February 5, 1954, to Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, then President of Guatemala, on the crisis precipitated in this Central American Republic by Communist infiltration and Soviet machinations, was well received in the democratic forces and press of Latin America as well as in our country.

Subsequent events have confirmed the correctness of the position taken by the Executive Council at this session in connection with its warning against French appeasement moves at the Berlin Conference. The analysis made by President Meany of the Berlin Conference and the pitfalls and perils which the democracies would face at the Geneva Conference aroused much interest at home and overseas. It suggested positive measures for the democratic powers to follow in order to avoid Communist entrapment and to defeat the aggressionist maneuvers of the Moscow-Peiping Axis. It outlined a sound course for securing a State Treaty for Austria and advancing the national reunification of Germany in freedom and its equality of status in the community of free peoples.

At its May 1954 meeting, the Executive Council issued a statement on the *"Crisis in Asia"* outlining proposals for the U.N. safeguarding the national unity and independence of the Associated States of Indo-China, for implementing the complete national sovereignty of the Vietnamese and proving that "democracy and not Communism can help meet their needs," for building a collective security system in Asia and assuring United States initiative and mobility of action in the critical situation.

During the decisive stage of the Anglo-Egyptian Suez negotations, Vice President Woll strongly urged our government to do its all to secure the elimination of every vestige of colonialism and a just and friendly settlement.

In response to his plea of June 9, 1954, to Secretary of State Dulles for the American government to use its "full influence and authority" to secure the liberation of "the courageous fighters for democracy and trade unions" in Spain, the State Department assured us that it was "taking every opportunity to make its support of civil rights clear."

At the conclusion of the Geneva Conference, the Free Trade Union Committee, in line with the policy of our last convention and subsequent reaffirmations by the Executive Council and its International Labor Relations Committee, issued a comprehensive statement on *"Why Communist China Should Not Be Admitted to the United Nations."* This statement was timely and helpful in pointing out that, on the basis of the policies, decisions and Charter of the U.N. and because of its own origin, nature, and practices, the Mao Tse-tung regime should not be admitted into the United Nations.

In all of these undertakings to have American labor make a constructive and significant contribution to the development of an effective democratic American foreign policy, the Executive Council has had the full and energetic collaboration of the International Labor Relations Committee and the Free Trade Union Committee working under its guidance.

B. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

We have sought to lend a sense of urgency and direction not only in the evolution of American foreign policy but also in the policies and activities of the world body of free labor—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, (I.C.F.T.U.), with which we are affiliated. It has been our conviction that, in the final instance, the present world crisis involves a struggle for the minds and hearts of the many millions of the plain people. Whether the forces of peace and freedom or totalitarian Communism and aggression will win, will be decided, in large measure, by the men in the factories and on the farms. Our hope is that the I.C.F.T.U. will become a most powerful force for rallying the working people to protect and promote their standards of life and labor and for becoming the driving force in resisting and defeating social injustice and reaction of every stripe, in defending and extending human liberty and peace now most gravely menaced by the Communist brand of totalitarianism.

In this spirit, the A. F. of L. has sought to help the I.C.F.T.U. and some of its weaker affiliates—especially in economically underdeveloped countries and in colonies whose people are actively striving for national freedom—to overcome the ravages of poverty and war and to prevent and defeat Communist infiltration and domination of the free trade union movement. Through our representatives in the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U. (Brothers Meany, Woll, Brown), we have contributed to the development of policy. We have participated in various I.C.F.T.U. missions as members of delegations or as its representatives. We have consistently sought to have the I.C.F.T.U. function in a vigorous manner, taking clear-cut, unmistakable, positions on vital questions like national freedom, colonialism, better living standards, unemployment, social security, totalitarian subversion and aggression, and world peace.

A. F. of L. insistence on unswerving opposition to reaction and company unionism of every sort has aroused the most bitter hostility of the Kremlin rulers who run the so-called World Federation of Trade Unions as an instrument of the Soviet Foreign Office and its various Russian Communist espionage agencies. These leaders of the Communist conspiracy have, therefore, singled out the A. F. of L. as the main target of their attacks in their press and radio throughout the world. Our energetic initiative in seeking to rally world free labor against the menace of slave labor spreading from the Iron Curtain empire, our efforts to have the I.C.F.T.U. organize a worldwide campaign to boycott slave-labor-made goods, and our determination to protect the I.L.O.

against Soviet subversion have dealt heavy blows to the international Communist conspiracy.

The A. F. of L. is proud of having won the bitter opposition of these deadly enemies of bona fide free trade unionism. The frequent and frantic Communist condemnations of the A. F. of L. prove that our activities hurt these foes of human dignity and democracy and that we should, therefore, redouble our efforts in behalf of genuine free trade unionism, democracy and peace. Such redoubled effort on our part is all the more urgent today because the W.F.T.U. is now making an extensive and energetic campaign to bore into the ranks of free labor and to sow confusion and division in its fold through hyprocritical propaganda for so-called international free trade union unity and "united front" activities between the I.C.F.T.U. and this Kremlin agency. This is an old hoax. It has been tried many times before. But the volume and intensity of the present Communist campaign are so great that the A. F. of L. will be on double guard against it as a dangerous move by Moscow to wreck the unity of free world labor and the very existence of the I.C.F.T.U.

This Communist (W.F.T.U.) strategy is an echo and a Moscow-ordered reflection of Soviet foreign policy in regard to co-existence, expansion of trade relations, big power conferences and negotiations. The A. F. of L. has never been fooled by this Communist strategy in international governmental relations. The A. F. of L. will never be fooled by the latest Moscow maneuvers aimed at confusing, dividing and paralyzing the ranks of international free labor. The current revival of the Communist strategy, employed in the days when the W.F.T.U. was set up, has less chance of success today than it had in the early post-war days when the A. F. of L. was almost alone in categorically resisting and rejecting these Soviet maneuvers in principle.

C. Free Trade Union Committee

The Free Trade Union Committee has participated actively in the various international activities of the A. F. of L.—particularly in the fight against Communist machinations in the international labor movement. The English, French, German and Italian editions of the INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION NEWS have continued to increase their influence in the ranks of world labor as a source of authentic information, analysis and guidance in regard to American labor policy and practice, social and economic developments in the United States and behind the Iron Curtain, and the progress of free labor and democratic nationalism even in the remotest corners of the globe.

At the Geneva Conference, the Free Trade Union Committee appeal to the Chinese and North Korean delegates, in the Chinese language, broke through the Soviet cordon. This plea for freedom stirred considerable interest in Geneva. The special Free Trade Union Committee publication "*Who's Who in Communist China*" and the Chinese translation

of President Meany's instructive analysis of the Berlin-Geneva Conferences proved fruitful in clarifying issues at these fatal conferences. Free Trade Union Committee representative, Harry Goldberg, served competently as INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADE UNION NEWS correspondent at Geneva and was of real help in promoting healthy cooperation especially among democratic Asian spokesmen.

In this period, the Free Trade Union Committee has also done considerable publishing of literature in the Spanish language. Many thousands of Spanish editions of *"Who Is the Imperialist?"* and *"Slave Labor in the Soviet Union"* have been given the widest distribution throughout Latin America. The special pamphlet, in Spanish, of the crisis in Guatemala *"The A. F. of L. and the Democratic Revolution in Guatemala"* met with a most favorable response.

In addition to the above activities, the Free Trade Union Committee of the A. F. of L. has served as a source of information to many labor organizations inquiring about American institutions and conditions. Our Free Trade Union Committee has also served to provide many United States Defense Agencies with literature for sound orientation in the various courses given to army, air and naval forces regarding the Communist menace.

In Italy, Harry Goldberg has rendered valuable aid to the bona fide free trade union forces. His tireless efforts to interpret objectively our country, its labor movement and other democratic institutions to Italian labor and in turn to promote a better understanding by American labor of the problems and difficulties facing the democratic forces in Italy have served to advance mutual understanding and more effective cooperation.

In Japan, Free Trade Union Committee Representative Richard L-G Deverall has rendered valuable assistance to the emerging bona fide free trade union forces. Here the difficulties confronting our representative are numerous and severe, especially as manifested in Communist and pseudo-left domination of vital labor organizations. Our Japanese publication *Rodo Pacificio*, the writings of Richard L-G Deverall on the true nature of Communist China as an arsenal of slave labor and aggression, and his exposé of the Peiping dictatorship's opium smuggling racket to finance Communism and its W.F.T.U. affiliates throughout Asia have met with growing recognition.

In the course of the year, the Executive Secretary of the Free Trade Union Committee, Jay Lovestone, has addressed the Iowa State Federation of Labor Annual Educational Conference and sections of the Council of Foreign Relations in various parts of the country to acquaint them with the numerous activities of the A. F. of L. in the realm of foreign affairs and in the ranks of world labor.

First Vice President Matthew Woll, as Chairman, has addressed many gatherings on the role of the Free Trade Union Committee and its contributions to the A. F. of L. and other free trade union movements

in the common struggle against the menace of Communism and for peace and freedom.

A. F. of L. ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE

Western European economic stabilization has been achieved, although the basic imbalance remains in international trade. This is still covered up by various forms of American aid and restrictions on imports. Furthermore, this stabilization is achieved on a low economic level, so that in many European countries the workers' standards of living are not much higher than in the pre-war years and, in several countries, there is still serious unemployment. This is not to deny the enormous economic and social progress in Western Europe since the end of the war, in which the expenditure of close to 45 billion dollars by the U. S. A. has played an important and strategic role. However, this should not blind us to the fact that there has been no solution of the fundamental disequilibrium of the European economy.

This is illustrated by: (1) Continuing low standards of living for the masses especially in France, Italy, Austria, Greece, Yugoslavia—countries whose population totals 100,000,000 out of a total population of 270,000,000 in the area of Western or non-Sovietized Europe; (2) Continuing deficit as between exports and imports which are covered up by the American aid and procurement, the restrictions of imports, etc.; (3) Unemployment in Belgium, Italy, Greece, Austria and Germany; (4) Lack of housing in many areas, especially in France; (5) Small progress in breaking down tariff barriers between the European nations, continued economic restrictions and cartel arrangements, high profits and luxury production methods of employers, etc., thus contributing to the narrowing of mass purchasing power which is the main cause of the low standards of living on which the European economy operates; (6) Unequal and unjust tax and distributive systems existing in certain countries which not only place an unfair burden on the great masses of workers ad farmers but contribute to the inefficiency and high price levels of many of the national economies.

The trade unions have, more or less, held their ground and in some cases increased their membership and influence. There are over 23,000,000 members in trade unions affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U. in Western Europe, with over 14,000,000 concentrated in two countries—8,000,000 in Great Britain and 6,300,000 in Western Germany. The new siren songs of the Soviets calling for united action between the Communist W.F.T.U. and I.C.F.T.U. unions have fallen to date on deaf ears. However, this unity of the free trade unions against the Soviet maneuvers has been partially weakened at the I.L.O. conference in June, 1954, when some European as well as Asian worker delegates did not follow the policy of the I.C.F.T.U. on contesting the credentials of the Soviets. This breach in the wall of resistance to the Soviet invasion of the Western world cannot be underestimated in spite of the fact that the Western European

labor movement still remains a major bulwark against Soviet penetration and infiltration of the free world.

France: In contrast to the successful, August, 1953, strike, initiated and led by the Force Ouvrière (F.O.) trade unions, especially in the postal, telephone and telegraph industry, the attempt of the Communist C.G.T. to call a general strike on April 28, 1954, was a serious failure. In spite of three months of preparation, the expenditure of tremendous funds on propaganda and organization, and the support received from the Christian trade unions (C.F.T.C.), the workers did not respond. There were less than 500,000 on strike out of a total of over 11,000,000 workers. There were many Communist members and officers who refused to comply with the strike order. This reveals the crisis in the Communist Party not only amongst the members but the lower echelon leaders as well. This strike was opposed by Force Ouvrière, whose leaders denounced the political motives and objectives of the Communists in calling this general strike. The Communists' real objective was and remains to defeat the European Army project and to bring pressure on the foreign policy of the French government in the direction of the appeasement of the U.S.S.R.

The French Communists have recently confessed that their general strike was a failure and have openly admitted to the importance and influence of Force Ouvrière. They have stated quite openly that no strike or united front labor action is possible without the agreement of F.O. In other words, they have finally admitted what has been repeated constantly in the reports of the A.F.L. Representative in Europe concerning the strategic anti-Communist role of F.O. in stopping the Communist Party from obtaining its political objectives in France and thus in Western Europe. This is a confirmation and justification from the enemy of the value and the importance of the continuing support of the A.F.L. and its representatives to our brother trade unionists in the Force Ouvrière organization.

These weaknesses in the labor field are being matched by an internal malaise and crisis in the Communist Party itself. The recent Congress of the Communist Party in France during the month of June revealed a drop in membership from a peak of 900,000 to about 500,000 according to its own official figures. Actually, the membership is not more than 400,000. The fact also that the average age of the membership is higher reflects a declining influence amongst the youth. But this decline in membership plus the internal bickering and friction among the leaders, which has led to expulsions and purges, has not really reduced the Communist electoral strength which still represents about 25 per cent of the voters in France. Although many people have become critical and disillusioned about Russia and the Communist leadership and program, they still do not find a suitable or dynamic alternative in order to register their sense of protest and disgust with the state of affairs and direction in present French society.

On the political side, France continues to show no basic change although the coming to power of Mendes-France represents a new period in postwar France. The real significance of this change lies in the actual recognition and acceptance by France of a policy of retreat and to some degree a policy of appeasement of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. This bodes ill not only for Indo-China and the entire defense of Southeast Asia but has dire implications for the European Army and a United Europe. This fatal change has been reinforced and perhaps made inevitable by America's unwillingness to enter into the defense of Indo-China under the present circumstances. Thus, in spite of our gains and great potentialities on the French labor side, the prospects for Soviet policy in France have brightened.

Benelux: This small but stable group of countries is more than holding its own in a world which puts a premium on big political and economic units. In Belgium, the labor movement scored a major victory in the recent elections and put back into power a Socialist-Liberal coalition. One of the major by-products is the fact that once again Spaak, the outstanding exponent of the United Europe, is back in power and is representing his country as Foreign Minister. The trade unions—especially the F.G.T.B. affiliate to the I.C.F.T.U.—now have a government backed and supported by them. The little Duchy of Luxembourg continues to maintain its high standards although somewhat tarnished by a growth of unemployment especially in steel. This has hurt the democratic labor forces, though they continue to maintain their organizations on a fighting, militant level. In addition, this country has become the center of all activities dealing with the great economic experiment to achieve a united coal and steel community for Europe. The joint trade union bureau of the metal and coal unions and the I.C.F.T.U. is playing a key role in this work and the Luxembourg trade unionists have contributed much.

Holland continues its remarkable recovery in spite of past wars, loss of colonies and recent devastating floods. The economic situation has constantly improved permitting a recent wage increase which was negotiated by the trade unions, especially by the N.B.B. (I.C.F.T.U. affiliated) which now has over 400,000 members and outranks the other unions which are divided into Catholic, Protestant and Communist Federations. The dark side of this picture is the recent flurry which was caused by the intensification of the Church injunction against anyone belonging to the Labor Party and the trade unions under Socialist leadership. This is unfortunate in a country where cooperation amongst democratic and non-Communist trade unions has not only been possible but has been strengthened by their excellent relationships with management. It is this unity of purpose and collective bargaining which has contributed so much to the economic stability and general welfare in spite of the different human and natural catastrophes which have afflicted this country in the past.

Austria: This little country continues to withstand heroically the ravages of being one of the pawns in the cold war of the Soviets. Living dangerously both inside and outside of the Iron Curtain, this small cockpit of Europe has been subjected recently to another reversal of Soviet tactics—back to a toughening-up policy. The failure of the Berlin Conference has also resulted in a firmer attitude on the part of the Austrians who had hoped that some miracle would come out of Berlin. Now, not only has this illusion been blasted but in recent weeks there has been a steady hardening of Soviet policy which has intensified Austrian feelings and reactions.

On the economic side, unemployment has increased especially in the Soviet Zone. This small economy can ill afford such "luxuries" and must look for continuing aid to the West. Reduced assistance from the U. S. A. is complicating the situation and calls for re-examination of American economic policy towards this key Danube country.

The Austrian trade unions as well as the general labor movement continue their progress. Over 1,300,000 members are now in the Austrian Federation of Labor and in the recent Works Council elections the further decline of the Communist Party was registered.

Scandinavia: In spite of Swedish neutral foreign policy and certain reservations in Denmark and Norway concerning military bases, this area of Europe is unquestionably strong in its moral and material preparation to defend a free society against the totalitarian menace.

The trade unions are amongst the strongest in the world, with a membership averaging about 80 per cent to 90 per cent of the working population. Furthermore, they have become more and more welded together in a growing inter-Scandinavian Union which is making vast strides towards a unified economy. Already, there is a single aviation company, dropping of many barriers on customs and visas, economic agreements, etc. And, even though Sweden is not a member of N.A.T.O., there is a growing area of common agreement on military policies which are so vital for the defense of the northern flank of free Europe.

This unity is paralleled in the trade union field where common planning and policy-making between the three trade union federations have been accomplished.

Greece: The General Confederation of Labor has been experiencing grave difficulties in the past year. The A. F. of L. representative has been rendering service to this labor movement; he helped bring about a modus vivendi with the government last year. However, new complications have developed as the unemployment and wage situation remains stationary or in some cases deteriorates. Although much has been done to meet the economic problems of this poor and unfertile country, the Greeks are worse off than any other workers in western Europe. In addition to bad wages and unemployment, housing is abominable and falls far short of the very minimum needs of the people. Aggravating these economic complications, is the attempt of the government to meddle

in the internal affairs of the unions. The Greek trade union leaders accuse the Minister of Labor of attempting to sponsor government-directed and controlled unions.

While these internal conflicts are proceeding, recent political election results show, especially in Salonika, the center of the tobacco area, that the Communists have not only maintained their position but have made important and disquieting gains. It is feared also that the Communists are beginning to make renewed headway in the unions as well. The recent Communist gains in the Port of Piraeus are especially disturbing.

North Africa: This area continues in a state of high tension and terrorism. Fear and terror can be felt everywhere as was testified to by the A. F. of L. representative on his recent trip to Tunisia to address the Congress of the Tunisian Federation of Labor. Violent acts occur almost every day and most people, especially in the smaller towns and villages, refrain from going out at night and stick closely to their homes. There seems to be a pattern developing in which acts of terror bring on retaliation and counter-retaliation.

There is a very good non-Communist labor movement especially in Tunisia, the U.G.T.T. or the General Union of Tunisian Workers. At their recent Congress in July, there were over 500 delegates representing 75,000 workers, coming from all over the country. In spite of police restrictions and the fact that some of them were still detained either in prison or under house arrest, the representation at this Congress revealed a real cross-section of the Tunisian people. There was certainly a good percentage of the youth as well as a small delegation of women workers present. The Congress demonstrated the enthusiasm and dynamism of this movement. The delegates were interested not only in their own affairs but also in the entire international situation. There is a growing disillusionment with the West, and especially with the United States from whom they expected so much.

There was, on the other hand, a certain air of expectancy due to the ascent of Mendes-France to power as the new Prime Minister of the French Government. In his speech of investiture, Mendes-France promised the re-opening of negotiations with the real representatives of Tunisia. The leaders of the Nationalist movement are now looking forward to a possible change in French policy toward their demands for greater national independence. But such a promise is also a threat. If nothing comes from this new French government and all hope of new negotiations is destroyed, then Tunisia will become more and more an armed camp in which the rule of reason and moderation will disappear. Our friends, who stand for a democratic evolution, would then be submerged in this irrational wave of hopelessness and desperation. One could feel the growing admiration and respect amongst different sections of Tunisian society for those who are taking to the sword, even though their basic instincts and inclinations are against such methods.

The decision in North Africa must be taken now or else the free

world will be facing a new Indo-Chinese situation in the months ahead. The resumption of negotiations with the Nationalist movement and the beginnings of the creation of a real independent Tunisia would go a long way towards re-establishing the credit of the Western democracies in the underdeveloped and colonial areas of the world.

A. F. L. European Office in Paris: Through this office in Paris, the A. F. of L. Representative in Europe has continued to render service to the international labor movement, to various national trade union centers, and has participated as a representative of both the A. F. of L. and the I.C.F.T.U. in various conferences of both a governmental and trade union character. A resumé of the activities of the office follows:

(1) Participation in the work of the Executive Board of the I.C.F.T.U., member of leading committees, and member of various missions to different countries; (2) Contact is maintained with hundreds of leading trade unionists and representatives of governments in Europe through conferences and correspondence; (3) Daily files are kept on labor and economic conditions in most of the European countries as well as North Africa and the Middle East. Daily, weekly and monthly newspapers and magazines published in three languages, French, German and English, are followed; (4) Reports are sent to the A. F. of L. on the developments in the European scene with special emphasis on the role of the labor movement; (5) Continued cooperation and assistance are being extended to the East European trade unionists in exile who are continuing their unceasing struggle against all forms of totalitarianism. In addition, a leading role has been played in pushing for the proper follow-up on the events of June 17, 1953, in East Berlin and East Germany; (6) Special activities are carried on in certain key countries where the struggle for free trade unionism still goes on and where the issue is still in doubt. Real progress has been made and comfort and credit can be taken by the A.F.L. and its representatives for the assistance given to these threatened movements and countries; (7) The struggle for freedom in the underdeveloped areas has also been given support and encouragement and has constituted an important factor in preventing the Soviets and their agents from exploiting this issue against the Western world. This is especially true in North Africa and parts of the Middle East.

Finally, the Communist journals and broadcasts throughout Europe and Russia have continued their polemics and have singled out the A. F. of L., more than any other organization, for attack. There is practically no country in Europe where the Communist press has not singled out the work of the American Federation of Labor and its representatives as their main enemy. But in addition to attacking the achievements of the A. F. of L., the Soviets and their stooges have attributed practically everything detrimental to their interest in the world of labor as stemming from the activities of the A. F. of L.

A. F. OF L. ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The Germany and Austria Bureau of the American Federation of Labor has carried on its work since the last convention in the realization that neither Stalin's death, Malenkov's "new look," nor the proposal of some of America's European Allies to offer Russia "peaceful coexistence," have changed or affected the Soviet's determined plan of world conquest and domination one iota.

Since the failure of the Berlin Conference, the proponents of "peaceful coexistence" with Russia have increased their importance. The idea of "coexistence" has not only been adopted by Britain's Conservative and opposition parties but also by some important French, German and Scandinavian political groups.

Your representative for Germany and Austria has carefully explained to trade union and political party leaders, as well as the rank-and-file, the dangers inherent in the wishful acceptance of "coexistence" as a truce in the world's cold war between the democracies and totalitarian Russia.

The A. F. of L. Duesseldorf Bureau has used its good offices not only in negative warnings of Soviet imperialist designs, but also in positive program of assistance to the free trade union movements of Central Europe.

One of our most popular programs remains the distribution of our Free Trade Union Committee's pamphlets. "*Who Is the Imperialist?*" has been listed by German leaders fighting "neutralism" as the best publication in its field. It is being used along with "*Slave Labor Behind the Iron Curtain*" as study material in German universities and even in grade schools. Although over a million copies of these pamphlets have been printed, the supply cannot meet the demand. The articles in the German edition of the "*International Free Trade Union News*," especially those of President Meany and Vice President Woll, have done much to put the issues contained in Guatemala, Asia and North Africa, *i.e.*, in their proper perspective, and have helped materially to stem the tide of anti-Americanism in Europe.

The answer of the totalitarian tyrants to the June 17, 1953 uprising and rising spirit of freedom was more crowded jails and more firing squads. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) has rallied its more than 50,000,000 members to provide a sustaining fund to assist the East German workers and all other fighters for freedom behind the Iron Curtain. The A. F. of L. representative of Germany and Austria is a member of the committee which administers this fund. Aid is given those leaders of the uprising which have escaped to the West; various programs of assistance have been initiated for the dependents of those imprisoned in Eastern Germany; continuous contact is being kept with our trade union friends behind the Iron Curtain; through the radio, publications and other media, the message of friendship and soli-

darity with our Eastern Zone colleagues is expressed as well as information imparted as to the latest developments in the totalitarian countries as well as in the democracies. Thus we lend moral and material support to a valiant resistance movement looking forward to its eventual liberation.

The June 17th uprising against Eastern German communism just about wrecked the official Communist party in Western Germany. In last September's elections to the West German Parliament, the Communists lost all of their 12 seats in a parliament of over 400 members. At the moment, the Communist party does not even risk open meetings. But the Kremlin stooges are more active ever in new fields. During the past half year, over 500 weekly or semi-monthly "innocent" factory publications have been started. For example, in the city of Essen, the heart of the Ruhr, the Communists publish 22 separate factory newspapers for Essen's leading steel and coal corporations. These sheets are distributed at the work bench or at the factory gates. Another Communist stunt is to organize "factory representations" from Western Germany to visit their co-workers in similar plants in the Soviet Zone for the purpose of "expressing the wish that the workers' paradise of the East will soon be extended to the West." The German Trade Union Federation (D.G.B.) has made short shrift with its members participating in the above activities. In the case of the latter, any member who visits the Eastern Zone as a "factory representative" is automatically expelled from his union. In the former, equally effective measures have been adopted.

The plight of trade union and political refugees from the countries behind the Iron Curtain now living in Germany is serious, indeed. Many of these Balts, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, and others are still housed in barracks and have not been absorbed into the German economy. The A. F. of L., through the Labor's League For Human Rights, in cooperation with CARE, has been able to help some of the more needy cases with a special food package distribution.

The American Federation of Labor was the first international labor body which insisted that the Allied occupation authorities permit the formation of free trade unions in post-war Germany. Over the original objections of the Communist-led World Federation of Trade Unions, which at that time included almost all of the world's organized labor movements except the A. F. of L., the three Western Allies finally approved the formation of a unified movement independent of political or religious ties. This German Trade Union Federation became the strongest pro-democratic labor force on the European continent.

It was with shocked surprise and deep concern, therefore, that the A. F. of L. and other national trade union federations heard of the ultimatum to the D.G.B. by spokesmen of the winning political party the day after last year's German parliamentary elections. Because the D.G.B. had played an independent political role and justly criticized some of the government party's ministers, revenge was now to be had. The ulti-

matum requested an increase in the D.G.B. National Executive Committee and of the State Federation of Labor Executive Board of members favorable to the majority party just elected. Failure to meet these requirements was threatened with a Christian trade union split. Indignant protests of the A. F. of L. and other national federations supported the D.G.B. in its rejection of these demands. Since then calmer heads in the Christian Democratic Union—the ruling political party in Germany—have prevailed, and the threat of state influence in the affairs of German trade unionism has disappeared.

Since the establishment of its Germany and Austria Bureau in 1946, the A. F. of L. has often been appealed to by both Austrian and German unions to intercede with the United States Army in matters involving the Army's disregard of Austrian and German labor law in the employment of indigenous personnel. Some of these cases, where Army practices have unwittingly given the European Communists plenty of fuel with which to fire their anti-American campaign, have been recorded in former reports of the Executive Council.

The U. S. Army finally formulated a set of directives for its labor officers designed to meet the labor codes of both Germany and Austria. Unfortunately, we must report that some U. S. Army officers make decisions without knowledge of their own directives. This apparently has happened in the most embarrassing case of the dismissal, with only one hour's notice, of 40 workers employed at the Bavarian Motor Works which has a contract with the U. S. Army for the repair of jeeps, trucks, weapon's carriers, etc. The A. F. of L. protested this case, as it was quite evident that most of the workers fired were no security risks, but that they did belong to the anti-Communist Metal Workers Union which had from time to time through their works councilors complained about U. S. Army anti-labor practices. This indiscriminate dismissal has aided the anti-American movement in Europe.

The Commanding General of the United States Forces in Europe has taken note of our complaint. He has advised the A. F. of L. Duesseldorf Bureau that such indiscriminate dismissals will be avoided in the future.

In addition to servicing the above programs, our representative has lectured at America Houses and trade union forums; has met with many trade union committees for a discussion of their special problems; has discussed labor legislation with political party representatives, and has carried on a correspondence with labor leaders of most European countries, always with the view of perhaps contributing a little to the collective strength of the democratic European trade union movement.

A. F. OF L. ACTIVITIES IN LATIN AMERICA

During the past year, the American Federation of Labor has strengthened its relationship with free trade unions of Latin America and the Caribbean area and has continued its fight in support of democracy and trade union freedom. In furtherance of this activity there were dis-

tributed an additional 100,000 copies of two highly effective Spanish-language pamphlets issued by the AFL Free Trade Union Committee, namely, *"Who Is the Imperialist?"* and *"Slave Labor in the Soviet World,"* as well as thousands of other pamphlets issued in Spanish by the American Federation of Labor, the Pan American Union, the O.R.I.T., and the U. S. Department of Labor. Ten thousand copies of a special Free Trade Union Committee pamphlet describing the Communist grip on Guatemala were distributed just before the downfall of the Communist-controlled regime in that country. In addition, we have sent regularly packages of educational material in English to the unions in the British and Dutch West Indies, the Guianas, and British Honduras, and have assisted them in obtaining labor educational films from the United States Information Service and from unions in the United States and Canada.

Our Representative for Latin America, Serafino Romualdi, made an extensive tour of South America during the fall of 1953, and several visits to the Antilles, the Caribbean area and Central America, establishing new contacts and furthering the cause of free trade unionism through press interviews, lectures, and public meetings. He was the first trade union representative from North America to reach Guatemala after the downfall of the Communist-controlled Arbenz regime, and was thus able to assist the free trade union leaders of that country in reorganizing the labor movement on a sound, independent and democratic basis. Similar assistance was given by the A. F. of L. to the free trade unionists of British Guiana, after the removal of the Communist-dominated Government which during its brief tenure of power had almost succeeded in wiping out every form of independent trade union activity.

The American Federation of Labor took a special interest in supporting the strike of the 23,000 banana workers in Honduras and in bringing about a satisfactory settlement. This strike, the first one in the history of Honduras, was caused by insufficient wages, the high cost of living, and lack of adequate legal protection of the workers' rights. At the beginning, Communist elements attempted to exploit the situation for their own political purposes but a strong anti-Communist leadership finally took firm control.

However, as the strike continued for a number of weeks without a settlement in sight, the leadership appealed to the A. F. of L. for moral and financial support. In response, President Meany sent them a financial contribution and communicated directly with officials of the United Fruit Co., urging them to reach an honorable settlement with the democratic anti-Communist strike leadership and grant them union recognition. "Failure to strengthen the position of those openly defending the cause of democracy and freedom—said President Meany—will play into the hands of Communist totalitarians with further disagreeable consequences in respect to our country's position in Latin America."

We have continued our assistance to trade unions in Latin America by supplying them with literature, technical information, research find-

ings and specific data to help them in negotiating collective agreements and in establishing trade union educational and welfare projects. We have also assisted through the good offices of the Metal Trades and Building and Construction Departments, the Union of Workers and Employees of the U. S. Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, in their labor relationship with the U. S. Navy Department and American building contracting firms.

We acknowledge with grateful appreciation the offer of active solidarity made by the Cuban Confederation of Labor and the Cuban Federation of Sugar Workers to the National Agricultural Workers Union-AFL, during the strike against a number of sugar companies in Louisiana, last October. We also express public appreciation for the celebrations in honor of U. S. organized labor, staged in El Salvador on Labor Day of last year, and in Brazil on the occasion of the Fourth of July of this year, in both instances under the auspices of the respective Ministers of Labor and the local trade union organizations.

Active cooperation was given by the American Federation of Labor to a large number of visiting Latin American trade unionists from Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Haiti, Uruguay, and Ecuador who came to the United States on Point IV grants or similar scholarships for the purpose of studying the structure and practices of our labor movement.

The activities and the objectives of the American Federation of Labor in Latin America were illustrated by our representative Serafino Romualdi in lectures delivered before student bodies at a number of universities and colleges as well as at Labor Educational Courses conducted under the auspices of the AFL Department of Education, affiliated unions, State Federations of Labor, etc.

Guatemala: Our contacts with democratic trade union leaders within Guatemala, already most difficult and greatly reduced, ceased altogether when the headquarters of the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala were closed and their top leaders, after having been subject to the most brutal tortures, were deported to Honduras and Mexico. Chairman Matthew Woll of the AFL International Labor Relations Department wired a strong protest to President Jacobo Arbenz, but the persecution continued unabated.

The Executive Council, at its mid-winter meeting in Miami Beach, Fla., examined in detail the situation in Guatemala, in the light of first-hand reports gathered by representatives of O.R.I.T. and the Free Trade Union Committee, and decided to warn the country and the Western Hemisphere on the true extent of Communist infiltration and domination in that country. This was done in an open letter by President George Meany to President Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala, in which it was made clear that the American Federation of Labor was "in hearty support of the constructive democratic social changes which the people of Guatemala seek in order to better their conditions of life and labor" but was

deeply disturbed by the extent of Communist domination—brought about by illegal means or open Government connivance and protection—of the labor movement, the press, the radio, the social security system, the agrarian reform agencies and the Government itself.

Meanwhile, we established close relationship with the leaders of the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala in Exile, helping them to carry on from abroad their activities against the rampant Communist forces inside their country. Happily, their exile was of short duration. Following the downfall of the Communist-controlled regime of President Jacobo Arbenz, at the end of June, they were able to return home where they are now at work to rebuild the labor movement of Guatemala on a sound, independent, democratic basis.

The American Federation of Labor lost no time in making public its views on Guatemala following the overthrow of the Arbenz Government. On June 30, President George Meany issued the following statement:

"The American Federation of Labor rejoices over the downfall of the Communist-controlled regime in Guatemala, brought about by the refusal of the Army to serve any longer a Government that had betrayed the democratic aspirations of the people and had transformed the country into a beachhead of Soviet Russia in the Western Hemisphere.

"We express the fervent hope that the new Provisional Government will restore as quickly as possible absolute respect for civil liberties and human rights and will preserve the social gains codified in the Guatemalan labor and agrarian legislation enacted as a result of the democratic revolution of 1944.

"The American Federation of Labor, which has extended moral solidarity to the Guatemalan free trade union leaders during their exile, stands ready to assist them in the difficult task of reorganization, directly and through the medium of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.) with which it is affiliated.

"We urge the Government of the United States to exercise all the influence and pressure in its power to strengthen the democratic forces of Guatemala, now emerging from a long period of suppression and persecution, so that they may successfully resist any attempt on the part of reactionary, pro-Fascist forces to turn the clock back to the pre-1944 feudalistic dictatorship. It would be a calamity with serious repercussions throughout Latin America, if the overthrow of the first Communist-controlled regime in the Western Hemisphere were not to be followed by the establishment of a strong democratic regime that would bring Guatemala back into the family of truly democratic American nations."

Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.)

The American Federation of Labor has continued its collaboration with the Inter-American Regional Organization of workers (O.R.I.T.), the Western Hemisphere branch of the I.C.F.T.U. We have supported its organization projects, its campaigns against the totalitarian regimes of

the right and the left, and its recommendations to the U. S. Government for greater economic help to Latin America and for firmer support of the democratic regimes.

On October 6, 1953, our Representative for Latin America, joined O.R.I.T. General Secretary Luis Alberto Monge and other officers of that organization in submitting to the U. S. Department of State a detailed memorandum in which it was emphasized that "the economic improvement of the Latin American masses constitutes a prerequisite for the successful fight against Communist infiltration," and recommended specific measures to be taken in connection with Point IV grants, technical assistance, capital investments, prices of Latin American raw materials, and loans to governmental agencies.

The memorandum also emphasized free labor's stand against the military dictatorships in Latin America, denounced the persecution to which democratic labor leaders are subject in Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, and other countries, and asserted the O.R.I.T.'s opposition to holding the Tenth Pan American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, at least until political and trade union prisoners were released and democratic liberties were re-established. The stand of the O.R.I.T. on this particular issue was in line with a resolution against holding such conference in Caracas, approved a month before at the AFL Convention in St. Louis.

The Executive Board of O.R.I.T. met for its annual meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, January 24-28. President George Meany was unable to attend but he was represented by Brother Serafino Romualdi. The Executive Board took several important decisions affecting the organizational activities of the O.R.I.T. and decided to launch a series of labor education seminars. Steps were taken to strengthen the O.R.I.T. activity in Brazil and in the Caribbean area. A number of important resolutions dealing with political, social and economic problems in Latin America were approved by the Executive Board. One of them calls for the support of the plan for the diversification of Bolivian economy along the lines recommended by experts of the United Nations and the United States Government.

The O.R.I.T. has made substantial progress in securing new affiliates and in extending the field of its influence. The Confederation of Labor of Paraguay, after a successful fight against Peronista elements in its midst, joined the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. in the fall of last year. It was followed by the affiliation of three national industrial federations of Chile, namely the Railway Workers, the Bakery Workers, and the Chemical and Pharmaceutical Employees. The O.R.I.T. has finally succeeded in establishing valuable labor contacts in Nicaragua and Honduras and, following the downfall of the Communist-controlled regime in Guatemala, is now working together with local democratic labor leaders in the reorganization of the free trade union movement in that country.

In the field of workers' education, the O.R.I.T. has successfully completed its first seminar in Montevideo, Uruguay, of four weeks duration,

with the participation of 25 students from Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil. Another seminar is scheduled to open in Monterrey, Mexico, during the early part of September, with the participation of students from Central America, the Antilles, and the Caribbean area. In addition, the O.R.I.T. office in Mexico has made arrangements with the Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV) to route through Mexico City the largest possible number of Latin American labor trainees on their return trip from the United States, so that they may visit the O.R.I.T. headquarters and study its operation. Other O.R.I.T. educational work is carried on through the publication of a number of highly effective pamphlets, the distribution of general educational literature, the publication of monthly bulletins, both in English and in Spanish, and through the bi-weekly short wave radio program from Montevideo, Uruguay.

Joint U. S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee

Following a series of preliminary talks between representatives of the Mexican Confederation of Workers (C.T.M.), the American Federation of Labor and other United States labor organizations, for the purpose of coordinating the activities of the interested organizations with respect to the legal and illegal migration to the United States of Mexican farm laborers, the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.) called a special conference of representatives of trade unions of both countries, which was held December 14-16, 1953, in Mexico City. The conference had been previously endorsed by the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Our representatives at this conference were: Serafino Romualdi, AFL Representative for Latin America; H. L. Mitchell, President, and Ernesto Galarza, Vice-President, National Agricultural Workers Union; Frank G. Portfliet, Secretary-Treasurer, Colorado State Federation of Labor; C. J. Haggerty, Secretary-Treasurer, and Max J. Osslo, Vice-President, California State Federation of Labor; James J. Rodriguez, President, Local 563, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Calif.; Jerry Holleman, Secretary-Treasurer, and A. C. McLellan, Advisor, Texas State Federation of Labor.

The work of the conference was conducted in an atmosphere of complete harmony and mutual understanding, with the clear determination on both sides to achieve lasting cooperation between the labor movements of the two countries. The conference concluded its work with the approval of the following recommendations:

a) That labor unions in each country be encouraged to establish and maintain contact with their counterpart union in the other country for the purpose of an exchange of information concerning wages, hours and working conditions covered by collective bargaining agreements;

b) That hereafter wherever possible there should be an exchange of visitors from unions in an identical industry for the purpose of par-

ticipating as observers in collective bargaining negotiations, policy meetings, and other union activities;

c) That the unions of the two countries active in an identical industry develop a method of membership transfer for such workers, with full rights and privileges;

d) That for the carrying out of the plans of cooperation between the trade union movements of Mexico and of the United States, and for the purpose of furthering the measures designed to fulfill the decisions taken at the conference, a Joint United States-Mexico Trade Union Committee be constituted with eight members from each country in representation of both trade union movements, with the O.R.I.T. acting as coordinator of its activities.

President Meany appointed as AFL representatives to this Joint Committee H. L. Mitchell, President of the National Agricultural Workers' Union; C. J. Haggerty, Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor; Jerry Holleman, Secretary-Treasurer, Texas State Federation of Labor, and Serafino Romualdi as advisor. Frank L. Noakes, Director of Research, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, represents the Railway Labor Executives' Association. Other United States members are: three from the Congress of Industrial Organizations and one from the United Mine Workers' of America. The first meeting of the Joint Committee was held May 11-14 in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Major issues during the past year confronting the ILO dealt with the re-entry of the U.S.S.R., Byelorussia, Ukraine, and the subsequent actions arriving from their re-entry.

The 37th Conference of the ILO, therefore, was perhaps the most significant annual Conference of the ILO since its inception in 1919.

On November 4, 1953, the U.S.S.R. communicated with the Director-General its acceptance, with reservations, of the ILO Constitution. The Director-General thereupon advised the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the effect that the ILO Constitution did not provide for membership on the basis of incomplete acceptance of the constitutions obligations. On April 24, 1954, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. addressed a letter to the Director-General of the ILO accepting the obligations of the ILO's Constitution without reservation. On April 27, the Director-General acknowledged receipt of the communication from the U.S.S.R. of April 24, and Russia thereby resumed membership in the ILO. On May 13, 1954, Byelorussia and the Ukraine also notified the Director-General they were accepting the obligations of the ILO's Constitution, and as in the case of U.S.S.R., by virtue of the fact that they are members of the United Nations, they automatically assume membership in the ILO.

This development brought a prompt reaction on the part of certain

of the member nations of the ILO, leading to the initiation of charges against the alleged worker and employer delegates from the U.S.S.R., charging that these delegates did not represent bona fide workers' organizations or employers' organizations in the U.S.S.R., and in no way met the spirit of the tripartite structure of the ILO.

As a result of decisions taken by a joint sub-committee, representing the workers' group of the Governing Body, and the ICFTU, the Executive Board of the ICFTU unanimously decided to initiate objections to the seating of the workers' delegate from the U.S.S.R., and several of the Soviet Bloc nations workers' delegates. These objections were lodged by Secretary-General Oldenbroek of the ICFTU. The Credentials Committee, by a majority decision, failed to sustain the objections against the workers' delegate from the U.S.S.R., although the employer member of the Committee filed a minority report. The objection was turned down by the Conference 93 votes to 83. The Credentials Committee also failed to sustain the objections lodged against the employer delegate from the U.S.S.R., and the Conference turned down those objections by 105 votes to 79. It should be noted in the vote on the unseating of the worker delegate, that six members of the ICFTU affiliated national trade union centers voted against the unseating, and six abstentions were registered by worker delegates coming from ICFTU affiliated national trade union centers.

Although the ICFTU lost the decision in its case against the seating of the workers' delegate from the U.S.S.R., there can be no doubt that it faced its moral responsibility on this issue and it can be presumed that had the workers' delegate on the Credentials Committee joined with the employers' delegate, that the ICFTU would have sustained their objections to the worker delegate from the U.S.S.R.

The decision on the employer and worker delegate issue clearly points up the need to amend the constitution of the ILO so that worker and employer delegates from participating nations cannot be hand picked by autocratic governments.

Save for the above-mentioned issue, the Western countries won all other important political decisions at the 37th Conference of the ILO. They defeated the Soviet attempt to substitute the government of Red China for Nationalist China; they showed a united front against the application of Red Rumania—in fact, in view of the strong opposition, the Rumanian Government withdrew her application before it could be put to a vote. In addition, the Conference turned down an attempt to seat the Hungarian delegate at a time when Hungary was more than two years in arrears in her contribution to the ILO. Much more important, the Soviet Government and her satellites failed to win a single elective seat either as a titular member or as a deputy member on the ILO's Governing Body. The workers and employers groups of the new Governing Body likewise elected no Communist members or substitutes. The sole Communist-held seat on the forty-member governing body was

that of the Soviet Union, which acquired its membership on non-elective status as one of the 10 states of chief industrial importance.

Although much of the time of the 37th Conference was concerned with political disputes between the free world and the new Communist members, much constructive work was accomplished by the technical committees, which is bound to bear fruit in the years to come.

The Conference adopted a recommendation which fixed a new international standard on holidays (vacations with pay). The recommendation fixed an agreed minimum international standard using the principle of annual paid vacations of two weeks duration for a year's work. The Conference decided to invite the Governing Body to place on the agenda of a future session of the Conference the question of paid vacations with a view either to revising the now dated 1936 ILO convention on that subject or to the adoption of a new convention altogether.

The Conference adopted a resolution urging that consideration be given to measures designed to make it possible for workers to obtain the maximum benefit from their holidays. Three other technical items before the conference were: vocational rehabilitation of the disabled; penal sanctions for breaches of contract of employment; and the conditions of migrant workers in underdeveloped countries. The Conference decided these items should come before the 38th Conference for "second discussion" with a view to consideration of recommendations on these subjects.

The Technical Assistance Committee of the Conference adopted a resolution which noted with satisfaction the efforts and achievements of the ILO in this field and expressed the belief that the special contribution of the ILO could be of major importance in assisting the economically less developed countries to promote a well-balanced and socially beneficial economic development designed to raise the standards of living. The Technical Assistance Committee further disclosed that it was proposed to concentrate the future program on fewer projects of longer duration which might be continued by the countries concerned after outside assistance had ended.

The Committee on Migrant Workers in Underdeveloped Countries approved a draft outline of a proposed recommendation covering workers during their journey to and from employment and during their employment and dealing with housing, wages, employment service, discrimination, trade union activities, the supply of consumer goods, social security and matters relating to the material, intellectual and moral welfare of the workers.

The Committee on Penal Sanctions adopted a draft outline of a proposed recommendation on penal sanctions for breaches of contracts of employment and vocational rehabilitation of the disabled. It was agreed that the latter should cover principles and methods, administrative organization, methods of enabling disabled persons to make use of vocational rehabilitation facilities, methods of widening employment opportu-

nities, sheltered employment and special provisions for children and young persons.

The Conference adopted a resolution on reduction of hours of work, recommending that the ILO's Governing Body order preparation of a report on hours of work in the various countries and the repercussions to be expected if hours were reduced.

The Conference also adopted a resolution urging that governments make effective use of international machinery for expanding the flow of capital for the economic development of underdeveloped countries. This resolution also urged that private capital be encouraged to participate in the development of less advanced countries.

The Finance Committee of the Conference voted a budget of $6,745,196 to finance the ILO's work in 1955. This sum exceeds the 1954 figure by $434,026. The Finance Committee assessed the Soviet Union 10 per cent of the ILO's budget for 1955.

The participation of the U.S.S.R., which together with other Soviet satellite nations, form a considerable block in the ILO, calls for strengthening of the participation of all free nations of the world that are member states of the ILO—most especially the United States, which is expected to give progressive leadership to the other Nations affiliated with the ILO. It in turn points out the need for strengthening of U. S. worker and employer participation if the forces of freedom and democracy are to maintain effective leadership in the fight for economic and social justice.

George P. Delaney, International Representative for the American Federation of Labor, was the workers' delegate to the 37th Conference, and had as his advisers the following: William J. Buckley, Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, who served as a member of the Standing Orders Committee; Edward S. Miller, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders International Union, who served as a member of the Penal Sanctions Committee; Leslie L. Myers, General Organizer, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, AFL, who served as a member of the Vocational Rehabilitation Committee; Alexander Barkan, Political Action Director, Textile Workers Union, CIO, who served as a member of the Committee on Holidays with Pay; Elmer F. Cope, International Representative, United Steelworkers of America, CIO, who served as a member of the Committee on Migrant Workers; and Michael Ross, CIO Representative to the ICFTU, who served as a member on the Resolutions Committee.

During the 37th Conference of the ILO, the Conference elected the following members as its Governing Body for the next three years:

Workers' members:

Mr. Ali (Pakistan)	Mr. Cofino (Cuba)
Mr. Bothereau (France)	Mr. Delaney (USA)

Mr. Monk (Australia)
Mr. Nielsen (Denmark)
Mr. Pequeno (Brazil)
Mr. Richter (Federal Republic of Germany)
Mr. Roberts (United Kingdom)
Mr. Tripathi (India)

Employers' members:

Mr. Alcala (Venezuela)
Mr. Allana (Pakistan)
Mr. Bergenstrom (Sweden)
Mr. Campanella (Italy)
Mr. Gemmill (Union of South Africa)
Mr. McGrath (USA)
Mr. Pons (Uruguay)
Sir Richard Snedden (United Kingdom)
Mr. Tata (India)
Mr. Waline (France)

Government members:

Argentina
Australia
Burma
Colombia
Cuba
Egypt
Netherlands
Norway
Turkey
Uruguay

The following report, in chronological order, covers the additional activities of the International Labor Organization, for the period from August 1, 1953, through July 31, 1954:

The Third Session of the Asian Regional Conference, which was attended by 131 delegates, advisers and observers from 21 countries, met in Tokyo, Japan, from September 14-26, 1953. The United States Delegation, with George Delaney representing the workers, operated in an observer capacity at the Conference. Resolutions were adoptd on workers' housing, protection of young workers, workers' electoral rights, prompt ratification of ILO conventions, wage policy, and a greater international flow of capital for economic development in the Asian region. A resolution was introduced by the worker delegate from Japan urging the Asian Regional Conference to recommend that Red China be permitted to affiliate with the ILO. The Conference took no action on the proposal and the resolution was withdrawn.

The ILO's first Asian Maritime Conference of Shipowners, Seafarers and Governments was held in October of 1953 in Ceylon. Two major resolutions were adopted: one dealt with improvement of port welfare facilities, including expansion and supervision of lodging accommodations, provision of medical facilities, especially for the unemployed, representation of masters and seafarers on national, regional or port welfare boards, recreation, etc. The other resolution dealt with steps to improve

recruitment machinery. The Conference also urged the need for reviewing periodically maritime legislation and the desirability of fostering and recognizing organizations of employers and workers.

Mr. Richard J. Gray, President of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL, and Mr. William O'Neill, Assistant General Secretary-Treasurer of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices in the Plumbing and Pipe-Fitting Industry, AFL, represented the workers from the United States at the Fourth Session of the ILO Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee, which met in Geneva from October 26 through November 7. This Committee approved a memorandum on the guaranteed wage, and discussed factors affecting productivity in the construction industry. It adopted a number of resolutions suggesting action to increase productivity. In addition the Committee suggested that the Governing Body of the ILO give special attention to housing needs, particularly in underdeveloped countries, in connection with full employment policy.

The 123rd Session of the Governing Body and its Committees met in Geneva from November 18 through 28. The Governing Body decided to address an appeal to Governments, in respect of the forced labor report, inviting them to give consideration to the possibility of ratifying existing ILO Conventions. In order that non-metropolitan territories should be associated more closely with the ILO, this session of the Governing Body urged governments to appoint additional advisers from these territories to their national delegations at the annual ILO Conferences. It was decided to make a number of changes in the Freedom of Association Committee's procedure for the preliminary examination of complaints. The changes agreed upon included one which will permit the Committee to seek further information from complainants after the Committee has received the observations of Governments in regard to the accusations made against them. In regard to a complaint against the Polish Government (submitted by the ICFTU), the Governing Body agreed to a thorough examination of the case, in view of the refusal of the Polish Government to reply to the accusations made against it. The Governing Body further adopted proposals of the Subcommittee on Industrial Committees establishing definite membership limits varying from 15 to 25 for these Committees. It was decided to hold a European Regional Conference around the end of 1954, and to set up a Committee of Experts to Study Fishermen's Problems.

The Fifth Session of the ILO Coal Mines Committee was held in Duesseldorf, Germany, from November 30 through December 12, 1953, with sixteen countries represented by tripartite delegations. The two main subjects on the agenda were (1) productivity in coal mines; and (2) social welfare services in mining. A resolution was adopted on the minimum age of admission to underground work. In another resolution the Committee recognized the interest of workers and management in the promotion of the more qualified and gifted workers, and the assistance

of such workers to obtain advanced training through scholarships, exchange of workers, etc.

The Fifth Session of the ILO's Inland Transport Committee met in Geneva from February 15 through 27. The workers from the United States were represented by David Kaplan, Chief Economist for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America, and Raymond Hicks, member of the Board of Trustees of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees. The Committee adopted a memorandum on the conditions of employment in road transport, and a resolution on welfare facilities for dock workers. Additional resolutions were adopted dealing with labor standards for transport workers.

The 124th session of the Governing Body, which met in Geneva from February 27 through March 13, 1954, voted a budget of $6,745,196 for the year 1955. It approved a text which once again defined the principles and methods of coordination and cooperation between the ILO and other international or regional inter-governmental organizations. The Director-General was requested to communicate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the matter of slavery, slave trade and other forms of servitude. An outline of a study submitted by the Director-General in pursuance of a resolution on ECOSOC was approved and would be communicated to governments. In regard to the ILO Industrial Committees, governments of all State Members are to be advised of the forthcoming review of the membership on these tripartite industrial and advisory committees. Applications for membership, together with supporting information were to be sent to the Director-General. Governments making application for membership on a given committee must submit statistical information concerning the importance of the industry concerned, and where applying for membership on more than one committee, to indicate an order of preference. An agreement was reached on measures to bring non-metropolitan territories into closer association with the ILO's work. It was unanimously adopted by this session, that on the recommendation of the responsible member state, a non-metropolitan territory may be invited by the Governing Body, through the member state concerned, to participate in sessions of the International Labor Conference by means of a tripartite observer delegation without the right to vote.

The Joint ILO-WHO Committee on Hygiene of Seafarers, which consisted of experts called together jointly by the ILO and the World Health Organization, made a number of recommendations during their joint meeting in Geneva from April 9 through 13, 1954. Among the most important recommendations were: medical advice by radio should be available to ships at sea at any hour of the day or night; every ship should contain a medicine chest containing adequate medicaments; and that all new entrants to the Merchant Navy should be examined for tuberculosis.

Howard Coughlin, President of the Office Employees International

Union, and Russell M. Stephens, President of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, represented the workers from the United States at the Third Session of the Advisory Committee on Salaried and Professional Workers. This group met in Geneva from May 10 through 22, 1954. The three-point agenda, on reports prepared by the International Labor Office, comprised (1) a survey of recent events and developments affecting white collar workers and the effect that has been given to earlier conclusions of the Committee; (2) unemployment among white collar workers; and (3) the conditions of employment of teaching staff.

The 125th session of the Governing Body was held prior to the 37th International Labor Conference in Geneva on May 28 and 29. The Governing Body at this session requested the Director-General to prepare a law and practice report on three items for consideration by the Governing Body as agenda items for the next ILO Conference. These included: weekly rest in commerce and offices; living and working conditions of indigenous populations in independent countries; forced labor. The Governing Body authorized the Director-General to take practical steps to implement the report of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Workers, whose report formed an outline of a general program of assistance to indigenous populations. The report of the tripartite sub-committee of the Joint Maritime Commission, which met on April 5-8, 1954, was adopted by the Governing Body, and the Governing Body urged the Director-General to consult governments regarding the possibility of revising wages, hours of work and Manning (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1949, in order to cover seafarers on smaller vessels.

The Governing Body reviewed a report of the Committee of Experts who had been called to examine the advisability of revising the Protection against Accidents (Dockers) Convention (Revised), 1932, and accepted the experts' opinion that revision of this convention was not presently called for. During this session, the Governing Body adopted without discussion a report of its Committee on Freedom of Association, which covered a whole series of cases submitted in the 13th Report of the Committee. A brief on full employment was adopted, to be used by the Director-General in presenting the ILO's views before the Economic and Social Council. In addition, the Director-General was urged to bring up at the next meeting of the Economic and Social Council, or at the General Assembly of the United Nations, the importance of the need to avoid overlapping of the powers of the Human Rights Committee and the ILO, in questions where the ILO has created a special procedure. The Governing Body dealt with a report of a Committee of experts which selected the 10 States of Chief Industrial importance. This report was adopted after lengthy discussion by a majority decision and listed the following 10 states of chief industrial importance: Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States, and U.S.S.R. These states automatically become members of the Governing Body.

At the conclusion of the 37th Conference, the newly elected Governing Body held its 126th session and elected Mr. M. Ago, Italian Government delegate as Chairman of the Body. Mr. Alf Roberts, workers' delegate from the United Kingdom was elected as a Vice-President, and Mr. P. Waline, employers' delegate from France, was elected as a Vice-President. This session of the Governing Body requested the Director-General to present to its next session concrete proposals on the creation of a special Committee to deal with problems of Civil Aviation. It also decided by 27 votes against 11, with two abstentions, to accept the invitation of the Venezuelan Government to hold the next meeting of the Petroleum Committee in Caracas. The workers' group voted unanimously in opposition to this invitation, in face of the existing lack of trade union freedom in Venezuela. It was further decided to hold the next Governing Body session in Rome from November 16-19, 1954.

In addition to the above activities, the ILO program of meetings included sessions of the Asian Advisory Committee; Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labor; Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations; Tripartite Subcommittee of the Joint Maritime Commission; Committee of Experts on Protection of Dockers Against Accidents; and a Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-Metropolitan Territories.

The ILO also undertook numerous technical assistance projects in various areas of the world, helping the less developed countries with the many problems of industrial and agricultural expansion. In addition, the Office in Geneva continued to issue numerous social studies, economic reports, statistics, and periodicals.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION

Labor Advisory Committee

As a result of conferences held with Mr. Harold Stassen, Director of the Foreign Operations Administration early this spring, Mr. Stassen moved forward with the establishment of a Labor Advisory Committee to the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration. The Labor Advisory Committee is composed of a representative group of U. S. Trade Union Leaders appointed by the Director of FOA as a special advisory body serving without compensation, to advise and consult with the Director on the Foreign Operations programs in general and especially on matters of labor policy and labor personnel. The Committee in its meeting with the Director consults with him regarding the effects of FOA economic planning on the welfare and living standards of free world workers. It also advises on ways and means whereby the United States Government can strengthen the free world trade union movement. Through the committee members' contacts with world-wide trade union affiliates, the committee also serves to inform the Director of the public sentiment and reaction of free world workers toward the Foreign Opera-

tions programs of the United States. The Committee also recommends able personnel with labor background and experience for appropriate FOA positions.

The Committee consists of the Director of FOA, who is chairman, and ten members appointed by the Director, four from the American Federation of Labor, four from the Congress of Industrial Organizations, one from the Railway Labor Executives' Association, and one joint representative from the four operating railroad brotherhoods—the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Order of Railway Conductors, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

The A. F. of L. members on the Committee are George Meany, President; Matthew Woll, First Vice-President; David Dubinsky, Vice-President and President, International Ladies' Garment Workers, and George P. Delaney, International Representative.

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The Committee held its first meeting with Director Stassen on April 29, 1954. The role of the Labor Advisory Committee was discussed by Mr. Stassen, who made it clear that the Committee would be his source of direct labor advice and will have a direct relationship to those in the FOA organization who work in the labor field. Mr. Stassen made it clear that henceforth FOA will not adopt any labor policy or appoint any labor personnel without first consulting the Labor Advisory Committee.

The members of the Committee agreed that in order to have a close working relationship with the Department of Labor's Trade Union Advisory Committee, a representative from the Department of Labor be invited to attend meetings of the FOA Labor Advisory Committee.

The Committee appointed a subcommittee to provide a continuing contact between the Committee and the FOA staff, the subcommittee consisting of Victor Reuther, A. E. Lyon and George P. Delaney.

At its first meeting, the Committee discussed several current FOA problems, including the problem of Communist influence on trade union movements in France and Italy and the possibility of a joint labor-management review team, and the question of review of European programs, with the Committee and with AFL and CIO representatives in Europe.

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The next meeting of the Committee was held on May 28, 1954. In connection with the staffing recommendations made to him by the sub-committee on May 14, Mr. Stassen advised the Committee he would appoint a new Director for the Office of Labor Affairs and would establish and appoint area labor directors and deputy directors for each of the four regional areas, with the Committee nominating persons for these as well as other overseas labor assignments.

The FOA's world-wide labor program was reviewed including labor program's objectives and the need for trade union advice and assistance in meeting them; proposed reprogramming of fiscal year 1955 labor funds; and the importance of selecting qualified FOA labor personnel having practical trade union experience. The Committee was briefed on East-West Trade and the current review of controls on shipments of strategic goods.

The Director briefed the Committee on Offshore Procurement (the purchase abroad of part of the items included in our military assistance program for our allies).

The next meeting of the Committee was held on July 9, 1954. Mr. Stassen announced the reorganization of the Office of Labor Affairs and the appointment of John K. Meskimen, Railway Clerks, AFL, as Director, and Everett Kassalow, CIO, as Deputy Director. Further discussion on the reorganization of the Office of Labor Affairs and the need for establishment of additional labor posts in a number of FOA countries was held.

A report on European Labor and Technical Exchange Program was provided the Committee. Mr. Stassen agreed that Mr. Meskimen and Mr. Kassalow should have an opportunity to examine the programs in detail between now and the time the budget presentation is completed and funds are allocated, at which time they will review the individual programs with the sub-committee.

On the subject of East-West Trade, the Committee decided that it needed to give the matter further study before submitting any recommendation, and requested that it be kept informed of criteria used in determining whether or not certain goods are strategic and all other available FOA information on present trade policies.

The sub-committee reported on the proposed joint labor-management review team for Europe and recommended a four-member metal team and a six-member transport team, each jointly divided between labor and management. It also recommended that the Office of Labor Affairs of FOA develop a program for a Foreign Service Training School for American trade unionists to be presented to recommended Universities to determine their interest in undertaking such a program.

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The American Federation of Labor continued its participation in the

Department of Labor's Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs, which was originally established in 1946. The American Federation of Labor members on the Committee are President George Meany, David Dubinsky, Matthew Woll and George P. Delaney.

The Committee advises the Secretary of Labor and his staff concerning the Department of Labor's activities in the international field. In the past the Committee has concerned itself particularly with such matters as the administration of the Labor Attache program; labor policies of U. S. Military Government in Germany and Japan; the labor implications of tariff and trade negotiations; the administration of labor aspects of the U. S. techinical assistance programs abroad; and the programming or foreign labor technicians and leaders who visit the U. S. and are programmed by the Department of Labor.

The Committee was reactivated by Secretary James P. Mitchell early in 1954. It established a Standing Committee of four members. George P. Delaney is the A. F. of L member of the Standing Committee. The Committee recommended that all of the government's international labor activities be centralized in the Department of Labor and it was agreed that the Standing Committee would prepare a detailed recommendation on this subject. A plan for an international labor training institute to train labor officers for service with the government abroad was discussed. Labor Attache qualification standards, which require that candidates have outstanding experience in American labor affairs gained either in the trade union movement or in government-labor agencies, were agreed upon by the Committee. The Committee strongly recommended the inclusion of a trade unionist on the U. S. Delegation to the United Nations.

Following the general recommendations of the full Committee, the Standing Committee submitted to Secretary Mitchell a detailed recommendation which: (a) discussed the lack of coordination between the government agencies involved in international labor affairs (particularly the Departments of State, Labor and Defense, the Foreign Operations Administration and the U. S. Information Agency) and the waste inefficiency that results and (b) strongly recommended that the international labor activities of the government be centralized in, and coordinated by, the Department of Labor. The Standing Committee met several times to discuss specific Labor Attache vacancies and candidates were recommended for several of the vacant posts.

At present, none of the candidates nominated by the Standing Committee to fill existing vacancies as labor attaches of the Foreign Service have been appointed. Consultations have been going on between the officials of the Department of Labor and Department of State with a view to reaching an agreement in respect to filling of vacancies as labor attaches in the Foreign Service. It is hoped that candidates nominated by the Standing Committee will be given preferential consideration.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Defense Needs

The uneasy truce in Korea and Indo-China, the shadow of aggression that hangs over Southeast Asia, and the persistent difficulties in obtaining ratification of the European Defense Community, all make it clear that the need for the United States to maintain a strong military defense program has increased rather than diminished.

It is important to remember that America's defense program has developed only as a reaction to the threat which the Soviet Union poses to the free world. America's military might is needed today only because the Kremlin's powerful aggressive force supported by the most modern military weapons threatens to destroy all freedom throughout the world, with the United States as its foremost target.

Yet, during the past year the federal government's spending for national defense has steadily declined. Having increased sharply following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, it reached a peak in the April-June quarter of 1953 when defense spending was at an annual rate of $53.5 billion. At that time defense expenditures leveled off and then registered a marked decline, dropping by the second quarter of 1954 to the rate of only $45.5 billion, a drop of 15 per cent.

The President has recommended and the Congress has accepted, though not without some protest, additional reductions in the size of the armed forces and on the expenditures for military procurement. These reductions would fall most heavily upon the Army and Navy, while the Air Force would be given an increase in personnel and aircraft.

According to the latest announced plans, the size of the Army will be reduced from 1,407,500 men on July 1, 1954, to 1,164,000 by next June 30. The 19 divisions which the Army now has activated would drop to 17.

The Navy's 1955 budget involves a reduction in personnel and in ships. Total personnel would drop from 740,500 to 688,900, and the active fleet in operation from 1,124 to 1,078 ships. A slight decline in the strength of the Marines is also scheduled.

On the other hand, the Air Force is scheduled to increase its personnel from 955,000 to 970,000 men. Its combat strength will increase from approximately 115 wings to 120 wings during the coming year with the present goal of 137 wings to be reached in 1957.

A serious question is raised by this decline in expenditures. It was brought up in Congress when an unsuccessful effort was made in the Senate to maintain the Army at its present strength of 19 divisions. At that time, a number of Senators seriously inquired whether the scheduled reduction was compatible with the need for this nation to maintain its extensive foreign commitments. It was pointed out that there is in the United States today only one combat-ready division.

The American Federation of Labor does not propose to pass judgment

on the validity of purely military decisions involved. We must, however, recognize several basic truths.

We know that the Moscow-directed Communist conspiracy is unswervingly intent not only on our destruction, but also on subjugation to its control of liberty-loving people everywhere. We know that the forces of Communism will not hesitate to launch an attack on the United States if they believe that it will succeed. We know that our country requires strong military forces to repel a possible attack at home as well as to protect free nations in danger from Soviet aggression.

Our nation is strong and our economy, despite the current recession, basically sound. This country can afford a program for national security and expenditures for the armed forces sufficient to deter aggression and assure both peace and the triumph of freedom. The emphasis placed upon balancing the budget by the Administration has undoubtedly affected the shaping of defense policy. Budget balancing considerations must not be allowed to force a reduction of our armed forces below the strength necessary to protect our freedom.

Since the adoption of the new defense policy, the events in Indo-China have moved forward the proposal of a collective security pact in Southeast Asia. This gives an added and urgent reason for a thorough reexamination of the entire defense budget to make certain that this country is maintaining the military forces commensurate with its leadership in the defense of the free world.

Administration of the Defense Program

We have continued to cooperate with the Office of Defense Mobilization, the civilian federal agency responsible for the overall administration of the nation's defense program.

The ODM's responsibilities extend to the fields of production, materials, manpower, and economic stabilization. It has two major tasks. First, it has the responsibility of overseeing the administration of these aspects of the present defense program. Secondly, it has the task of preparing the policies and programs that will become effective in the event of another national emergency.

Among the officials administering this program are persons drawn from the ranks of labor. Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is serving as Assistant to the ODM Director, and is responsible for the agency's programs affecting organized labor.

Perhaps the most pressing task now confronting the agency is the preparation of more detailed measures to be undertaken in the event of full mobilization. In terms of production policies, this will require closer coordination between those responsible for planning the nation's military operations and those responsible for assuring adequate production of the goods and services needed to support these operations.

This task also involves the preparation of plans to handle the wage

and price stabilization problems that will develop in the event of another emergency. On this issue, it is particularly important for the agency to work closely with representatives of organized labor.

The current let-up in the defense program and the decline in defense expenditures tends to produce a feeling of lethargy, both among defense officials and among the general public. It is up to the ODM to overcome this lethargy and to work out, with the cooperation of organized labor and other groups concerned, a realistic program which would adequately meet the real possibility of another emergency.

Manpower

The nation's manpower picture has shifted markedly from one of serious labor shortages to a situation of increasing unemployment and widespread labor surpluses.

In only isolated instances during the past year has the progress of the nation's defense program been impeded by any manpower shortage. A few occupational skills, however, continue to be in short supply.

During the past year, the American Federation of Labor's interest in manpower problems was centered on the activities of the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee, which advises the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

One recent development in the current program closely related to the work of the Committee involved changes made in the Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 under which special arrangements are provided for firms located in areas of heavy unemployment to obtain defense contracts. The effect of the change has been to eliminate the bid-matching procedure whereby firms from "labor surplus areas" were allowed to match the low bid submitted by a company from another area.

As a result, Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 is now enforced entirely through a system of "set asides" under which a certain proportion of a defense contract may be set aside for bidders from areas of heavy unemployment. Labor members of the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee opposed this change because they felt that the "set aside" procedure would not prove to be as effective as the previous system in bringing defense contracts to these areas.

At the same time this change was made, action was taken to increase the incentive for firms to locate new plants in these labor surplus areas. Under a new regulation, firms locating in these areas will be allowed additional tax write-offs on the cost of the newly purchased plant and equipment. This policy was introduced with the support of organized labor and has helped to induce a number of firms to locate in these critical areas.

In its other work, the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee shifted its emphasis from consideration of issues involved in the current defense program to manpower problems that would arise in the event of full mobilization.

The Committee's major achievement has been the development, on its own initiative and after 18 months of effort, of "A Manpower Program for Full Mobilization." This represents the first time that any group, labor, management, or government, has set forth a comprehensive program to handle manpower problems in another national emergency.

The Committee's report was unanimously adopted by its labor-management members. While a number of disagreements arose during the preparation of the report, full discussion and a willingness to compromise helped to produce a unanimous report.

The report includes a set of basic principles and 30 specific recommendations. Included in the report are recommendations on Selective Service and military reserve policies; agricultural manpower; training facilities; government procurement policies; employment stabilization plans; and special recommendations for rehabilitating bombed-out areas.

The Committee's report has been delivered to the Defense Mobilization Director, Arthur Flemming, who stated that he planned to bring the program before the National Security Council.

The report is of particular importance because it focuses attention on a critical issue: whether in the event of another emergency, the nation's manpower program will be based on voluntary principles or whether national service legislation and other compulsory manpower controls will be invoked.

The Committee expressed itself vigorously in support of a voluntary manpower program. In explaining its clearcut recommendation against national service legislation, the Committee stated that its program avoids "the false simplicity of manpower controls which mistake orderliness for efficiency and confuse administrative convenience with good administration. The voluntary approach involves difficulties and complexities but it has the overwhelming advantage of being supported by the deep convictions of free men and women. Therein lies the key to true efficiency."

While this report has been favorably received, it does not represent government policy. It is well known that many highly placed government officials prefer a system of national service legislation rather than any arrangement which would rely on the combined efforts of labor and management. We need to combat this point of view. We therefore urge all A. F. of L. officials to become familiar with the labor-management document so that they will be able to counter more effectively any drive for compulsory manpower controls.

Universal Military Training

Another current manpower issue of particular concern to American workers is the developing controversy over a system of Universal Military Training. Defense Department officials have long conducted a campaign for Universal Military Training under which every young man reaching the age of 18 would become subject to military training and service. In recent years, a number of special commissions have formally

recommended the adoption of UMT, but Congress and the country as a whole has always opposed this type of compulsory service. Instead this country has relied on the Selective Service System to maintain required strength of our armed forces.

In December, 1953, two commissions issued special reports to the President on this particular problem. The National Security Training Commission, headed by Major-General Julius Ochs Adler and including a number of individuals previously committed to the UMT program, recommended a modified form of UMT.

The Adler Commission's report called attention to the inequity which prevailed during the early months of the Korean war when so many reservists with World War II fighting experience were called back into active service while able-bodied men were not utilized because they had not had military experience.

To avoid this inequity in the future, the Commission recommended that all able-bodied men be trained either for two years under Selective Service or for only a six-month period under UMT. Those who undergo the six months' training would then constitute the country's military reserve to be called upon in the event of emergency. The two-year draftees would not be obliged to serve in the reserves.

However, in its attempt to eliminate one inequity, the Commission's plan created another. Under its proposal, 18-year-olds would be participating in the six-month UMT program at the same time when other men were called up by the draft. Even though a drawing by lot would decide whether each individual would be destined for UMT or the draft, there would still be a clearcut inequity between the six-month and the two-year men.

The other report made at about the same time was filed by the Committee on Manpower Resources for National Security, on which both labor and management were represented. This committee, headed by Lawrence Appley, presented a more balanced report calling attention to limited manpower pool in the 18 to 25 age group, the prime military category. While this report indicated that the nation's manpower was sufficient to meet both civilian and military requirements, it warned against operating a UMT program at the same time as the regular Selective Service System.

The reports of these two commissions are now under study by the President and Executive departments. It is expected that the President will make some proposal on this issue to the next session of Congress. Press reports would indicate that this program is likely to take the form of a modified UMT program.

The American Federation of Labor has always favored the maintenance of the armed forces at whatever strength is necessary to assure our national security. Reliance upon the Selective Service program has proven generally to be an equitable and effective method of achieving this objective.

Any system of compulsory training for our nation's youth poses a threat to our American system of education and to our free institutions. Any new proposal will receive our thorough consideration. We doubt, however, that a UMT program in any form is likely to make a positive contribution to the nation's security.

ATOMIC ENERGY

The past year has witnessed further important strides in the development of atomic energy. Advances in technology, production, and research have been recorded for both peacetime and wartime uses of the atom.

With regard to military application of atomic energy, the Atomic Energy Commission has reported that during the past year nuclear weapons were produced "at the rate directed by the President." The Commission notes that "improvements" were made in "weapon design and fabrication." Extensive tests of newly developed weapons were conducted in the Pacific Proving Grounds in the spring of 1954.

The first nuclear powered submarine was launched during the year and keel for another, of a more advanced type, was laid last September. Work on the development of atomic powered aircraft has also advanced. Atomic cannon is now at the disposal of U. S. military units overseas.

These developments in the military application of atomic energy are of immense importance to the security of the United States. Yet, in the long run, the many peacetime uses for nuclear energy may well overshadow its military application and bring about far-reaching changes in our daily lives.

In the past year, nuclear research in universities and private institutions has moved rapidly forward. It is a notable fact that the Commission's unclassified research contracts currently in effect number more than 700. This technical research is directed not only at advancing our theoretical knowledge of the atom, but also at removing the present limitations on the practical application of our knowledge.

Already, the atom has been put to work in a variety of ways. In biology and medicine, it already has been helpful in the attack on cancer and in a variety of other applications. In industry, the Commission's production of radio-active isotopes has been utilized in the production processes involving many commodities. In agriculture, atomic radiation experiments have shown the possibility of several crop yields where previously the soil could bring out only one.

Among the other scientific advances to which this newfound knowledge might lead are the possible use of atomic radiation to sterilize food and drugs, the development of new metals such as zirconium which previously could not be purified, and the possibility of unlocking the secret of photo-synthesis, the process by which plants transform sunlight into living energy.

However, the most immediate practical use of atomic discovery continues to be its use as a new source of power. Work on developing

a practical atomic power plant is proceeding rapidly. A number of the nation's largest industrial firms are working to develop an efficient "atomic reactor" under which the heat generated by atomic energy would be harnessed to turn water into steam and thus develop electric energy. Although it is unlikely that these first reactors can be competitive with modern power-generating plants, future technical advances will undoubtedly make such competition possible.

The Atomic Energy Commission has made some official speculations regarding the technical progress that can be made in this direction during the next twenty years. Under one set of assumptions, about five million kilowatts of nuclear capacity for electric power would be in operation in 1975, generating about 35 billion kilowatt hours, or 2 per cent of estimated U. S. electric output.

Under a second set of assumptions, 1975 would see a capacity of 21 million kilowatts of nuclear power. This capacity might generate a total of 147 billion kilowatt hours, or over 10 per cent of the country's total electric requirements for that year.

In either case, the rapid strides in the practical application of atomic energy presents many challenges. The development of atomic energy, unlike any other major advances in technology, have not been produced by private individuals working for private profit. Rather these developments have come because the American people have invested over $10 billion to unlock the secrets of the atom. At the start, America's efforts were devoted entirely to the military aspects of atomic energy. The time is at hand when advances in technology will make possible the harnessing of the atom for peacetime productive purposes on a nation-wide scale. This development must proceed with all practical speed. Above all, the industrial use of atomic power must be for the benefit of all Americans.

In the construction and operation of America's atomic energy plants, the Atomic Energy Commission has relied on a number of the largest industrial firms in the United States. As a result, these firms have had for some time and will continue to have access to a vast storehouse of highly privileged atomic information. Unless firmly administered public policies prevent it, these firms will be in a position to put information and know-how they derived from the otherwise secret governmental operations to their exclusive private gain. If left free to make exclusive use of such information, such firms could easily monopolize, dominate, or even restrict the future production of atomic energy for their private advantage.

We reaffirm the policy stated by our 1952 and 1953 Conventions on the future industrial development of atomic energy. Central to this policy is the proposition that atomic energy itself and the technology arising out of nuclear fission and nuclear fusion must be kept in the public domain. We believe that there should be full opportunity for private investment and enterprise to share in the development of the civilian use of atomic energy, but only to the extent that national security and public

interest are kept inviolate, and on the condition that such commercial participation is kept thoroughly competitive.

We urge Congress to write into the law clear and specific safeguards, subject to a full measure of enforcement, to prevent such monopoly or domination for private gain. The Atomic Energy Commission should be constantly on the alert against this very real danger and report to the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy on any threat of private profiteering at public expense.

Special considerations must underlie public policy toward the inventions and discoveries that are made in the course of atomic development. These inventions must not be permitted to form the basis for a private patent monopoly. Although certain areas of atomic knowledge may properly be open to private patent, the government must enforce a system of compulsory licensing so that competition, not monopoly, becomes the pattern for this growing industry.

As the production of atomic-generated power gets under way and becomes more competitive with that of power produced by coal or water, government action will be required to make certain that the new source of power is utilized in the true public interest and made available to consumers at the lowest possible cost.

American labor has been an integral part of the atomic energy operations. It has built the plants and operated the production processes. The Atomic Energy Commission reports that the Commission and its contractors currently employ a total of approximately 150,000 workers. At present, the majority of these workers are employed on construction projects, but by early 1955 it is estimated that over 80,000 will be employed on production, research and service operations.

The overwhelming majority of the construction workers are members of the A. F. of L. building trades unions while the vast majority of the workers engaged in the production processes are members of the A. F. of L. metal trades and chemical unions.

The restraint which these workers and their organizations have exercised has helped to produce a record of operations that has been remarkedly free from work stoppages. Yet the fact remains that labor-management relations in the nation's atomic energy plants have been far from satisfactory.

The strict requirements of security which surround such projects create special problems. In certain situations this has been used by contractors to block effective union organization and satisfactory union-management relations.

To establish a basis for more satisfactory relations between the Commission, its contractors and workers, we urge the establishment of a special Labor-Management Advisory Committee to the Atomic Energy Commission. This committee would advise the Commission on all aspects of labor relations, including procedures and standards for employment, personnel problems, and collective bargaining relations.

ECONOMIC SITUATION

A year ago, our country was at the peak of prosperity. Nevertheless, in reviewing the economic situation at that time, we called attention to a number of weaknesses, warning that "at mid-year . . . there were already signs of hesitation and uncertainty about the future outlook."

Unfortunately, the decline in business activity which soon followed more than verified the "signs of hesitation and uncertainty" already noted in our last year's report.

The recession, which began a year ago, undercut the economic activity of the whole nation. But the worker was the worst hit. When the number of unemployed workers more than triples in a seven-month period, as it did between August 1953 and March 1954, no one can dispute the seriousness of the decline in terms of human distress. Workers given lay-off notices, or forced to work short weeks, are the ones that know most painfully that their jobs have been lost, their income reduced, and their work opportunities made scarcer.

Of deep concern, not only to the wage-earners, but to every American, is the widening gap between the recent actual performance of the economy and the performance it would have maintained if full prosperity were kept up. The report issued in the name of the President on August 12, 1954, presenting a one-sided array of picked statistical comparisons and wrenching the facts to the breaking point, attempted to convey the impression of wide economic gains made in the immediately preceding months. The truth was that all the basic economic indicators showed economc activity in the United States in the first half of 1954 to be substantially less vigorous than in 1953. In each of the first six months of this year fewer people were at work than during the corresponding month of 1953. In addition, an exceptionally large number of workers were forced to go on short time, with the resulting heavy loss of income.

Yet our population continued to expand, new households were being formed and growing numbers of young people were coming into the labor market to look for work for the first time. In the meantime, our industrial productivity continued a steady increase. To keep in balance, our economy should put more people to work each succeeding year and keep them fully employed.

As lay-offs mounted, unemployment reached a peak in February and March 1954 when the Bureau of the Census reported a total of 3.7 million as unemployed. This was more than three times the total of 1.2 million recorded as recently as August 1, 1953. Failing to register the usual substantial seasonal drop in the number of jobless in April and May, unemployment settled to a level of more than 3.3 million in June and July, 1954.

Even the threefold increase in unemployment reported by the Census in the brief space of 7 months following August 1953 fails to tell the

whole story. The Census Bureau has maintained a narrow and restricted definition of unemployment so that it counts as employed a large number of workers who are actually without work and not drawing pay. Moreover, the Census unemployment figures make no allowance for partially unemployed workers whose regular full-time work has been cut.

If necessary modifications are made in the Census figures to show the actual extent of economic unemployment, according to the American Federation of Labor estimates, in midsummer of 1954 such economic unemployment accounted for approximately 5 million workers. This represents about 8 percent of the civilian labor force and demonstrates the severity of the real economic toll of joblessness.

While the recession which began in mid-1953 cut deeply into production, employment and prosperity of the whole nation, it did not strike everywhere with the same force. Certain localities and industries were hit far more severely while some have suffered relatively little direct effect.

Hardest hit by the recession were the manufacturing industries, but railroad transportation, mining, and federal government activities also suffered substantial drops in employment. It is in the Northeastern, Middle-Atlantic, and Mid-Western industrial cities, where these activities are concentrated, that the force of the recession was felt the most.

In manufacturing total employment reached a peak in August 1953 when the Department of Labor reported 17.5 million factory workers. Since that month, the total dropped steadily until by July 1954, it was less than 15.7 million, a decline of more than 10 per cent. Hardest hit were workers employed in industries manufacturing furniture, machinery, autos and other consumer durable goods, textiles, and clothing.

In addition to laying off workers, many manufacturing plants cut back hours of work. The extent of the cutbacks in hours was severe. In many plants the lack of work forced the adoption of a 3- or 4-day workweek. The Census Bureau found that in March fully 2.5 million workers who wanted full time employment, were working part time. This represented an increase of almost 50 per cent in three months. In manufacturing, the total man-hours worked during May 1954 was less than in any May since 1950.

When employment and hours drop, income also falls. The national income declined primarily because wage and salary payments decreased. According to the Department of Commerce, total wages and salaries reached a peak in July 1953. But in the following nine months cutbacks in employment and reductions in hours led to a continuing decline, despite union-won wage increases.

In the summer months of 1954 the level of total wage and salary payments remained relatively stable, but was still about $6 billion below the annual rate reached in July of the previous year. By contrast,

if full prosperity had been maintained, total wages and salaries would have risen some $8 billion above last year's level. This gap of $14 billion in wages and salaries must be filled first if our whole economy is to be brought back to full employment levels.

The recession hit the workers of America where it hurt them most: their employment and their income. But almost every economic indicator responded to the effect of the recession. By mid-summer, 1954, the nation's industrial production was running nearly 10 per cent below the 1953 peak. Output of primary metals dropped over 22 per cent within the year. Steel production was down 28 per cent, with more than one-third of steel mill capacity idle. Automobile and truck production was 15 per cent below 1953, while machinery manufacturing was down 16 per cent.

In the meantime, total business sales in the summer of 1954 were 5.2 per cent below the 1953 peak. Farm income continued to slip, running about 4 per cent below 1953, with crop receipts about 10 per cent lower. Business loans were 6 per cent below the previous year. While there was progress in adjusting the heavily over-balanced manufacturers' inventories, wholesale and retail stocks were increasing through the spring and summer months of 1954.

Interestingly enough, two economic indicators ran counter to the prevailing trend: one was the stock market and the other business profits. Soon after the Administration's switch from hard to easy money policies in 1953, stock market prices, which had been consistently dropping during that year, began a steady recovery in the face of a sharp business decline. Spurred on by the favored tax treatment given by Congress to dividend recipients in the summer of 1954, stock prices surged on up to new all-time highs. Between September 1953 and July 1954, averages for manufacturing stocks reported by the Securities and Exchange Commission, showed a price gain of over 35 per cent. Despite all the restraints and safeguards imposed on stock trading by the Securities and Exchange Act of 20 years ago, the spirit of speculation, of making money regardless of productive return, was once again riding dangerously high in Wall Street.

Business profits also stood in contrast to the rest of the prevailing economic picture. Although some firms were adversely affected by the loss of sales and production declines, corporation profits as a whole were higher in the first half of 1954 than in that of the previous year. This was due to a number of factors. In many cases the recession stimulated considerable tightening up of production techniques, serving to increase efficiency. Many firms gained from the drop in commodity and raw material prices paid by them at the time when retail prices on their products, buoyed by the Administration's sudden easy-credit policies, remained high. The end on January 1 of the excess profits tax was particularly important, among many factors, in keeping corporate profits at a high level. The sharp contrast of the stock market prices and cor-

porate profits with the trends prevailing in the rest of the economy presented an eloquent commentary on the character of the Administration's economic policies and their effect.

Having reached its low point in the early spring months of this year, the economy leveled off its activity at a slightly, but not substantially, higher plateau. There was, for example, a slight shading off in unemployment from the high of February-March, although it remained at a dangerously high level and actually increased in the strategic durable goods industries. The decline in factory output levelled off, mid-summer retail sales registered a small pick-up and manufacturers' new orders showed a slight improvement.

In the course of the summer months of 1954, it was becoming clear that, after the slide down from the full employment and full production reached a year before, the economy was being stabilized at the lower level to which it had been brought by the recession.

With every right-minded American yearning for the full resumption of his country's growth, the few and scattered hopeful signs were scanned eagerly for a promise of a real upturn in the next few months. Yet it would be a mistake to look for clues to the future economic trends no further than in the brief stretch of relative stability—at a much lowered level—that the economy maintained in the summer of 1954. Future economic developments will stem from much deeper causes.

Consider the big downslide of 1953-54. In the first part of 1953, price inflation of the Korean mobilization period had fully run its course. It was no longer a problem. Yet the incoming Administration acted as if inflation were a major menace. It set in motion strong deflationary policies. These went hand in hand with the newly proclaimed overriding objectives of the government "economy drive" and of balancing the budget.

The Treasury raised interest rates, setting off a general rise in interest charges on all forms of borrowing. The era of "hard money" and "dear dollar" was proclaimed. Most important of all, the country, in the throes of a full-scale, long-term defense mobilization, was suddenly confronted with a curtailment of defense spending. With the Communist menace nowhere diminished, despite the Korean truce, the announced "transition from war to peace" not only came as a shock, but also changed business and public expectations to a sudden reduction in the defense effort, defense production and defense outlays.

These actions and policies served to throttle the economy. The brakes not only took hold, but grabbed, and the resulting slow-down was abrupt. Soon the government was making an about-face on some of its most cherished policy commitments. Credit policy was making a switch from "hard money" to "easy money" and the "cheap dollar." Interest rates on new issue of three-month Treasury bills went down from 2.2 per cent in June 1954 to 0.65 per cent in July 1954. Following suit, interest on prime commercial paper of four to six months went

down from 2.75 per cent in the summer of 1953 to 1.56 per cent a year later. Federal Reserve policies also underwent far-reaching shifts to ease bank credit, stimulate borrowing, and to arrest the deflationary trend.

All these were powerful stimulants. They no doubt contributed to the checking of the recession, but even in combination with other measures, they failed to reverse it. At best they proved effective only as props to stabilize the economy at the lower level it had reached. While their effects were bound to be felt for some months, they were not the forces that were needed to bring the economy back into full gear.

But even so far as they went, these particular types of credit and monetary "stabilizers" had the now familiar shortcoming of being directed almost entirely at business alone. An Administration manned by businessmen was guided by the assumption that "what is good for business, is good for the country." This note was also dominant in the tax legislation enacted by the 83rd Congress. While the lion's share of tax relief went to corporations and dividend-earners, low-income taxpayers were pointedly neglected. It is a shocking fact that, with the single exception of the liberalized old age and survivors insurance, not one important measure was either proposed or enacted by the last Congress to stimulate consumer purchasing power.

Yet it is the widening disparity between the buying power of consumers and the rapidly increasing productive power of industry that presents the central problem of the Amercan economy. Return to full prosperity depends on the solution of this problem.

In mid-summer of 1954 consumer spending was at about the same level as in mid-summer of 1953. At first glance, this seems to be a remarkably good showing, considering the heavy increase in unemployment and the general economic setback that took place in the intervening months. On closer examination, however, we must recognize this performance as disappointing.

First of all, the physical growth of the country between 1953 and 1954 was rapid. There were more people, more households, more mouths to feed, more youngsters coming of age and wanting jobs and incomes. Despite this sizeable increase in the number of consumers, consumer spending remained the same.

Secondly, while consumers did curtail expenditures for goods—and especially manufactured goods—they increased their outlays for services. Evidence is conclusive that they did this not by choice, but as a matter of necessity. While prices paid by consumers for goods remained stable, the charges for rents, household utilities, transportation and other essential services rose appreciably. Since the householder had to pay the increased rent or the higher utility bill whether he liked to or not, his outlay for services went up, offsetting the decrease in other purchases.

Finally, in order to make the necessary expenditures, consumers had to reduce the rate of their savings, while the unemployed and

others deprived of income had to draw on such savings as they may have had. There was also an increase in consumer borrowing with installment credit, including personal loans, increasing steadily from March to July 1954.

Wages and salaries represent nearly two-thirds of the total national income. As we have seen, in June 1954 total wages and salaries more than $6 billion below the summer peak of 1953 and at least $14 billion below the level of full prosperity. If it had not been for the successful negotiation by unions of wage increases during the first half of 1954, the gap would have been much greater.

The reestablishment of a fully active and steadily expanding economy must begin with increases in the mass purchasing power of consumers, of which wages and salaries are the major part. For it is an increase in consumer purchases that will support a sound expansion in production, will stimulate business investment into future production and will right the present imbalance between production and consumption.

Modern technology has made possible increases in industrial productivity never before attained. These productivity gains must be translated into a higher standard of living in the form of higher real income. If that is not accomplished, increasing productivity will result in increased unemployment. There is no other choice.

In the course of the past year, unemployment rose and real per capita income in the United States declined, while productivity surged ahead. To bring once again consumers' ability to buy into step with the country's productive and physical growth, and thus resume the advance in the American standard of living, should be the first objective of our national policy.

Government alone cannot, and should not be expected to, shape the course of the nation's economic progress. In our enterprise system, both private and public policies must share in the responsibility of keeping the country prosperous. But the government, especially at a time when the security and defense of the nation are so vitally at stake, must, of necessity, provide the guidance to the private sector of the economy. And, at any time, it is up to the government to give the leadership in defining the goals to be attained in the nation's economic strength and well being.

In order to put the country back on the sure road to full prosperity, it is indispensable for the government to take these fundamental steps:

(1) Declare that resumption of full production and full employment is the overriding objective of national policy.

(2) Direct public and private policies toward reestablishing the vital balance between the industry's accelerated power to produce and the buying power of consumers.

(3) Provide fully for the defense and security of the United States,

including all programs of aid and cooperation necessary to strengthen the free world.

(4) Initiate a comprehensive program of public works designed to fill the backlog of construction of schools, hospitals, roads and many other projects needed to meet the standards of modern life and to provide for future growth.

(5) Reestablish a long-range program of public housing for low-income families and of aids necessary to bring good homes within the financial reach of middle-income families.

(6) To the extent that outlays required for national security and domestic needs permit, reduce the personal income tax burden on low-income taxpayers by cutting tax rates and increasing exemptions in the lower income brackets. Repeal the manufacturers' and retailers' excise taxes on household appliances, luggage, radios, TV sets, and automobiles as well as cosmetics, entertainment admissions and other consumer goods and services.

(7) Increase the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act to $1.25 an hour and improve minimum wage standards on government contracts.

(8) Encourage collective bargaining and mature labor-management relations instead of stifling them.

(9) Develop a long-term program to enlarge farm income, absorb agricultural surpluses and provide working family farmers with the opportunity to attain an improved standard of living and a greater measure of economic security.

(10) Strengthen the unemployment compensation system through the adoption of federal standards which would require the States to bring jobless benefits into a reasonable relation with the wages paid to those at work; to increase substantially the amount and duration of benefits; and to establish sound administrative procedures including fair and reasonable provisions for eligibility and disqualfication to replace the now widespread oppressive and arbitrary rules.

We believe the adoption of these key measures to be urgently imperative. Although in the second half of 1954, the economy promises a somewhat stronger showing than the first, it will be far from bringing the country on the road to full recovery. Continuation of policies aimed to stabilize rather than to expand economic activity is fraught with danger. A few more months of illusory stability in production and sales means that unemployment will be bound to rise. For our country, mere stability means moving backward. A failure to shift from the standstill conditions of mid-1954 to a full-fledged, aggressive recovery can only lead to a downward turn in 1955, a turn far more critical than the 1953-54 recession.

Having used up its scant array of credit, monetary and fiscal ammunition to achieve nothing more than a check in the downward course of the recession in 1954, the government is leaving our economy at its

most vulnerable in the crucial year of 1955. It has abdicated its guardianship of the public interest and its responsibility to lead, when ts leadership is most needed. With its arsenal empty, with no plan of action, with no program even in the making to cope with any possible future economic reverses, the government has failed to provide the basis for firm public confidence in the country's future.

It is up to us, therefore, to mobilize the American public behind a bold and positive program for full prosperity. We are confident that Americans in all walks of life, bent on full resumption of their country's economic progress, will be equal to the great challenge. It will be the overriding task, not only for labor, but for all Americans, to make 1955 the true turning point toward the reestablishment of full production and full employment. Steady advance in the American standard of living must be resumed without delay. It must begin by bringing public and private policies to bear on the enlargement of real and effective buying power of the great mass of American consumers.

WAGE AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING DEVELOPMENTS

Collective bargaining in the past year has been conducted in the shadow of the general economic decline.

Trade unions have nevertheless succeeded in achieving at least modest wage gains in most areas and excellent advances in others. In a few extremely depressed sectors of the economy some unions have been forced to settle for only token increases or none at all. The year's bargaining has also been characterized by marked improvements for most unions in welfare and other contract benefits.

Unfortunately, the recession took a heavy economic toll among wage earners, not only in terms of loss of jobs but in terms of reduced, part-time workweek which bit deeply into average weekly earnings for many workers despite union-negotiated increases in hourly pay.

Statistically, a broad tabulation of the wage increase terms of collective bargaining settlements reported in the first six months of 1954 reveals that more than half have been for 7 or more cents an hour. Almost a third have been for 10 or more cents.

Such an overall tabulation, while often helpful as a general indicator, blurs the significant distinctions between major industries and does not adequately reflect the varying impact of the economic recession.

It also understates the results somewhat, for many of the smaller increases negotiated in the first half of the year are scheduled to be supplemented by additional increases from negotiations in the latter half.

Broadly, the most prevalent wage settlement practice in the first half of 1954 has found general increases ranging from 6 to 10 cents, or at a minimum 5 cents, in those industries which have been affected relatively mildly by the economic downturn. Larger increases, often 15 or more cents an hour, have been negotiated frequently where levels of business

activity have been comparatively high, as for example in the case of much of the construction industry in recent months.

Increases of less than 5 cents an hour, or settlements without any wage increase, have been pretty much confined to those sectors of the economy which have been struck most severely by the economic recession or where chronically depressed conditions have persisted for some time.

Other aspects of recent wage bargaining developments are worthy of note. For one thing, the economic situation appears to have encouraged a turn on the part of some unions to contracts of shorter duration. Provision for short-term wage reopenings have become a bit more common to permit the negotiation of additional wage increases if circumstances prove favorable.

In a number of instances also unions have, as a concession in return for a specified wage increase, agreed to postpone the effective date of part of the increase, so that only some of it is put into effect immediately and the remainder deferred to a designated date several months later.

Escalator clauses, under which wages are automatically adjusted to match any changes in the cost of living, have been abandoned in a number of instances. It has been the experience of some unions that the presence of an escalator provision has an inhibiting effect on wage negotiations.

The gradual narrowing over the years of wage differentials between skilled and unskilled workers has also attracted the increased attention of many unions. A number of them have taken specific steps to widen such differentials through negotiation of additional increases for the more highly qualified workers. Others have sought at least to maintain existing differentials by negotiating increases on a percentage rather than on a uniform cents-per-hour basis.

The great majority of unions have in the past year successfully negotiated substantial improvements in contract benefit provisions. It is estimated that fully two-thirds of settlements reported in the first half of 1954 provided for some liberalization of welfare or other contract benefits. The instances in which no benefit improvements were reported are made up largely of situations in which, under the terms of limited reopening clauses, negotiations have been confined to wages alone.

There have been wide variations among different unions in the emphasis placed on different types of benefits, but most attention has been devoted to health, welfare and pension plans. Well over a third of all negotiations have been concluded with some expansion or liberalization of such plans.

In the case of pensions, most union bargaining efforts where a plan is already in effect have been directed toward increasing the amount of monthly payments or toward easing of service-requirement or eligibility rules. On health and welfare benefits, major revisions have been directed to increases in benefit levels, expansion of coverage (particularly to extend eligibility to worker dependents), and the addition of new benefits.

Union concern for worker security has taken other forms as well. The production declines leading to worker layoffs have inevitably resulted in increased attention to provisions designed to minimize the impact of layoffs.

Various affiliates have emphasized (1) special layoff or severance payments to workers forced out of their jobs for reasons beyond their control, (2) some degree of work-sharing where the volume of available work has declined, and (3) review of layoff procedures with particular emphasis on the lengthening of layoff notice periods and on the transfer of displaced workers to work available elsewhere at the company.

A number of unions have made important progress in attempts to reduce the workweek without a reduction in weekly pay. The most notable headway in this area in recent months has been made by our affiliates in the garment and printing and publishing industries.

Liberalization of provisions for paid vacations and holidays has also played a prominent role in a large percentage of negotiations. Vacation periods have been lengthened and service requirements reduced in many negotiations. Two-week vacations are increasingly being provided after but one or two years of service rather than after five years as before. Three-week vacations are being obtained increasingly after 10 or, in some cases, 5 or less years of service.

In the case of paid holidays, the addition of at least a 7th, 8th, or additional holidays to the 6 basic ones typically observed has also become increasingly common. Most unions have succeeded, too, in winning assurances of a full day's pay or an alternate paid holiday for holidays falling on Saturday.

Also, premium pay provisions governing work on holidays are being revised so that in an increasing number of instances employees who have to work on a paid holiday are paid three times, or at least two and a half times, their regular rate.

Several important lessons may be drawn from bargaining experience in the recent decline of business activity. Many employers have been quick to try to cajole unions into passing up wage increases or accepting only token adjustments on grounds of the general business downturn. Employers in a sound financial position should not be permitted to capitalize on a general economic downturn as a means of evading wage increase obligations. The occurrence of such a decline may not in itself be a sound basis for trimming justified wage demands in a particular situation.

Unions must also be careful not to water down or abandon wage increase programs because of what may actually be only a minor or temporary economic setback for a particular company. Nor should they automatically swallow unsubstantiated pessimistic management forecasts of business prospects. For most companies, sales and profit levels have been so substantial that a modest downturn has not markedly impaired their ability to make reasonable wage improvements.

In the case of individual companies hard hit by severe economic difficulties or for some time in a chronically depressed state, unions have usually been reasonable and realistic in modifying wage increase terms. They cannot be expected, however, to subsidize inefficient firms by accepting or condoning substandard wages.

Recent experience has also shown that negotiating unions should be more cautious than ever not to accept descriptions or summaries of wage bargaining results without careful checking and evaluation of their own. Erroneous impressions have been created by widespread publicity given selected instances in which unions in severely depressed companies have settled for little or no wage increases. Reports which purport to show a prevailing wage settlement "pattern figure" often lack balance and are particularly misleading. Most unions fortunately recognize the limitations of such publicity and do not allow themselves to be stampeded into inadvisably low wage settlements.

On the plus side, it is worth noting that the continued widespread negotiation of wage increases during the recent months of economic retrogression and uncertainty, a period, however, in which the cost of living did not rise appreciably, is a most significant achievement.

There has been broadened recognition that increases in real wages must keep pace with advances in our national productivity, which is today estimated as rising at a rate of about 4 per cent a year.

It has been amply demonstrated and accepted, especially in the light of the record of the past several years, that the rapid forward movement in national productivity makes wage advances possible without requiring automatic rises in the economy's price structure.

Wage increases achieved through collective bargaining in the past year have played an important role in minimizing the speed and the depth of the economic decline. The stimulus they have provided to worker purchasing power has served as an effective aid in bolstering the sagging economy.

Collective bargaining has played an essential role in the continuing improvement of American standards of living. It must now function to restore the advancement and growth stunted in so many areas in the past year.

TAXATION

The Federal Budget and Tax Reduction

Federal income for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954 was $64.6 billion, a decline of $200 million below receipts for the preceding year. Since expenditures were approximately $67.6 billion, the deficit for the year was $3 billion.

The budget submitted by the President for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1955 called for expenditures of $65.6 billion. Present indications are that as finally approved, appropriations by Congress will be

less than $65.6 billion while receipts will continue somewhat below appropriations.

In spite of current and prospective deficits, substantial tax cuts were made during the past year and further reductions are in prospect. On January 1, 1954, the excess profits tax expired involving a revenue loss of $2 billion yearly. At the same time a percentage cut in personal income tax rates took place that resulted in a $3 billion yearly reduction in revenue. On April 1, Congress reduced the excise taxes on a number of commodities and services from rates ranging as high as 25 per cent to 10 per cent at an estimated revenue loss of $1 billion yearly. These and other tax cuts involving revenue loses totaling $7.5 billion were not fully reflected in revenue figures for the past fiscal year but must be taken into account for the year ending June 30, 1955.

In addition, H. R. 8300 as finally approved by Congress, containing tax reductions as well as tax revisions, calls for initial revenue loss of $1.4 billion a year with a probable ultimate loss of $3.5 billion yearly. Congress has also scheduled further reductions of $1 billion in excise taxes and $1.2 billion in corporation taxes for April 1, 1955.

The American Federation of Labor has urged that Federal taxes be maintained at levels necessary to protect the national security and promote sound economic conditions. We have opposed premature tax reductions that would impair our ability to provide adequately for defense and foreign aid needs. At the same time we have warned against tax cuts that would stimulate inflation and have urged a balanced budget during years of prosperity and high employment.

The present Administration has committed itself to lowering expenditures, reducing taxes, and balancing the budget during a period when production, consumption and employment have declined. While expenditures and taxes have been reduced, however, the budget has not been balanced. Moreover, tax reductions which have contributed to the deficit, have been of a type least likely to be reflected in increased private spending at a time when greater purchasing power in so many sectors of the economy is so urgently needed.

The President and his advisers sanctioned the $3 billion reduction in personal income taxes and the $2 billion loss in revenue through expiration of the excess profits tax on January 1, 1954. Yet, $4 billion of this total of $5 billion yearly in tax savings accrued to corporations and to taxpayers with annual incomes above $5,000. On the other hand, the generally beneficial reductions in the excessively high excise taxes resulting in an annual saving to consumers of $1 billion went into effect on April 1, through action by Congress which ran contrary to the President's recommendation that excise taxes should not be reduced.

The American Federation of Labor opposed H. R. 8300 which, although termed a tax revision bill, was actually a tax reduction measure containing provisions which were directed primarily at benefiting corporations and a few selected groups of taxpayers. We opposed the

liberalized depreciation provisions which will ultimately cost taxpayers $20 billion as providing unnecessary tax benefits to corporations. We also opposed the proposal to remove a portion of dividend income from taxation. In its original form this proposal would have resulted in revenue loss of more than a billion dollars yearly. Even in the weakened form in which it was finally approved, involving the loss of several hundred million dollars, the American Federation of Labor considers this dividend relief measure another tax escape loophole that will operate to benefit taxpayers who least require additional relief.

Equitable Federal Tax Policy Essential

The tax reductions authorized by Congress during the past year as well as those in prospect for 1955 have been made on a haphazard basis and with obvious favoritism of business and property interests, with little regard to the overall needs of the economy. In many respects they will operate to aggravate rather than correct existing imbalances in the economy. At various times during the past ten years the American Federation of Labor has pointed out that tax measures adopted by Congress were inequitable in their impact. A series of measures providing special relief for taxpayers in the upper income levels have combined to shift a disproportionate share of the overall tax burden to taxpayers in the lower income groups. High beginning personal income tax rates combined with low personal exemptions have curtailed the purchasing power and cut into the living standards of millions of Americans. Although $7.5 billion in tax reductions has been authorized by Congress effective in 1954, and an additional $3 billion in reductions is scheduled for 1955, only a disproportionately small part of these tax savings will accrue to taxpayers in the income groups below $5,000.

Events of the past year strengthen the American Federation of Labor in its belief that Congress should give first priority to eliminating all preferential tax treatment accruing to any group of taxpayers to the disadvantage of taxpayers generally. So-called high rates on upper bracket income mean little or nothing as long as upper bracket income taxpayers benefit so substantially from the tax escapes made possible by the split income provision, failure to withhold taxes on investment income at source, over-liberal depletion allowances, loose estate and gift tax provisions, family partnership abuses, preferred treatment accorded capital gains, tax-exempt securities and other loopholes. Elimination of these legalized tax escape devices should be accompanied by substantially lower rates on the first $2,000 of taxable income and the highest possible increase in personal exemptions permitted by revenue needs.

State and Local Taxes

State and local tax collections which totaled $19.3 billion continue to mount. State tax collections for the year ending June 30, 1953 reached an all-time high of $10.5 billion.

Unfortunately, many states have constitutional restrictions on income taxes, have imposed arbitrary budget limits, or have adopted property tax limitations. These legislative and constitutional limitations have resulted in less dependence on taxes based on ability to pay and more recourse to regressive taxes on consumers, particularly the highly inequitable sales tax. Increasingly therefore, state and local governments are continuing to throw a disproportionately larger share of a growing tax burden on low income taxpayers. Recent studies have shown that taxpayers in the income groups below $7,500 are paying a larger proportion of their income for the support of local and state services than taxpayers in income groups above that figure.

State and local revenue systems are inadequate as well as regressive. Ever since World War II, states, cities, and school districts have gone more deeply into debt year by year. The total debt of all state and local units of government mounted from $15.9 billion in 1946 to $30.1 billion in 1952. State and local governments, moreover, are not providing necessary services and facilities to citizens in many parts of the nation. The Federal Government with its vastly greater taxing power clearly has the responsibility for eliminating competition between subordinate taxing units by rationalizing the relationship between local, state and Federal revenue systems. Reduction in Federal taxes will serve no useful purpose if states and local governments continue to rely on regressive tax systems, increase deficits, and yet are unable to provide necessary health, educational, institutional and other public services so vital to meet the needs of the American people.

The Role of the Federal Government

Early in 1953 President Eisenhower established a Presidential Commission composed of members of Congress and private citizens to study and make recommendations directed at improving Federal-State-Local tax, fiscal and other relations. The first Chairman of the Commission, Clarence Manion, never got the work of the Commission under way and was finally dismissed. More than a year after its formation, under a new Chairman, Meyer Kestenbaum, the Commission began to prepare to study the problems assigned to it.

In this connection, the Administration gave strong emphasis to the need for greater dependence by states and local communities on their own resources. The American Federation of Labor takes the view that any program of Federal aid should be predicated on local and state governments bearing financial responsibility within the limits of their ability to pay. Moreover, we consider it important to recognize that all existing studies reinforce the basic conclusion of the President's Economic Report of January, 1953. This report showed that there is a tremendous backlog of needed school buildings, highways, hospitals, housing, recreational facilities, sewage facilities, flood control facilities, and improved community services requiring the expenditures of billions

of dollars over and above the current tax revenue available to state and local governments.

These facilities and services will not be provided, nor will the materials, equipment and labor necessary to their provision be employed unless necessary finances are forthcoming. States and local communities are financing existing services with difficulty. The American Federation of Labor urges the Commission, the Administration and the Congress to face up to the immediate responsibility of the Federal Government for formulating a long-overdue program for joint Federal-State-Local planning and financing of public works, and strengthening existing programs of Federal assistance to states and local governments especially in the fields of health, education, and social security.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

In its report to the Seventy-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in St. Louis last year, your Executive Council expressed gratification over the fact that for the first time in 20 years the Department of Labor was headed by men chosen from the ranks of Labor—Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin and Undersecretary of Labor Lloyd A. Mashburn. Since our last report and prior to the convening of our 1953 Convention, Brother Durkin and Brother Mashburn have resigned as a matter of trade union principle and in protest against the position taken by the Eisenhower Administration regarding amendments to the unjust Taft-Hartley Act. The expression of support given by the St. Louis Convention for the position taken by Brother Martin P. Durkin made crystal clear the opposition of the American Federation of Labor to the Eisenhower Administration's methods of amending the Taft-Hartley Act. Furthermore, the accomplishments of these two men from the ranks of Labor during their brief term of office underscore the soundness of our belief that the leadership of the Department should always be entrusted to trade unionists.

However, without regard to the personnel appointed to administer the affairs of the one Department designed to foster and promote the well-being of more than 60,000,000 wage earners, the record of the past year indicates beyond question that the Department of Labor has again been denied sufficient funds with which to carry out its lawful duties. The appropriations for administrative funds during the fiscal year 1955 are less than the amount set for fiscal 1954; in turn, the administrative funds for fiscal 1954 were less than those of 1953. In view of this steady process of attrition the fact is certainly clear why the entire United States Department of Labor is smaller than many subdivisions or bureaus in other Government Departments. While the size of appropriations is not necessarily a measure of a Department's ability to perform its duties, neither does the most effective use of those funds which are available necessarily indicate that a Department has met its lawful requirements. Good intentions and wise administration are not adequate substitutes for

realistic fiscal appropriations. For altogether too many years the wage earners of the United States have been subjected to the cheap political maneuver of fervent promises to "rebuild" the Department of Labor during a political campaign and miserly, debilitating appropriations after the campaign.

Within the sparse limits of an embarrassingly small appropriation, Secretary of Labor Mitchell and his staff have administered the duties and responsibilities of the Department of Labor. Both the organizational structure and the programs of the Department were reviewed to the end of increasing efficiency. A concerted effort has been made to inform the public concerning the importance of the ILO. Despite the initial opposition of Congress, the Department was eventually successful in procuring funds for a modest program to improve working and living conditions of migratory workers. But the Department was singularly unsuccessful in preventing another destructive cut in the budget of the Bureau of Apprenticeship despite the ever-growing importance of this Bureau in the manpower program of our country. The consequent loss of experienced prsonnel through reductions in force must invitably mean a loss in craftsmen without whom the national defense program will be hampered.

Our position was in opposition to the Seaway.

Regardless of the political fortunes of the Department of Labor, the Executive Council emphasizes the continuing interest of the American Federation of Labor in the construction and operation of this Department to the end that it will be able to discharge its lawful obligations as defined by the Congress of the United States. In this connection your Council is pleased to report that the A. F. of L. members of the Labor Advisory Committee to the Foreign Operations Agency were completely successful in having transferred to the Department of Labor the FOA labor training program which had heretofore been conducted by the FOA. Under this program "teams" of visiting trade unionists and employers from all parts of the world take part in organized classes of instruction concerned with the nature and operation of trade unionism in the United States. The success achieved in adding to the functions of the Department of Labor is but another step in the overall program of the American Federation of Labor to really build up the Department by centralizing in it all proper functions of Government related to labor.

Finally, your Council is pleased to report that the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor deserve particular praise for their contributions toward keeping alive the Department of Labor. This year—as in past years—their untiring efforts made possible a defensive action which netted the Department hundreds of thousands of dollars and prevented budget slashes which would really have all but wiped out the Department as an effective arm of Government.

Your Council wishes to make clear its basic position on the Department of Labor. We have no desire to construct a giant sprawling Government Agency with more funds than it can properly use. Rather we seek to

create a department whose functions will be administered to the end that men and women may work under safety standards which protect them to the maximum; that the laws of Congress designed to protect wage earners from exploitation due to low wages and long working hours will be enforced; that the youth of this country will have available to it apprentice training of the highest quality; and that the women who work shall obtain the fullest protection which the Federal Government can provide. These objectives are not measurable in the dollars and cents of fiscal budgets and their success can be reflected only in the well-being of all American wage earners.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

A. F. of L. Social Security Committee

The Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor is composed of the following members: William F. Schnitzler, Chairman; George Meany (*ex officio*); James A. Brownlow; Gordon W. Chapman; William H. Cooper; George Q. Lynch; Lee W. Minton; J. Scott Milne; Matthew Woll; with Nelson H. Cruikshank as Secretary. This Committee, appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor, advises him on policies and programs in the entire field of social insurance and related subjects. The Convention has, in the past referred to this Committee a number of resolutions, particularly those which deal with technical aspects of the Federation's social security program. The Committee then makes recommendations to the President and the Executive Council on the disposition of these resolutions. It meets on call of the Chairman or upon the request of the President. During the past year, meetings have been held jointly with representatives of the Legislative Committee in order better to co-ordinate social insurance activities with the entire legislative program of the American Federation of Labor. This has served to develop effective cooperation among the staff of A. F. of L. offices.

Status of Present Program

Social security in the United States is a going concern. In the 19 years since the adoption of the first Social Security Act, its proven principles have become accepted as an integral part of American life. The principle of insuring the wage earner's family against loss of income resulting from involuntary unemployment, old age or death of the family breadwinner can now be said to have stood the test of time. Following the repudiation by both the House and Senate of the spurious scheme of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, it can now be said to have stood the test of the most concentrated, well financed and nationally advertised attack of misleading propaganda launched against it since 1936.

The Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program is now paying monthly benefits to 6.2 million persons, an increase of nearly a million over last

year. The amount of these benefits totalled 3.1 billion dollars during 1953. The magnitude of this program is indicated by the fact that, at the end of the first quarter of 1954, benefit awards were being approved for about 4,600 newly eligible individuals every 24 hours. The net increase in the number of beneficiaries was running at about 3,000 per day.

During this current year, 3.4 million of the beneficiaries were retired persons over age 65. The average monthly benefit is just under $52.00, and that for retired couples, both over 65, was about $78.00. This figure is for all the retired beneficiaries, including those who retired during the earlier years of the program and those who had a small portion of their total earnings in covered employment. A more significant fact is that the primary benefits for male workers retiring in 1954 under the provisions of the 1950 and 1952 amendments average about $74.00 per month, while those for man and wife are now averaging $106.50 per month.

No less significant than the protection against destitute old age is the protection afforded dependents of wage earners with family dependents. Four out of 5 young mothers in the United States now have such protection. Over a quarter of a million mothers and over a million children who are survivors of workers who have died are receiving such survivor benefits. The average monthly benefit for a widowed mother with two young children being paid in 1954 is $152.50. In addition, the following groups of survivors are receiving monthly payments from social security: wives and husbands, 925,000; widows and widowers, 562,000; dependent parents, 24,000.

As of the end of the first quarter in 1954, the Social Security Trust Fund had assets of 19.2 billion dollars, 18.4 billion of which was held in U. S. Government bonds. There is an additional 9 billion dollars held in the separate unemployment trust fund available to the states for payment of benefits.

Under the Public Assistance title of the Social Security Act, about 1.4 billion dollars was granted to the states by the Federal Government last year. The states added roughly another 1.2 billion.

Under this program, monthly payments are currently being paid to about 2.6 million needy aged; a half million needy families, including 1.5 million children; 100,000 blind; 200,000 permanently and totally disabled; and 326,000 other needy individuals.

Developments Since the 1953 Convention

A year ago, the Executive Council reported to the 72nd Convention that there existed three imminent threats to the social security system. These were the projected program of the special Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee appointed to study social security and headed by Congressman Carl Curtis, Republican of Nebraska. The second was an attack on the soundness of our social insurance system then being conducted against the long-run solvency of the trust fund. This found

expression at that time in President Eisenhower's proposal that the increase in the social security contribution rate, from 1½ per cent to 2 per cent, scheduled under the Act to begin January 1954, be indefinitely postponed. The third was the Chamber of Commerce proposal, which we then described as a plan, when stripped of its fancy titles and promises, to provide "universal coverage" and to "end discrimination among the aged," simply designed to shift the burden of public assistance payments from the general revenues of the government, supported in large measure by income taxes and property taxes, to the social security payroll tax.

Our report on this three-pronged attack a year ago ended with the following comment:

"One of the major tasks before us is to acquaint our membership and the workers of America generally to the threat contained in this program. By every means available to the labor press, the radio and every public forum available to us, we shall expose the evil designs of those who through the years have consistently opposed the social security program and who are now intensifying their attacks. . . ."

The Council is glad to report now to this 73rd Convention that these attacks have been defeated on all fronts.

In cooperation with the Legislative Committee and the A. F. of L. Legislative Council, a campaign of information was conducted among the Members of the House Ways and Means Committee. This was sufficiently successful to prevent the Curtis Subcommittee from ever making a report. These efforts were augmented by a program of public information conducted by the A. F. of L.-sponsored radio program and through the labor press. A special educational campaign was carried on with the cooperation of the Nebraska Federation of Labor and the Lincoln Central Labor Union in the First Congressional District of Nebraska. Last Spring, Congressman Curtis announced that he would not run for re-election as a Representative, though later, after the death of the Senior Senator from Nebraska, he announced his candidacy for that office.

In response to a letter sent by President Meany to all State Federations of Labor and all Central Labor Unions, copies of which were provided for the information of all Presidents of National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, explaining the stake that every worker in employment covered by social security had in the continued sound financing of the system and asking the officers of all local branches of the Federation to urge upon their Representatives in Congress the necessity of opposing the social security "tax freeze," which had been proposed by President Eisenhower, a truly remarkable campaign was carried on, with the result that the Congress never gave serious consideration to proposed action to prevent the increase in the contribution rate from going into effect January 1 of this year, as provided by the Social Security Act. The Administration abandoned its effort to sell this proposal to workers as a "saving." It is a tribute to the basic common sense of the members of the A. F. of L. unions in every state of the union that they did not fall victim to the propaganda that

failure to provide adequate financing of the social security system, through a temporary tax reduction, represented a saving.

Despite the liberal-sounding labels which the U. S. Chamber of Commerce used to describe their sinister scheme to shift the burden of public assistance to the social security trust fund, their so-called plan could not stand up under critical public examination and, in the course of hearings before Congressional Committees, it failed to receive any serious consideration.

The most significant development in social security during the past year was the passage of the Administration's social security bill, the "Social Security Amendments of 1954." On January 14, President Eisenhower outlined the proposals of his Administration in the social security field, and immediately thereafter the Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee and two other members of the Committee introduced identical bills incorporating the provisions of the President's program.

The Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor, analyzing this bill, found that, with respect to its provisions for the extension of coverage, it incorporated an earlier bill (H. R. 6846), introduced by Congressman Kean, Republican of New Jersey, which had been endorsed by the 72nd Convention. It contained five other major provisions which, on analysis, proved to be consistent with the approved social security program of the A. F. of L. Accordingly, on recommendation of the Social Security Committee, President Meany announced the endorsement of this bill, though pointing out that in a number of important respects it did not go as far in improving the system as the American Federation of Labor had for the past several years been urging.

In statements presented to the Ways and Means Committee of the House in April and to the Finance Committee of the Senate in June, President Meany indicated the support of the American Federation of Labor for this proposal and pointed out the following additional improvements which he asked the Congress to enact:

1. In order to retain a truly wage-related benefit system consistent with our private enterprise economy, the wage base should be raised to $6,000, rather than to the $4,200 figure called for by the bill.

2. An increment of one-half of 1 per cent should be added to the primary benefit for each year a worker participates in and contributes to the system as a matter of equity to those who have contributed over a period of years to the well-being of our economy.

3. For each year in which a worker continues in active employment beyond the age of 65, his primary benefit should be increased to an amount equal to 2 per cent per year.

4. Workers' benefits should be computed on their best 10 consecutive years of covered employment.

5. Remuneration received in the form of tips should be included as wages for social security purposes.

6. Retirement benefits should be payable to any covered worker at any age he is forced to retire from active employment because of permanent and total disability.

These six additional provisions which the Committees of Congress were called upon to include in the Social Security Amendments of 1954 are all contained in S. 2260, the benefit provisions of which were endorsed by the 72nd Convention.

The bi-partisan nature of the support of social security is indicated by the vote of 355-8 by which the measure was approved by the House on June 1. The Senate version of the bill was passed by voice vote on August 13, and the final conference report was adopted by voice vote in both Houses on August 21. The measure was signed by the President September 2, 1954, and became public law.

Amendments of 1954 Summarized

The bill as finally passed did not depart substantially from the provision in the administration bill referred to above. With reference to the six major points it provides:

1. Extension of coverage to about 10 million additional persons. Self-employed doctors and dentists are still excluded, as are employes of the TVA. The exclusion of employes of state and local governments (excepting policemen and firefighters) covered by a retirement system is removed. These groups can now be covered on an affirmative vote of a majority of eligible employes in the group.

2. That workers in newly covered groups can drop out 4 years of low or no covered earnings. Those having 20 quarters or more of covered earnings can drop out up to 5 years of low earnings or no earnings in the computation of average monthly wages on which benefits are based.

3. For the earnings base to be raised from $3,600 per year to $4,200, thus materially increasing benefits for the higher paid groups.

4. For improving the benefit formula for persons who retire or die in the future by providing for computation by the following formula: 55 per cent of the first $110 of average monthly wage (rather than $100 as in the old law) plus 20 per cent of the next $240 (rather than 15 per cent of the next $200). For illustrative benefits see Tables I and II below. Minimum benefits for retired workers and for single survivors are raised to $30.

5. For liberalizing the retirement test by (1) making it applicable only to age 72 rather than to age 75; and (2) permitting an individual to earn $1,200 per year without losing any monthly benefit and deducting only one monthly benefit for each month in which he earns $80 or more after the permissible $1,200.

6. For preserving the benefit rights earned by any individual against any loss in earnings resulting from permanent and total disability.

The following tables illustrate the increases in benefits provided in the amendments:

TABLE I: Illustrative Monthly Benefits for Retired Workers

Average Monthly Wage[1]	Old Law		New Law	
	Single	Married[2]	Single	Married[2]
$100	$55.00	$ 80.00	$ 55.00	$ 82.50
200	70.00	105.00	78.50	117.80
300	85.00	127.50	98.50	147.80
350	85.00[3]	127.50[3]	108.50	162.80

[1] Assuming level earnings. Many workers' average wages will be increased by the 5-year drop out. Also, slightly higher benefits for persons with average wages of less than $130 by application of 1952 formula and conversion table.
[2] With wife aged 65 or over.
[3] Old law included earnings only up to $300 per month.

TABLE II: Illustrative Monthly Benefits for Survivors of Insured Workers

Average Monthly Wage[1]	Aged Widow or Widower[2]		Widow and One Child[3]		Widow and Two Children		Widow and Three Children	
	Old Law	New Law	Old Law	New Law	Old Law	New Law	Old Law	New Law
$100	$41.30	$41.30	$ 80.00	$ 82.60	$ 80.00	$ 82.60	$ 80.10	$ 82.70
200	52.50	58.90	105.00	117.80	140.00	157.10	160.20	160.20
300	63.80	73.90	127.50	147.80	168.80	197.10	168.90	200.10
350	63.80[4]	81.40	127.50[4]	162.80	168.80[4]	200.00	168.90[4]	200.10

[1] Assuming level earnings. Many workers' average wage will be increased by the 5-year drop out. Also, slightly higher benefits for persons with average wages of less than $130 by application of 1952 formula and conversion table.
[2] Also single surviving parent or child.
[3] Also 2 aged parents.
[4] Old law included earnings only up to $300.

Tables I and II apply to those who become eligible after August 31, 1954. Increases are also provided in the new law for those already drawing benefits. This is done by means of a conversion table which is summarized in Table III.

TABLE III: Summary of Conversion Table for Computing New Monthly Benefits for Those on the Roll in September 1954

Primary insurance amount under old law[1]	New primary insurance amount[1]
$25.00	$30.00
30.00	35.00
40.00	45.00
50.00	55.00
60.00	67.90
70.00	78.50
80.00	91.90
85.00	98.50

[1] Monthly benefits for survivors or dependents of retired workers are increased proportionately, using the "new primary insurance amount" as the base for computing additional amounts.

Unemployment Compensation

Sharp increases in unemployment during the past year have again demonstrated the weakness and inadequacy of the present Federal-State

unemployment compensation system. Low benefit ceilings, inadequate duration periods, and harsh disqualification provisions have largely nullified the value of unemployment insurance as an economic stabilizer or barrier against depression.

Benefit ceilings have failed to keep step with wage levels. Today, only three States have maximum weekly benefit amounts equal to 50 per cent or more of the average weekly wage, and in 19 States the maximum is less than 40 per cent of the average weekly wage. In 1939, the maximum benefit exceeded 50 per cent of the average weekly wage in all except two States.

The inadequacy of duration periods is shown by the fact that, during the first five months of 1954, 658,000 workers exhausted their benefit rights, as compared to 348,000 over the same period last year. At the last report, workers were exhausting their benefit rights at the rate of 40,000 a week.

Reed Bill Adopted

In the face of the obvious and compelling need for positive Federal action to overhaul, to strengthen and to improve the unemployment insurance system, the record of the 83rd Congress and the present Administration is, to date, a sorry one. The most significant unemployment insurance measure adopted by the Congress was the Reed Bill. This bill was intended, not to improve the system, but to weaken it still further, by undermining the role of the Labor Department in the enforcement of the meager administrative standards now in the law, which are designed to protect the benefit rights of covered workers. The American Federation of Labor strongly, though unsuccessfully, opposed this measure.

The Reed Bill was sponsored and promoted by the so-called Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies—an employer-dominated organization purporting to represent the views of State administrators. It provides for the establishment of a $200 million reserve fund by earmarking surplus collections from the 0.3 per cent Federal unemployment tax. This fund is to be used as a source of repayable *loans*—not grants—to States whose funds are depleted, subject to harsh and prohibitive penalties, through the imposition of higher tax rates on employers in the State if the loan is not repaid within four years.

After the accumulation of this loan fund, further surplus receipts from the Federal unemployment tax would be distributed automatically to the States, regardless of need, on a basis proportionate to their taxable payrolls. Amounts so distributed would be available, not just for benefit payments (or employer tax reductions where benefit reserves are already ample), but for additional administrative expenditures desired by State administrators over and above the amounts appropriated by Congress for "proper and efficient" administration.

The availability of this secondary source of administrative funds will tend to make State administrators independent of the appropriation

process, responsible only to themselves and hence less responsive to the public interest. It tends also to undermine legal safeguards which depend entirely upon Federal control over administrative budgets for their enforcement—thus opening new avenues by which employers, in league with pliable State administrators and legislators, can reduce their tax rates, under experience-rating, by depriving workers of benefits to which they should be entitled.

In their testimony before the Senate Finance Committee, spokesmen for the Administration proposed an amendment which would have limited the use of the surplus funds distributed to the States to the payment of benefits, precluding their use for additional administrative expenditures. The Committee rejected the proposed amendment and reported the Reed Bill out virtually as requested by the Interstate Conference.

When the bill reached the Senate, the Department of Labor was unable to find a single member of the majority party who was willing to offer the Administration's proposed amendment on the Senate floor. This singular and unprecedented state of affairs offers further evidence that employer forces, through their channels into the White House, are exercising a covert veto over the Labor Department in this field, even when it involves the defeat of an "official" Administration position. Apparently, the word had been passed from a higher level, behind the Labor Department's back, advising the Administration's "supporters" in the Senate not to be too energetic in their support. This leaves the Labor Department in charge of the "window-dressing" or advertising department, as far as workers are concerned, while the skullduggery goes on behind the scenes.

The amendment proposed by the Administration was finally offered by Senator Kennedy (D., Mass.), but was defeated, with a large majority of the Administration's own party voting against. The Reed Bill was passed, and signed into law by the President, despite the objections voiced by the Department of Labor in the name of the Administration.

Administrative "Program"

As for the Administration's own much-heralded "program" for unemployment compensation improvements, it proved to be a feeble thing at best and grew still more feeble on its way through Congress and the State legislatures. It consisted of two parts: (1) "suggestions" for State action, and (2) recommendations for Congressional action.

This "program," in effect, shifted to the States all responsibility for action to meet the most urgent deficiencies of the unemployment insurance system—the need for higher benefit amounts and longer duration periods. This was done by means of a letter from Secretary of Labor Mitchell to the Governors of the various States, "suggesting," on behalf of the President, that benefit ceilings under present State laws were too low and the duration of benefit payments too short. The letter proposed that benefit ceilings be raised ". . . so that the payments to the

great majority of beneficiaries may equal at least half their regular earnings." In support of this "suggestion" he cited a recommendation adopted by the Federal Advisory Council on Employment Security that, in each State, the maximum weekly benefit amount should be equal to at least 60 to 67 per cent of the State's average weekly wage. The letter also proposed that the duration of benefit payments be increased in all States to a uniform period of 26 weeks.

States Failed to Respond

The summary of State legislation in the unemployment compensation field (see page 139) during the past year reveals the utter failure of the Administration's "States' Rights" approach to this serious problem. Not one State has acted to carry out and to enact into law the President's recommendations for benefit improvements. If anything, State action in this field since Secretary Mitchell's letter went out has lagged behind the sorry record of preceding years. The chief effect of the letter seems to have been to cause employer organizations to increase the vigor and force of their opposition to any substantial improvements in the unemployment insurance system at either the State or the Federal level.

The emptiness of the gesture represented by the standards suggested to the States in Secretary Mitchell's letter was perhaps best revealed by the action taken by the Administration and the Congress in the case of the unemployment compensation law of the District of Columbia, where the Federal government exerts a direct controlling influence and has the power to apply those standards if it so desires. In this case, the Administration, through the Labor Department and the Budget Bureau as well as District officials, endorsed—and the Congress passed—a bill to increase the maximum benefit to a level which fell far short of the goal proposed to the States in the Secretary's letter. To raise the maximum to two-thirds of the average weekly wage in the District would have required an increase to $44 a week; after a brief effort to get the Budget Bureau to approve an increase to $33 a week, the Labor Department settled for $30.

Worse still, in its final form the bill carried a limit on benefit duration based on percentage of base period wages that is one of the lowest in the country and included a provision for complete cancellation of benefit rights that makes the law a travesty on sound unemployment insurance. While the Department of Labor opposed these provisions for the record, when the real test came the Department knuckled to the pressures of the District Board of Trade. By this action, Chambers of Commerce and Manufacturers' Associations in every state in the Union have effectively been notified that the Secretary's letter to the Governors calling for improvements in state unemployment compensation programs was only an idle gesture—grist for the mills of the speech writers, but not to be taken seriously by state legislatures.

The only constructive effect of this entire episode has been to demon-

strate conclusively the futility of reliance upon State action in the unemployment insurance field. The forces at work within the States who are responsible for the decay of the unemployment insurance program cannot be overcome by means of a letter of suggestion from Washington. Vigorous leadership and positive action at the Federal level offers the only hope for any substantial improvements in this system. Such action has not been forthcoming from the Administration or the Congress.

Kennedy and Forand Amendments Defeated

Efforts were made by Congressman Forand and Senator Kennedy to give the President's recommendations some practical effect by means of amendments which they offered in both the House and Senate to bills dealing with unemployment compensation. These amendments would have enacted into Federal law the benefit improvements "suggested" by the President, and would have required all the States to conform to those benefit standards. These amendments were defeated, with a large majority of the Administration's party voting against.

Extension of Coverage

That part of the President's program which he recommended to Congress for Federal action called for: (1) the extension of coverage under the unemployment insurance system to all employers of one or more employes; (2) extension of coverage to employes of the Federal government; (3) a provision which would permit new firms to enjoy the benefits of experience-rating tax reductions after only one year's experience (as compared with the previous requirement of three years' experience).

In acting upon these recommendations, the Congress whittled them down still further by curtailing the extension of coverage—limiting it to employers of "four or more," instead of "one or more" as requested by the Administration. Coverage for Federal employes and the reduction of the experience-rating waiting period were enacted as recommended.

Federal Standards Proposed

In the second session of the 83rd Congress a comprehensive bill was jointly introduced by more than 80 liberal members of the House and Senate. This bill (H. R. 9430) calls for positive affirmative action by the Federal government to correct the basic deficiencies of the present Federal-State unemployment insurance system. It contains the following major provisions:

I. Benefits

The maximum primary benefit payable under State laws would be not less than 66⅔ per cent of the State's average weekly wage. Subject to this maximum, each individual's primary benefit would be not less than 50 per cent of his weekly wages. The effect of these provisions would be to raise the maximums in most States by between $10 and $20.

II. Duration

Benefits would be payable to all unemployed insured individuals for a period of not less than 39 weeks.

III. Disqualifications

States would be barred from unfairly denying benefits to workers by the following limitations on disqualifications:

A. An individual who is able to work and available for suitable work could be disqualified only for the following reasons and for periods not in excess of those noted:

(1) Leaving suitable work without good cause (including good personal reasons)—For a period not in excess of four weeks.
(2) Discharge for misconduct connected with the work—For a period not in excess of four weeks.
(3) Refusing suitable work without good cause (including good personal reasons)—For a period not in excess of four weeks.
(4) For any week in which his unemployment is due to a stoppage of work which exists because of a strike at the unemployed worker's plant, provided that unemployment due to a strike occasioned by the following actions of the employer shall be compensated:

a. The failure or refusal of the employer to conform to Federal or State laws pertaining to collective bargaining or to wages, hours, or other conditions of work;
b. The employer's insistence on wages, hours, or other conditions of work less favorable than those prevailing for similar work in the locality.

B. Standards of suitability of work would be spelled out in the bill. In addition, the bill would set forth general criteria which would have to be taken into account in determining whether the disqualification for refusing or leaving work should be applied.

IV. Coverage

Coverage would be broadened to resemble the coverage of the old-age and survivors insurance program. Employers who have one or more individuals in their employ at any time during the taxable year would be covered.

V. Financing

A. States would be permitted to provide for uniform rate reductions to all employers as well as individual experience-rated reductions.

B. Proceeds of the Federal Unemployment Tax Act would be earmarked in a Federal unemployment account in the Federal Treasury. Such account would be used for (*a*) paying the Federal and State administrative expenses (including the establishment of an adequate contingency fund) and (*b*) reinsurance grants to those States who are in financial difficulties because of high rates of unemployment. These grants would have appropriate safeguards, but no harsh repayment penalties. They would make it possible for States with unusually heavy unemploy-

ment to make adequate benefit payments without raising employer taxes so far above levels in other States as to accelerate the out-migration of industry.

The States would be required to improve their laws to meet the new standards provided in the bill. In the meantime, the Federal government would provide funds for making payments to unemployed workers up to the standards set forth in the bill.

Legislation along the lines of this bill offers the best, and probably the only, hope that the serious deficiencies of the present unemployment insurance system can be overcome, that workers will receive adequate protection, and that the unemployment insurance system can be equipped to perform its vital economic function of maintaining purchasing power and bolstering the economy during periods of unemployment. It will be introduced again in the next Congress. It merits the full, active and energetic support of the trade union movement and of everyone who works for a living.

Federal Advisory Council

In accordance with the provision of the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933 and the Reorganization Plan Number 2 of 1949, the Secretary of Labor appoints a Federal Advisory Council. Under these Acts, the duties of this Council are to formulate policies and discuss problems relating to employment and unemployment and to advise the Secretary and the Director of the Bureau of Employment Security with respect to the administration of employment security programs. The Act further provides that the Council shall be composed of men and women representing employers and employes in equal numbers, and the public. The Council meets, on call of the Secretary, usually three times a year.

At present there are 35 members, 15 from the public, and 10 each representing employers and employes. The following employe members from the American Federation of Labor served during the past year: James Brownlow, President, Metal Trades Department; Nelson H. Cruikshank, Director, Social Insurance Activities; H. L. Mitchell, President, National Agricultural Workers Union; Joseph M. Rourke, Secretary-Treasurer, Connecticut Federation of Labor; and E. M. Weston, President, Washington Federation of Labor. J. Lane Kirkland, Assistant Director, Social Insurance Activities, serves as alternate and technical consultant to Mr. Brownlow, and the out-of-town members. On June 30, the term of Mr. Mitchell expired, and Secretary of Labor Mitchell, on the nomination of President Meany, appointed C. J. Haggerty, Secretary-Treasurer of the California Federation of Labor.

During the past year, Secretary Mitchell has indicated his support for the Council assuming a position of real significance as a policy making body, and has attempted to make its consultations meaningful and prevent its relegation to the window-dressing role that has been the fate of too many advisory groups. His task has been made more difficult by the

recalcitrant and unyielding attitude of some employer members. The AFL members of the Council have endeavored to support the Secretary in his efforts to make the Council a genuinely consultative body.

Health and Welfare

Despite the obstacles presented by the character of the 83rd Congress and the economy-first attitude of the executive department having responsibility in the health field—which has been aptly characterized by one popular cartoonist as the Department of Not-Too-Much Health, Education and Welfare—the American Federation of Labor continued, during the past year, its position of leadership in support of programs to make better health services and facilities available to wage-earners and their families. In testimony before Congressional committees and elsewhere, we have reaffirmed our view that the only ultimate answer to the health needs of the people is a system of National Health Insurance, making prepaid health services of a comprehensive nature and high quality available to all. Current experience and the deficiencies of alternative proposals continue to confirm the validity of that position.

As stated in AFL testimony before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on April 1, 1954, the health needs of the nation fall into two general groups. The first group consists of the needs that confront the individual and his family in their efforts to secure adequate medical care and attention. They may be stated as follows:

1. **Preventive care:** A constructive progressive medical care program is one which seeks to improve and to maintain the health of those who are served by it, rather than merely to patch up and repair their disabilities after they have reached the advanced stage.

2. **Access to facilities and personnel:** The principle of free choice should be realistic in its application. It should include the choice of the method or type of medical services to be selected and it should, if it is to be meaningful, include access to the best hospitals and group practice health service centers.

3. **Comprehensive protection:** Medical care cannot be fragmentized without detriment to its quality. Its component parts must be brought together into a comprehensive, continuous whole. Diagnosis cannot be arbitrarily separated from treatment and surgery cannot be isolated from pre-operative and post-operative care. Care inside the hospital cannot be provided as a thing entirely apart from care in the home, office or health center. Anything short of a comprehensive, unified health program is, to that extent, an inadequate program.

4. **Full family coverage:** Many of the insurance plans in existence today cover only the wage-earner himself and exclude his wife and children. While this step in the establishment of health insurance plans is a major step forward, the problems of the wage earner will not be fully met until such plans are amended to cover the total family medical bill.

5. Budgeting for full prepayment: A satisfactory health program should provide a means of making possible the full prepayment of the costs of the services offered.

6. Improvement in quality of medical care: Fee-splitting, unnecessary surgical operations and the overcrowding of hospitals are aggravated in many instances by the prevailing type of commercial indemnity insurance coverage. The need is for positive incentives to the great majority of ethically-minded physicians and surgeons to provide through group practice and other means now available the highest type and quality of medical care and service. The general public needs assistance in discovering and utilizing the better types of medical care programs.

There is a second category of needs which are of a community nature. Among the most urgent of these are the following:

1. Care for the chronically ill and the aged.
2. Expansion of local public health units.
3. Aid to medical education.
4. Expansion of hospitals, health centers and other medical facilities.

While favoring a comprehensive program designed to meet each of these needs, the American Federation of Labor has not taken an "all or nothing" position in its approach to Congress and to the public. We have given our full support, on its own merits, to every sound proposal that promises to result in appreciable practical progress in the health field. Working within the limits of the opportunities existing in the present political situation, we have devoted our energies during the past year to the promotion of interim measures which appeared to have some chance of enactment by the Congress.

Despite its extremely conservative complexion, it is fair to say that in this particular field at least Congress has been ahead of the Administration. On several occasions, the Congress found it necessary to rescue the Administration from its own folly, by voting more funds than the Administration had requested for certain vital functions and programs, and by side-tracking ill-conceived proposals of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Hill-Burton Act Extended

The highly-touted Administration health "program" consisted chiefly of mutilated or rehashed versions of existing functions and programs plus something vague and formless called "reinsurance." One phase of this program called for the amendment of the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act so as to authorize Federal grants to the States for the construction of certain classes of facilities not presently covered by the Hill-Burton program—namely, diagnostic centers, diagnosis and treatment facilities and rehabilitation facilities when not part of a hospital, and nursing homes.

On the really crucial question of appropriations for the Hill-Burton Act, however, the Administration program, while extending the types of

facilities covered into certain collateral areas, would have in fact crippled the basic—and still the most important—part of the present hospital construction program. The statutory authority for Hill-Burton appropriations is 150 million dollars per year. It has received this amount, however, in only one year since the program was inaugurated. The usual appropriation was $75 million.

In his January 21 budget message, President Eisenhower asked Congress for an appropriation of only $50 million for hospital construction under Hill-Burton, adding that he would subsequently request an additional $60 million for the four new categories of construction called for in his program. Secretary Hobby subsequently told a Congressional Committee that not more than $112 million would be asked for the total program. In other words, under the Administration program, the tail would wag the dog, and much of the cost of the new provisions would be paid for by the starvation of a more essential existing program.

The Congress came to the rescue of the Hill-Burton Act—in spite of, and not because of, the efforts of the Administration—by appropriating an additional $25 million over and above the $50 million requested for the existing hospital construction program. Appropriations for the four new categories of construction were limited to $21 million.

"Reinsurance" Plan Killed

Most of the Administration's promotional and propaganda efforts in the health field, however, centered around its so-called "reinsurance" plan. Under this proposal, a $25 million capital fund would be set up by the government, to serve as a secondary source of reserves for plans and corporations engaged in the sale of private health insurance benefits. Insurance companies desiring to participate in this scheme would pay premiums into the fund, and the $25 million would be returned to the government—or so it was declared—when the reinsurance premiums paid in by the companies built up to a point sufficient to keep the fund in operation on a self-sustaining basis.

The fund would pay back to a participating health insurance company three-fourths of all "abnormal" losses on the particular types of policies on which Government reinsurance had been obtained. The avowed purpose of this scheme was to encourage private insurance firms to extend their coverage to new groups and areas, and to develop new benefits and services by offering them a means of shifting their risks to a Government fund. According to Secretary Hobby, the adoption of this proposal would "lay the ghost of socialized medicine."

It is important to note that this "reinsurance" scheme offered absolutely no direct aid, guarantees or assurances to individuals and members of groups of individuals who might purchase insurance policies from the "reinsured" corporations. It contained no standards or safeguards to protect the interests of consumers, nor did it offer any assistance to those who need assistance the most—the millions of individuals and

families that are now unable to pay high commercial insurance premiums. Even its proponents conceded that—even if it lived up to all its claims—the plan would benefit only those who can now afford to pay the cost of private insurance plus the added amount that would have to be tacked on to cover the cost to the insurance company of the premiums it would pay into the reinsurance fund.

In her testimony before Congress, Secretary Hobby stated:

"In actuality, reinsurance would not give an individual policyholder any positive assurance of receiving his benefit payments. Moreover, approval for reinsurance purposes would in no way signify that a reinsured plan is superior to plans not reinsured."

The scheme was based entirely upon the "trickle down" theory that if the government does something for a private insurance company, that company may, in turn, decide to do something for people. According to the Administration's theory, apparently, it is "socialism" when the government undertakes to insure human beings against their unavoidable risks, but it is not "socialism" when the government undertakes to insure wealthy private corporations against their avoidable risks.

Consumers Not Consulted

About the best that can be said for this "program" is that the Administration mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. The reinsurance bill was worked out under the guidance of a group of "consultants" composed entirely of commercial insurance company officials, without benefit of the advice or opinions of representatives of the consuming public. The AMA was consulted and the measure was further watered down in an effort to meet its objections. Despite this, the AMA and most segments of the private insurance industry opposed the final measure. Thus, after everything that might conceivably have been of value to consumers was stripped from the proposal in an effort to appease the traditional enemies of effective government action in the health field, that effort was still a failure—demonstrating once again that appeasement, in the health field as in other fields, is self-defeating and does not pay. In trying to draft a bill that would mean all things to all men, the Administration succeeded only in coming up with something vague and meaningless that had little or no real appeal to any interested group. In fact, it would have been cheaper and probably just as productive of constructive results for the Administration to sponsor a bill containing only a title and a general statement of high purpose—leaving the rest blank, and thereby saving $25 million while still permitting the Administration to go on record in favor of good health.

"Reinsurance" Not a Solution

The American Federation of Labor did not and does not oppose the idea of reinsurance in principle. With proper standards and safeguards to protect the rights and interests of the consumer—which were con-

spicuously absent from the Administration bill—reinsurance could conceivably be of some assistance in helping to remedy some of the worst of the many deficiencies of existing commercial insurance plans. We were, however, very much disturbed at the exaggerated, unfounded claims advanced by Administration spokesmen in an effort to inject political appeal into their weak and ineffectual reinsurance proposal.

Under the best of circumstances and with the best of bills, reinsurance is not, and could never be, a solution to the health problems of the nation or an acceptable substitute for a comprehensive, realistic approach to the medical needs of the people. Each year the people of this country face a staggering $10 billion burden of costs for medical care, only about 15 per cent of which is met by insurance plans. No appreciable relief from that burden can be afforded by a cheap $25 million "gimmick" which is designed to insure, not the people who have to pay the bills, but the private insurance companies that now profit so handsomely from their distress. To offer such a device as a cure for the economic consequences of ill health is either extremely naive or extremely dishonest. It arouses the suspicion that the Administration's reinsurance "program" was intended, not as a serious effort to meet the government's responsibilities on the health field, but as political "sucker-bait."

In any event, the vagueness of the bill's terms (which, among other flaws, opened the way for possible abuses by shaky insurance companies), the inability of anyone to say exactly how, why or if it would actually work, and the transparent insincerity with which it had been promoted, combined to bring about the downfall of the reinsurance measure in the House of Representatives. Neither liberal nor conservative members of the House—except those who yielded to heavy Administration pressure—were disposed to expend $25 million for the purchase of a blind pig in a dubious poke, and the bill was recommitted by a lop-sided vote. Though the American Federation of Labor did not engage in either active support or active opposition to the final Administration bill—regarding it as of little practical consequence, whatever its fate—its demise will not be mourned by those who take the health problems of the nation seriously.

AFL Backed Mortgage Loan Plan

The greater part of our efforts in the field of new health legislation during the last session of the 83rd Congress was devoted to the promotion and support of legislation to set up a system of government insurance of mortgage loans to non-profit group practice prepayment health service programs, of the type exemplified by the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, Permanente in California, the Labor Health Institute in St. Louis and the AFL Medical Service Plan in Philadelphia. This objective was embodied in a bill (H. R. 7700) introduced by Congressman Wolverton, Chairman of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

H. R. 7700 would have helped to overcome the chief obstacle in the way

of the introduction of such plans into communities and areas where they are not now available—the difficulty experienced by groups interested in starting a direct service prepayment program in raising the initial capital required for the establishment of clinics and health centers. The Wolverton Bill provided for an FHA-type insurance system which would guarantee private mortgage loans extended by banks or other lending institutions, at reasonable rates of interest, for the construction and equipment of the medical facilities required in the operation of this type of medical service program.

The American Federation of Labor has strongly supported the wider development and expansion of the type of direct service prepayment plans—emphasizing preventive care and employing the advantages of group medical practice—that H. R. 7700 was designed to aid. They offer the most constructive and effective answer to the family health needs listed at the beginning of this report. Many AFL groups that have been interested in the establishment of such a program in their communities, but have been frustrated by the financial problem, would benefit if this bill were enacted. In contrast to the poorly-conceived and poorly-drafted reinsurance bill of the Administration, H. R. 7700—while limited in its objectives—would have constituted a constructive step forward in encouraging and stimulating the development of sound, progressive prepaid medical care plans.

During the course of our work on this legislation, we received the full cooperation of Congressman Wolverton, who took a strong personal interest in the measure. An effort was made to persuade the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to accept it as a part of the Administration's health program by combining it with the re-insurance bill. While for a time the Department indicated a favorable interest, it finally retreated from this position and elected to force the re-insurance bill out of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee on its own, bare of the attraction that the mortgage loan provision would have given it, with the result noted above.

By following this short-sighted course, dictated by political considerations, the Administration succeeded only in out-maneuvering itself. If it had accepted the mortgage loan provision as a feature of its bill, enough buoyancy would have been added to the bill to enable the dead weight of the reinsurance gimmick to be successfully floated through the Congress. In the absence of this feature, there was nothing in the Administration bill to commend it to those members of Congress who favored positive progress in the health field, and it sank of its own weight.

With the Administration going all-out for its reinsurance proposal, H. R. 7700 was held back and the 83rd Congress closed with the bill still in Committee. The Administration was thus responsible for the defeat, not only of its own bill, but of H. R. 7700 as well.

The subject of appropriations for public health activities is covered in the Legislative Committee Report.

Union Health and Welfare Plans

The failure of the Congress and the Administration to take constructive action to help make good medical care at reasonable cost available to workers and their families means that workers must continue to rely primarily upon health and welfare plans established through collective bargaining. This makes it all the more important for trade unions to find ways and means of making the best and most effective use of the funds available through these plans and to employ them in such a way as to improve the quality and availability of medical services and facilities in the communities where their members live.

Unfortunately most of the existing private agencies which provide insurance against the cost of medical care—such as the commercial insurance companies and the medical society plans—suffer from serious deficiencies and inadequacies. As a result, most health and welfare plans, which are compelled by the absence of better alternatives to turn to these agencies, reflect these deficiencies and inadequacies—resulting in limited coverage, inferior care, and the diversion of an unnecessary large portion of available funds into non-benefit expenditures. Furthermore, recent disclosures of real or alleged abuses on the part of some union officials, employers, insurance agents and others concerned with the administration of health and welfare funds have served to dramatize the dangers inherent in the existing situation.

These considerations made a careful, thorough and critical appraisal of their health and welfare programs, by unions engaged in such programs, essential if the dangers are to be avoided and the deficiencies overcome. At its February meeting, the Executive Council considered the problem and made the following recommendation:

"A number of international unions are investigating this situation with a view to developing standards for the protection of their members. The Executive Council, therefore, commends all affiliated unions which have taken steps to regulate the actions of their local unions in this field and advises all national and international unions which have not already done so to take whatever steps are necessary to put into effect uniform standards and procedures for their local unions to insure proper administration of health and welfare funds."

In this connection, union groups should take note of the fact that the dangers, deficiencies and abuses connected with commercial indemnity plans offered primarily for the profit of insurance companies, as well as medical society plans established primarily for the benefit of doctors, can be avoided by following the course that has consistently been recommended by the American Federation of Labor. That course is affiliation with comprehensive, non-profit, medical service plans, employing the advantages of group medical practice and emphasizing preventive treatment and care, wherever such a program exists or can be established.

Unfortunately, such plans are available in only a relatively few areas—although a growing number of labor and consumer groups are becoming

interested in their establishment in other communities. The major obstacles in the way of their further development are: (1) the difficulty in raising the initial capital required for the construction and equipment of facilities, and (2) the attitude of many local medical societies. The enactment of legislation such as H. R. 7700, providing for a system of government insurance for mortgage loans on such facilities, would go a long way toward overcoming the financing obstacle, and the American Federation of Labor will continue to work for such legislation.

Medical Society Attack on HIP

The latest and most flagrant example of benighted medical society opposition came when the New York State Medical Society adopted a resolution attacking the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York. The resolution condemned as "unethical": (1) any advertising by a group practice medical care plan; (2) the payment of physicians on a salary basis (except in institutions caring for "public charges"); and (3) any plan offering the services of a group of physicians.

The enforcement of this resolution would effectively destroy HIP by banning its doctors from medical society membership and by depriving them of hospital privileges. It could wreck the careers of many unselfish, public-spirited doctors who, motivated by the genuine ideals of their profession, contributed heavily in personal and financial sacrifices to make possible the development of the HIP system of medical groups. But the real victims would be the 400,000 members, including many AFL families, who have found in HIP a constructive solution to their health problems.

If, as the New York Medical Society has proposed, this same resolution is adopted on a national basis by the American Medical Association, the list of victims of the blind selfishness of a certain group of fee-conscious medical politicians will be extended and multiplied. New plans patterned after the progressive model of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York will be killed in the budding stage. The interests of workers and their families and of every consumer of medical services are at stake in this issue. The American Federation of Labor and all of its affiliates should therefore lend their full support to HIP, and to all other progressive medical service plans that may face similar attacks on the part of reactionary elements of organized medicine.

Committee for the Nation's Health

Many national and international unions have responded generously to President Meany's letter asking support for the Committee for the Nation's Health with the result that during the past 15 months total AFL contributions have amounted to nearly $20,000. Other contributions totalling somewhat more than this enabled the Committee to continue its valuable work during the past year.

With the reactionary elements headed by the American Medical Association intensifying their efforts to obstruct every attempt of working

people to improve the availability of high quality health services, the work of the Committee combining the efforts of liberal Doctors of Medicine, with those of labor and other public spirited citizens becomes even more urgently needed. Continued support of the Committee for the Nation's Health is therefore recommended.

CIVIL RIGHTS

The American Federation of Labor has won a place in history as a broadly representative American institution which has done much to enlarge the meaning of human freedom and to enrich the meaning of true democracy. For nearly three-quarters of a century the American Federation of Labor has sought to strengthen and perfect political democracy in the United States by supporting policies which would make our government more representative and more responsive to the citizenship it serves. It has fought abuse of power in every form as it has fought every form of infringement of the basic rights of citizens guaranteed by the Constitution and by the Bill of Rights.

To preserve and extend our fundamental democratic heritage, we have sought to promote the principle and practice of equal rights for all in every aspect of life in America. We have also struggled to maintain and strengthen the basic freedoms of speech, conscience and assembly, and to give full effect to the right to petition.

In all of these efforts the Federation was by no means alone, as these goals and aspirations were widely shared by Americans in all walks of life. But, for many decades, the Federation was almost alone in its struggle for greater economic democracy. This was the struggle to bring economic opportunity within the reach of all, instead of keeping it restricted to the few; to bring within the reach of workers a better standard of life; and to win for workers the basic rights of self-organization and of collective bargaining with their employers for mutual aid and protection.

Thus, our efforts to extend the frontiers of democracy have also helped to create an environment of freedom within which the trade union movement could grow and, with its growth, the living standards of all workers could advance. And at the heart of this drive has been the striving to bring about the realization of equality of economic opportunity for all.

Discrimination in Employment

The American Federation of Labor has again taken the lead in efforts to assure equality of employment opportunity to all workers. In Congressional hearings, our Federation has this year again strongly urged enactment of a fair employment practice law which would prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color or national origin. Although such a bill was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education, the threat of filibuster by Dixiecrat

forces successfully prevented the bill from receiving any legislative consideration. This determined minority will be able to continue to stave off enactment of fair employment practice and other civil rights legislation until the Senate changes its rules, as we have vigorously advocated, to permit a majority of Senators present and voting to limit and close debate.

On August 13, 1953, President Eisenhower established the President's Committee on Government Contracts to administer the federal policy requiring firms awarded government contracts not to discriminate in their employment policies. This reestablished, in a somewhat modified form, the Government Contract Compliance Committee previously created by President Truman.

The function of the Government Contracts Committee is to coordinate and assist federal agencies in the enforcement of the non-discrimination clause in their contracts. President George Meany serves as a member of this Committee, with Boris Shishkin as alternate.

The Committee's major accomplishment has been the development of a strengthened non-discrimination clause specifically prohibiting discrimination by government contractors in all phases of the employment relationship including hiring, placement, training, promotion, tenure of employment and compensation. Since a large proportion of business firms have contracts with government agencies, this clause could do much to eliminate discrimination in employment if it were effectively and vigorously enforced.

The Committee, however, has moved slowly. To some extent it was handicapped by the lack of sufficient staff and the reluctance of contracting agencies to undertake vigorous investigation and enforcement. Another factor limiting the effectiveness of this program has been insufficient contact and consultation by the Committee and the contracting agencies with the existing state and local fair employment practice agencies, and the resulting failure to make full use of the considerable body of information and experience available from their operations.

Our affiliates should insist that employers with federal contracts adhere to the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause. They should also, whenever possible, inform individual employees and applicants for employment of their rights under the clause. By giving such support to the non-discrimination program, our affiliates can make a notable contribution to its success and thereby help eliminate discrimination in a large sector of American industry.

Equality and Democratic Rights

The past year has witnessed notable gains reinforcing and extending principles of equality and democracy. On May 17, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. This decision has paved the way for early eliminaton of racial segregation in the nation's public schools in those states where it still prevails.

The detailed procedure for carrying out this far-reaching change will be determined when the Supreme Court in its next session issues the decrees to guide local and state officials in areas where segregation exists in conforming to the decision. Since the schools to which Negroes have been restricted have been greatly inferior to the schools for whites, the elimination of segregation in education will mean that in many areas children of all races will have equal educational opportunities for the first time.

In the school decision the Supreme Court overruled the "separate but equal" doctrine to which the Court has adhered since 1896. This historic decision will, therefore, result not only in the abolition of segregation in schools but it will hasten the ending of segregation in the use of all facilities publicly sponsored or supported with public funds.

Perhaps the most notable record of elimination of racial segregation in recent years has been made by the armed forces. Under executive directives, all branches of the armed services have shifted, in only a few years, from almost complete segregation to nearly 100 per cent integration. Despite the ominous warnings of foes of civil rights, this transformation has been accomplished smoothly and virtually without incident. Indeed, the experience with elimination of discrimination in the armed forces provides positive proof that equality and democratic rights can be established in our civilian life as well.

With the strong support and leadership of many of our local affiliates, notable advances have been made in a large number of local communities toward the elimination of discrimination and segregation. While the pace of progress is by no means equal everywhere, in community after community racial barriers have been removed in schools, public housing, places of amusement and recreation, local transit lines, hotels, theaters and restaurants. Recent progress toward racial equality in the District of Columbia has been particularly gratifying because of the attention centered on Washington as the nation's capital and the capital of the free world.

Threat to Individual Liberty

While we have been making substantial progress toward acceptance and practice of the principle of equality, new dangers have arisen threatening our traditional liberties. This challenge has come from persons high in public life who, despite their professed anti-Communist zeal, have actually hindered effective action against Communist penetration and subversion while at the same time endangering the fundamental freedoms of the individual which are the core of our democracy.

Some loosely conducted Congressional investigations have become the means for spreading unfounded accusations and unproven charges by testimony based on hearsay and for enforcing a uniformity of opinion inconsistent with the traditional American right to dissent. These investigations have been conducted without adequate opportunity for the

accused to face their accusers or to answer allegations made against them. Despite the urgent need for proper regulation of Congressional investigatory procedures, Congress has failed to adopt a code of fair procedures which would prevent investigating committees from impinging on individual rights and freedoms.

Congress must, of course, exercise its prerogative to conduct all investigations and studies necessary to the performance of its legislative functions. As with other laws, Congress of course has the responsibility for promulgating legislation establishing United States policy regarding the protection of internal security. We strongly believe, however, that all federal law enforcement, protection of national security under law, and related investigative and protective services within the Federal government are clearly the responsibility of the Executive branch.

The American Federation of Labor was the first to alert the nation to the full potential danger of Communism. It has led in the exposure of Communist methods of infiltration and subversion. It has done more than any other organization toward wide recognition of the true nature of Communism as an alien conspiracy.

We believe that, in order to deal with Communism effectively at home, special and extraordinary measures are needed. Special recommendations to Congress have been made by President Meany with regard to the most effective ways of dealing with problems of internal security and possible sabotage.

Enforcement of laws in this field should be the responsibility of the Department of Justice and of other appropriate agencies in the Executive branch. They should be administered with full adherence to the due process of law.

Genuinely effective measures must be taken to protect our security from Communist penetration. We insist, however, that the fight against Communism must be won without arbitrary abridgement of individual liberties.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

In April the name of the Workers Education Bureau was officially changed to the Department of Education. The Bureau, which had served for over a quarter of a century as the educational arm of the Federation, was in accordance with convention action taken over by the American Federation of Labor in 1950 as its department of education, but the old name was retained. To clear up certain misunderstandings as to its present status which have resulted it was decided to make the change of name. In addition to carrying on its program in the field generally known as workers' education, this Department is concerned also with all other aspects of education as they affect the Federation and its affiliates: vocational, apprenticeship training, public schools, etc. Its activities have increased so greatly in consequence of the increased interest in labor education all over the country that it has been necessary to add to its

staff. The former Director of Education of the Iowa State Federation of Labor was named Assistant Director of the Department during the past summer.

Educational activities have increased during the past year in AFL organizations at all levels and in all sections of the country. In general the emphasis has been on leadership training; on the use of audio-visual materials and techniques; and on concern that students receive adequate and objective information in the public schools on the labor movement and its contribution to American life. Because of the national election this fall, considerable attention has been given this year to political education.

Educational Program for AFL Members

The chief function of the Department of Education is as a stimulating and advisory agency and a clearing-house of information in labor education. It aids AFL organizations at all levels to set up and conduct nation-wide and state-wide programs, local classes and study groups, lecture courses, forums; advises on sponsoring scholarship award programs; develops public relations programs; assists state federations of labor and city central bodies in working for the inclusion of a study of the organized labor movement in the public school curriculum; and promotes cooperation between the public libraries and labor groups. It also secures labor speakers for both union and public meetings and aids in planning radio and television programs. The Department maintains a film library through which it distributes films and filmstrips on labor subjects and others of interest to labor.

In addition, the Department cooperates with labor education programs conducted by universities and, through labor advisory committees, aids such institutions to plan programs which will serve the best interests of labor. It furnishes information, advice, and materials both printed and visual to colleges and universities, public school administrators and teachers, government agencies, libraries, and other community organizations.

During the past year the Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers have set up a new educational program, modeled closely upon that which has been conducted so successfully for several years by the Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers and the Paper Makers. The West Virginia State Federation of Labor added to its staff in January, 1954, a full-time director of education, who is developing a realistic and effective program in that state. Increased interest in education for their affiliates produced a greatly expanded program in the Texas and Arizona State Federations of Labor as well. These activities at the higher levels have been matched by new educational projects at the city central body and local union level.

To assist in bringing its printed materials to the attention of many more members the AFL has prepared an exhibit booth to display and distribute AFL literature at conventions of international unions and

state federations. This striking booth, five feet wide and seven feet high, has a five-tier rack for pamphlet display. Wings are hinged to each side of the booth. One displays pictures of President Meany and Secretary Schnitzler, a structure chart of the Federation, and the architect's drawing of the new AFL building now under construction. The other shows the services which the Federation provides to its affiliated members in education, research, social insurance activities, public relations, legislation, and international relations.

Free literature for the booth is provided by the AFL, which also pays all transportation costs. The Department of Education arranges its booking and routing.

The booth has been on tour almost continuously since early 1954 and has been used at conventions of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; National Council of Sugar Workers and Allied Industries Unions; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; Iowa State Federation of Labor; New York State Union Label Trades Department; Idaho State Federation of Labor; Oregon State Federation of Labor; Washington State Federation of Labor; International Chemical Workers Union; American Federation of Teachers; and Connecticut State Federation of Labor. The Humboldt County, Calif., Central Labor Council used the booth profitably at the County Fair, as did the Chicago Federation of Labor for the Labor Day exhibit in the Chicago Public Library.

Labor Institutes, Schools, and Conferences

Since the 1953 Convention the Department has held two conferences of AFL Education Directors, one in Chicago on December 3-4, 1953, and the other in Washington on April 22-23, 1954. Among the subjects discussed were the programs carried on by the organizations represented, the effectiveness of the training given to business agents and international representatives, how workers' educators can help to improve inter-racial relations, an understanding of labor's health programs, the coordination of the educational activities of international unions and state federations, and also the better coordination of political education and workers' education. At both conferences there was extended discussion of labor and the public schools and particularly of how far the AFL should cooperate with the activities of the Joint Council on Economic Education. The next such conference is scheduled for November 18-19 in Boston.

The Southern AFL Labor School, started so auspiciously in 1952, held its second session at the University of Oklahoma at Norman October 4-8, 1953. The permanent Board of Control is composed of the presidents and secretaries of 14 Southern state federations and plans the the programs, with the active assistance of the AFL regional directors of organization in the Southern section and the AFL director of education. Classes were held on labor law, public speaking, taxation, workers' edu-

cation, collective bargaining, political action, and special problems in organizing Southern workers. Evening meetings included addresses by AFL leaders on the reactionary attack on social legislation, the new look in the AFL, and the challenge of communism to democracy; and the showing and discussion of labor films. Evidence of the increase of interest in the Southern AFL Labor School is the fact that two identical sessions were planned for 1954, one at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, August 29 to September 3, and the other at Mineral Wells, Tex., December 5 to 10.

The number of other labor institutes, conferences, and summer schools during the past year, conducted by AFL unions or by other organizations with AFL cooperation, amounts to considerably more than 200. Only a few of these can be mentioned here; the complete list will appear in *Labor and Education in 1954*.

The West Virginia State Federation of Labor has held several institutes through the year, as well as a summer school at Marshall College in Huntington. The Virginia and New Mexico State Federations held their first labor institutes during the year, while the state federations in Texas and Arizona conducted their first labor schools. In Michigan also the State Federation of Labor set up several institutes and leadership training sessions. In cooperation with Michigan State College it is inaugurating a labor education program in various parts of the state. The Iowa State Federation of Labor conducted a series of one-day weekend institutes in cooperation with city central bodies throughout the state.

Several international unions held series of shop steward training sessions of 2-day or longer duration all over the country, among them being the Chemical Workers and the Machinists.

Film Library and Audio-Visual Activities

AFL affiliated unions continue to increase their use of films, and the number of films in our library has increased proportionately in order to keep pace with this accelerated demand. We now have a total of 75 film titles, 35 of which have been added to the library within the past year. These include kinescopes of President Meany's television appearance on "Youth Wants to Know" and "Person to Person", both of which have proven extremely popular among affiliated unions; two very useful Canadian Film Board productions, "Shop Steward" and "Dues and the Union"; three excerpts from popular Hollywood films, "How Green Was My Valley", "Due Process of Law Denied", and "First Seize His Books".

New union films in addition to the Meany kinescopes are: "The Seafarers," a colorful portrayal of the Seafarers International Union, Atlantic and Gulf District, and "The 32B Story", produced in celebration of the 20th birthday of Local 32B of the Building Service Employes International Union in New York. Other new titles include films and

filmstrips in the fields of political education, health insurance, economics, cooperatives, the UN, world trade, atomic energy, and communism.

The Film-A-Month plan, designed to promote the use of films by providing unions with an efficient, easy, and economical filmbooking method, has proven popular. Under the plan a union may book 12 films for use during a 12-month period, on dates which it designates, for a total cost of $18. Over 400 films have already been booked under this program. One-page film discussion guides are sent to users to assist them in utilizing the films most effectively.

To assist unions in promoting attendance at union meetings where films are to be shown a colorful 8½" x 11" poster to advertise film showings has been prepared.

The Department of Education issued in March the third edition of its catalogue, "Films for Labor". This 44-page catalogue lists and describes over 100 films and filmstrips, gives helpful suggestions on arranging film showings, purchase of equipment, etc.

The Department continues to serve as a purchasing agent for affiliated unions wishing to buy audio-visual equipment and secures such equipment at substantial discounts.

The film page of the monthly News Letter carries reviews of new films and other items of interest to labor groups in the audio-visual field.

Scholarships, Courses on Labor in Schools and Related Programs

The list of college scholarships awarded by AFL organizations to secondary school students continues to grow. The Department of Education receives requests continually for suggestions and materials which will be of help to a state federation or a union in establishing such a program. It gladly furnishes such assistance, since these programs not only serve the cause of labor's public relations but frequently are stepping stones to the introduction of courses on the labor movement into the social studies curriculum of the public schools. So long has the list of scholarship programs become that it is possible to note here merely the latest ones, but a complete list will appear in *Labor and Education in 1954*.

Twelve of the state federations of labor now sponsor annual scholarship contests, Texas having joined the ranks this year with the award of a $500 scholarship for the best essay on "Contributions of Organized Labor to America." Five other students received $100 scholarships each from affiliated unions in Corpus Christi, Austin, and San Antonio.

In Seattle, Wash., the Union Card & Label Council and the Central Labor Union have joined in sponsoring an annual $500 scholarship, awarded on the basis of a competitive examination. The Chicago Union Label and Service Trades Council is now drawing up plans for a scholarship program. The Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades & Labor Council has set up a Scholarship Foundation in memory of Chester H. Cary, its late secretary, which will make five $50 awards each year for a student

attending the Fresno Junior College, beginning in 1954. The Fresno City School Employes Local 1206 has also established a $100 scholarship at the same college. In St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., the Twin City Carpenters' District Council has initiated a program under which five $100 scholarships for the University of Minnesota are being awarded to sons and daughters of members who are already enrolled at the university.

Photo Engravers Union No. 1 in New York and the Photo Engravers' Board of Trade and Employing Gravure Printers have just set up a joint program under which they will award six 4-year scholarships in liberal arts, with a major in graphic arts, this year and three additional each year for the next two years, until a total of 12 scholarships are in force. Further details of the plan will be given in *Labor and Education in 1954*. Hotel and Club Employes Local 6 in New York has established an annual $1,000 Gertrude Lane Memorial Fund Scholarship for the son or daughter of a member in good standing for five years. This year the four runners-up received $100 awards each. An annual $100 scholarship is sponsored by the Racine, Wis., Teachers Union No. 1161, awarded on the basis of scholastic record, etc., to a senior in one of the Racine high schools planning to enter the teaching profession. Another AFT local, the Detroit, Mich., Federation of Teachers, No. 231, has set up an annual scholarship for a student of promise in education, as a tribute to Mrs. Florence Sweeney, an outstanding member of the AFT who has just retired.

The Department of Education continues to urge on city central bodies to work toward getting an objective study of the American labor movement into the public school curriculum and to emphasize the importance of securing the election or appointment of labor people on local boards of education.

Cooperation with University Labor Education Programs

The number of universities and colleges interested in working with the labor movement on educational programs is continually expanding, which necessitates the Department's giving more time to this phase of workers' education.

Particular attention has been given to the programs of the eight institutions making up the Inter-University Labor Education Committee. The I.U.L.E.C. received a grant of a half million dollars from the Fund for Adult Education of the Ford Foundation to finance its three-year program, which terminated this year. A complete and detailed evaluation of this three-year experimental program has just been finished and copies of it will be sent to the AFL people particularly concerned.

In all programs conducted by universities for AFL groups, the Department of Education urges that active advisory committees be appointed by the trade union groups concerned, to insure that the programs meet the felt needs of the worker-students and that AFL policy is pre-

sented in the courses. To enable these labor advisory committees to function more effectively, the Department held a series of three meetings of the AFL members of such committees and other AFL educational leaders. One of the meetings was held in New York for the eastern universities, one in Chicago for the midwestern, and the third in Los Angeles for the Pacific Coast.

International Educational Activities

The department of Education continues its cooperation with the educational work of the I.C.F.T.U. and the International Federation of Workers' Education Associations. The director of education represents the AFL on the U. S. National Commisison for UNESCO, of which he is an Executive Committee member.

The Department is devoting an increasing amount of time and effort in assisting programs of international exchange of workers and information of the U. S. Departments of State and Labor, the Foreign Operations Administration, the U. S. Information Agency, and other governmental agencies. Its director and other staff members lecture to visiting teams of foreign workers and workers' education persons on the educational program of the AFL and it replies to increasing requests for printed material and information from all parts of the world. Government agencies have frequently called upon the Department for assistance in preparing government materials on the American labor movement for distribution in foreign countries. In addition, it sends its own *News Letter* and other AFL material regularly to many unions and workers' education centers throughout the world, and to labor attaches, labor information officers, U. S. information libraries, and F.O.A. officials abroad.

The Department also cooperates in selecting awardees of Ruskin College and Coleg Harlech scholarships and Fulbright fellowships in adult and workers' education for study in Great Britain and other foreign countries. The Department's director has been a member of the selection committees for these study opportunities for several years.

Publications

The Department of Education's catalogue *Films for Labor* was completely revised and considerably enlarged in March 1954.

Increased demand has necessitated new printings of the *Shop Steward's Manual* and *How to Run a Union Meeting*. The Department is planning to revise both of these manuals shortly, as well as its bibliography, *Labor's Library*.

The *News Letter*, which the Department of Education publishes each month, surveys current labor education programs carried on by AFL organizations and universities and colleges, and reviews and annotates new films and filmstrips, books, and pamphlets.

The Department edited and published *Labor and Education in 1953*, the annual supplement containing a compilation of all action on educa-

tion taken at the Seventy-second Convention of the AFL. This illustrated supplement includes a complete listing of AFL schools, institutes, and conferences, scholarships sponsored by AFL unions, and a list of all AFL education and research directors. The current issue contains also several pages of vocational education information. This publication, issued in cooperation with the American Federation of Teachers, is distributed to teachers' college libraries and public libraries, in addition to AFL organizations.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

The Committee on Education has this year, as in the past, functioned largely through three standing subcommittees:

1. Vocational Education and Apprenticeship Training.
2. Public Schools and Child Welfare.
3. Adult Education.

In addition, from time to time, certain special subcommittees have been named to work on special projects and programs as need for such special work has arisen.

Vocational Education

For many years the Council pointed out the failure of the vocational education program as it operates in many states to be more closely integrated with the trade union movement. Year after year, the convention acting on the recommendations of the Council, condemned many phases of the program—but continuously urged financial and moral support for the program and its basic purposes.

Several years ago steps were taken to have labor conduct surveys in several States to determine the practical value of these programs; the degree to which labor standards were observed; and the actual working relationship between the trade unions and those conducting the programs. Alabama and California were the first two States selected for spot checks. These studies were undertaken and produced significant findings. Other such studies are now being planned.

Last year a new approach was begun. First, we sent a questionnaire to all State Federations of Labor to learn to what extent they participated in the the vocational training program, and with what results. A high percentage of returns from the questionnaire was received, and over 80 per cent of those replying indicated a working relationship with state school authorities. The reports also indicate clearly the need for definite suggestions to trade union leaders at the city central body level.

The need for an alerted local labor leadership is emphasized by the growing importance of the work itself, and the effort of certain industries to slant vocational education to their own interests, requires action on our part. Our leaders should be told what vocational education is, and what it is not.

In this connection a definite good start has been made since the last

convention. The report of our committee to the convention, including a full interpretation of terms, was reproduced by the United States Office of Education. Thousands of copies were obtained by labor, industry and educational leaders working in this field. This is one of the most important steps that has been taken in many years. In further reference to last year's Convention action, we report that the Convention ordered:

1. That steps be taken to reestablish the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and the Advisory Committee on Trade and Industrial Education.

On this we now report that the United States Commissioner on Education, Dr. Samuel Brownell, has informed us that while he appreciates the importance of these committees and has indicated his intention of continuing such Advisory Committees, he has felt that, "We have not moved ahead on the activities of several Advisory Committees until we were in a position to present problems or plans on which we could properly ask their counsel or be in a position to follow through on advice given." The American Federation of Labor will continue to press for the appointment of these much-needed Advisory Committees.

2. That all the affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor be fully informed of the aims, purposes and administration of the Federal-State vocational program as established under existing law. On this, we can report that with the hearty cooperation of the Division of Vocational Education of the United States Office of Education, during this past year that information on the program has been sent to every state and city central body and to the state directors of vocational education in every state. This report and analysis of the program is well documented and in simple form gives a complete picture of what the program is and how it should operate.

3. That definite steps be taken to effect constructive working relationships between the responsible state and local trade union officers and state and local representatives of vocational education programs and the local representatives concerned with the apprenticeship training program. We can report that since the material referred to above was sent out, remarkable progress has been made, both in the *attitude* of those concerned with the administration of the program and in the development of good working techniques, based on a close cooperation of labor with these administrators. Furthermore, the working agreement between the leaders of the apprenticeship program and the leaders in the vocational field has been accepted by both groups and will, we believe, continue to be the basis for further close, constructive work.

Cooperative Relationships Between Trade and Industrial Education and the Apprenticeship Training Services

Basically there is no conflict between the recognized responsibilities of trade and industrial education and apprentice training services insofar as they relate to the training of apprentices. Joint statements, notably

the Hawkins-Patterson agreement issued in 1941, and subsequently reaffirmed, clearly indicate the relationships of the U. S. Office of Education and the Bureau of Apprenticeship of the U. S. Department of Labor with respect to apprenticeship. Both agencies have honored this agreement. It is well to present this statement again in part, at this time:

> "There are two distinct groups of responsibilities and functions in the promotion and subsequent operation for apprentice training. One group deals with the apprentice as an employed worker; the conditions under which he works, his hours of work, his rates of pay, the length of his learning period, and the ratio of apprentices to journeymen so that overcrowding or shortage of skilled workers in the trades may be avoided in large part. The second group of responsibilities deals with the apprentice as a student, the related technical and supplemental instruction needed to make him a proficient worker, and the supervision and coordination of this instruction with his job experience."

4. The convention also urged, "responsible officers of our trade union movement (to) inform the subcommittee on Vocational Education of the A. F. of L. of any problems that have arisen in the conduct of the program."

The committee has received no information in answer to this appeal. This fact indicates not a lessening of interest, nor an indifference. It does show essentially, we believe, that in this program, as in all others, we are far more likely to get *answers* to *specific* questions submitted to a community or a local, than we are to get reports without asking for specific data. Therefore, we recommend that, periodically, the city and state central bodies should be asked specific questions on specific phases of the program.

The marked improvement in relations of groups working on these programs during the last year is, we believe, due in part to an increase in the information on the subject made available in simple form to all interested parties, and is due also to sincere determination on the part of those seeking to develop this program to make it a success.

The major problem on vocational education still confronts us. This is the thinly-veiled contempt in which manual labor and the manual worker are held by those educators who, with vigor and volume, proclaim their devotion to democratic ideals and principles—but fail to practice the democratic principles they claim to support.

Educational leaders themselves actually play a significant role in helping develop and maintain these discriminatory practices against a large segment of our society. We have often pointed out that in many schools the I.Q. is used as the basis of assigning pupils to vocational classes; pupils with low I.Q.'s are put in vocational classes and pupils with high I.Q.'s are "guided" away from them. We will not here discuss the accuracy of the I.Q. itself, nor the role played by the environment and social experience of the pupil tested.

Here we can but recognize that these practices prevail throughout the nation; that they reflect a wide-spread threat to our democratic way of life.

This attitude is fundamentally a community problem. Until a more wholesome community attitude is developed, and such an attitude is reflected in a far wiser appreciation of changing and changed concepts of education, we cannot expect to make any progress in developing a truly sound education program.

Therefore, we reaffirm recommendations of previous years that the American Federation of Labor, through its Committee on Education, call a conference on "Education and Training for Work", in which conference a full consideration of vocational education and its relation to the entire educational structure should play a major role.

Such an informal conference of voluntary groups at this time, would have particular significance if it were called prior to the formally sponsored government conferences authorized under recently enacted law.

As a further major part of our general education program we recommend that a pamphlet be prepared for wide distribution telling "Labor's Role in the Development of Vocational Education in the United States."

The program from its inception among the crafts in the early part of the 19th Century, through the years shows the significant role the labor movement has played. The "general support" which labor had given this program for almost a hundred years, took definite form at the A. F. of L. Denver Convention in 1908, when a special committee was set up to study the whole problem of vocational education. Since then we have earnestly supported this program.

Vocational Education in Danger

We were gravely concerned during this last session of Congress when vocational education was attacked in many ways.

First, came the attack on the annual appropriation. The A. F. of L. working in close cooperation with other interested groups, however, convinced the Congress of the need of greater funds than the Administration budget had recommended. While the full amount needed was not appropriated, the additional amount given is enough to keep the work going until a more nearly adequate sum is furnished.

The second attack came through an effort to ignore the need for ear-marking in the appropriation of a special sum for the administration of the program. This provision now appears to be "safe."

The third attack is basic and merits serious attention. Attempts were made to repeal the Smith-Hughes Act and the George-Barden Act, the basic laws on which the entire vocational program rests, and to set up in their place a National Vocational Education Act which would eliminate the standards and safeguards in the present acts and do away with the provision for an assured annual appropriation now contained in the Smith-Hughes Act.

This proposed Act would leave to the states the determination of the manner in which this money was to be spent for vocational education in their state. The standards under which the program was to be operated would also be a matter of state determination as well as for the apportionment of funds for the various educational services.

These attempts were defeated in this session of Congress. Continued alertness on the part of the American Federation of Labor is required if the intent of the two Acts is to be preserved.

Apprentice Training

Since our last annual report the number of apprentices registered by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and cooperating State Councils has tended to decline. In the various metal trades, however, it has remained almost constant at about 32,400 with perhaps a slight increase. In view of the fact that this net figure conceals a number of techinical adjustments due to estimating errors and the inclusion of revised data on a number of states, it may be assumed that in fact there has been some slight increase since last year. In view of the fact that the gross total of registered apprentices has tended to decline, the upward trend in metal trades apprentices is encouraging. Credit should be extended to the various metal trades unions concerned, for their successful efforts in recruiting and training new men.

Apprenticeship training is showing notable progress but, in terms of the nation's needs, it is still not attracting enough workers. As President Durkin of the United Association of Plumbers most vigorously pointed out while Secretary of Labor, "We are not training enough apprentices to meet the demands of the industry and the possible requirements of national defense. We have failed to appreciate the necessary lead time to produce the qualified journeyman." He further warned, "And we have tended to forget that the real distinction between the adequately trained journeyman and poorly trained ones, lies in the knowledge which can come only from related classroom instruction." Speaking also on the subject *The Machinist* in an extremely pertinent editorial, points out that the number of apprentices in training is less than half of what it should be to meet current replacement needs.

The position of the metal tradesman in modern industry is particularly important. The skills and services that he provides are especially important at this time to the successful operation of our national economy. It is; therefore; imperative that his training be the best we can afford. The quantity and quality of our skilled metal tradesmen should advance coordinately with population growth and current improvement in our industrial technology. Yet with this well planned apprentice training program available, it is disturbing to find an insufficient number availing themselves of the opportunity.

On the other hand far too many are entering the crafts through ways other than planned apprenticeship. As a result some of our crafts-

men are lacking in either some essential knowledge or in the basic experience necessary to make them good craftsmen at their trade. This condition is both unnecessary and undesirable. The essence of apprenticeship is that the worker be taught on the job from the beginning "the how and the why" of his job. His skills are carefully directed toward developing a high degree of proficiency and to give him thereby the means of increasing his productivity and the sense of satisfaction that comes to him in doing his job well. As a result of gaining greater skill and knowledge his pride in his work increases and his economic return increases and so his standard of living improves. Hence, for the sake of the individual and in the interest of the community's betterment we should place greater emphasis on apprenticeship.

At the same time we should not neglect the further training of our journeymen. They need continuous training as new materials and methods are developed in their trades. They, too, need continuous training as broad as possible to increase their capacity for adjustment in a continually changing industrial world. The high degree of job mobility and shifting employment opportunities, requires a high degree of adaptability and continuous retraining. Professional workers repeatedly turn to post-graduate and refresher studies to bring themselves up to date. The same practice should prevail in the skilled trades. Journeymen who by misadventure lack some vital part of their basic training should be urged to complete that training, and those whose trades have been most seriously affected by technological change should be assisted in obtaining refresher instruction to bring them up to date. In the development of this program the government, the training institutions and the unions have a job to do together. To be sure, eventually the success of the effort must depend on the individual journeyman's contribution, on his job.

The interests of the skilled trades can best be protected by an adequate supply of competent craftsmen to do the work. The most effective way of insuring such a supply is, primarily, through apprenticeship, followed in later years, by more advanced study by the craftsman himself.

Our component international unions should be urged to invite employers and their own journeyman members to join with them in developing more training programs to develop the skills needed by the nation in its industrial program to help protect our nation in peace or war.

Every effort must be made to preserve and develop this highly essential program to help our country and every citizen in it.

Public Schools and Child Care

We have gathered, compiled, and interpreted data for three studies which the Committee on Education asked to have prepared. These studies are:

Labor's Role in Helping Shape Current Educational Policy—The basic

data for this study was obtained from a questionnaire sent to all State Federations and to two hundred City Central Bodies. The survey shows that very few States have an elected State Board of Education; relatively more cities elect a board of education. The survey shows that labor is not generally represented on appointed boards of education, but that it is likely to be represented on elected boards. Obviously, labor should be represented on school boards, not to give "a labor slant," but to help protect the schools so that *no* slant is given, and further to help emphasize the needs of the children and the community's role in meeting these needs. However, merely having a labor man on the board of education is not enough. Standards are needed for members who serve on a board of education. We must help equip our nominees to meet these standards when they assume a place on such a board.

The data on these studies has been prepared in a pamphlet which sets forth specific proposals to help meet these standards. The pamphlet also presents some of the most significant issues which boards of education must face today, and further sets forth the traditional and the current position of the American Federation of Labor on these issues. A brief resume of labor's historic role in helping establish and maintain our public schools is included.

Textbooks—The questionnaire also supplied information on the methods by which textbooks are selected.

On the basis of the reports received, we can report that a marked improvement has been made in the manner in which textbooks are selected now, in contrast with the method used two decades ago when labor made its first study on the method of textbook selection. Today, well over 90 per cent of the replies received indicate that the selection of textbooks is made by a professional committee. However, the textbook committee which makes the selection is itself not always broadly representative of pupil and community interests, even when its members are chosen from the profession itself. Such lack of professional equipment within the teaching corps itself emphasizes the even greater need of better training for teachers and it is not a justification of taking from the profession the responsibility of selecting books and other teaching materials.

This proposed pamphlet emphasizes the traditional and the current position of the American Federation of Labor: (1) Opposition to all forms of censorship; (2) Insistence on full and objective presentation of all true facts in a manner best suited to the age of the pupil for whom the material is prepared; (3) Opposition to any form of legislative control of textbook or curricula content; (4) Insistence on professional supervision of textbook selection; (5) Opposition to *any* group pressure to determine or influence curricula or textbook content. (Quotations from Communist and Nazi texts are to be included in the pamphlet to show what pressure controls *can do* to textbook content.)

School Attendance—A study of State school attendance laws and

their enforcement provisions has also been made. In many States, these provisions still do not adequately cover the child.

While a number of States have made progress in improving their school attendance laws many States *still* exempt a child who lives "too far from a school," and exempt a child who "is too poor to attend." The well-being of the child of migrant parents is not amply covered by the current laws.

The pamphlet further emphasizes that while compulsory school attendance laws meet one great social need, they also show the need for further improvement.

If we are to keep every child in school until he is 16 or 18, we must provide a more diversified training to help each pupil assume his responsibilities as a citizen. Hence, there is a need for a re-evaluation of the course of study in light of the more varied personal needs of a greater number of pupils, and in light of the ever pressing community responsibility.

We recommend that these studies when published by the American Federation of Labor, should receive wide distribution not only in our own organization, but also among other civic organizations which share our interest in protecting and promoting the well being of our children.

The Supreme Court Decision on Segregation

The Supreme Court of the United States has given meaning to our law, but even more to our basic belief in freedom of each and in the dignity of every man. Segregation in our schools by law betrays our country's ideals and distorts our concepts of equal protection under the law. We have now a great opportunity and a grave responsibility to help implement these laws.

We recommend that a program of action be prepared to help effect a constructive approach through which to help communities meet their responsibilities as set forth in the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in our nation's schools.

Federal Aid for Education

We are able to report progress this year in our fight for federal aid for education. It is, first of all, encouraging to find that the method of seeking federal aid which we first advocated five years ago, is now being accepted by many other organizations. We pointed out then that no *general* federal-aid-to-education bill would pass Congress; that each of the major programs requiring federal aid must be cared for in a separate bill. Accordingly in 1949 we first advocated separate bills providing for:

(1) Federal aid for public school teachers' salaries.

(2) Federal aid for public school construction.

(3) Federal aid for scholarships and loans for worthy needy students.

(4) Federal aid for service for all children to promote their health and welfare.

(5) Federal aid for the campaign to eradicate illiteracy.

Today the wisdom of that approach is fully appreciated by many other organizations which have adopted our program.

Federal Aid for School Construction—Last year we pointed out that 20 per cent of the American children are housed in buildings which are firetraps. Today we sadly report that 11 American children were burned to death in school firetraps. We hope this tragedy will arouse the conscience of the American people and through them our Congress to assure legislation providing federal aid for school construction.

Last year we reported to you that the Cooper Bill, S. 2160, containing all the safeguards for which labor has asked including, of course, the provision for maintaining the prevailing wage rate should merit our full support. This bill, with the unanimous support of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has passed the Senate. (See: National Legislation for report on S. 2160). This bill provides only two hundred and fifty million dollars, but this sum is a good token recognition of the responsibility of the federal government in helping the states to maintain safe and sanitary schools. Billions more are needed for this program and with the active leadership of the Federation we may look for better results in a more friendly Congress.

Federal Aid for Teachers' Salaries—In the drive for false economy the Congress failed to give any consideration to the bill for federal aid for teachers' salaries. An immediate shortage of 300,000 teachers and a constantly dwindling number of enrollees in the teacher training institutions confronts us. Federal aid must be given these states to help them pay their teachers. The urgent need for such aid should lead the new Congress to act quickly in helping to assure the states that funds will be made available to help them pay teachers a more nearly adequate wage.

We urge active support for the principles of the Murray Bill (S. 277) providing federal aid for teachers' salaries.

Federal Aid for Scholarships—There has not been any consideration given to proposals through which to secure federal aid to help worthy, needy youth get an education, through which to protect and promote the health and welfare of the school children of our country, and through which to attack the relatively high degree of illiteracy which menaces our country's safety. The principles involved in such legislation must continue to have the active support of the American Federation of Labor.

Federal-State Relations—Many essential programs which protect the welfare of each child must depend on the administration of federally aided programs administered jointly by the federal government and the states including school lunches, aid to "federally impacted" areas, public health program and soon, we hope, school construction, teachers' salaries, etc. All of these programs and many more are in serious danger, if the recommendations of the President's Committee on Federal-

State Relations proposing, as it is indicated it will, a lessening in the federal responsibility, are adopted.

We recommend that every possible effort be made to preserve the supports already won, and that we expose the fallacy of the pronouncements already made by this Committee indicating the undesirability of federal funds.

Attacks on Education

During the last year the attacks on our nation's schools have increased in volume and in number.

We are in hearty accord with those attacks which show that a child will suffer in a nation which neglects its schools. Today there is a shortage of over 300,000 teachers. Thousands of classrooms are overcrowded; thousands more are manned by unqualified teachers serving on temporary certificates. These facts demand an attack—not on the schools, but for them.

We are, however, concerned over attacks on the curriculum and on textbook content from pressure groups and even from legislative bodies. No lay group should be allowed to determine what is to be taught. The whole truth must be taught by skilled, professional teachers in a manner best suited to the age of the child. Neither the curriculum nor textbooks should be censored.

Such censorship is a step toward totalitarianism even though it is often intended as a means of fighting leftist propaganda.

Of course, propaganda must be kept out of the school. But the facts about Communism must be taught in the school. It is through a knowledge of what Communism really is and an understanding of how it works that it can best be fought. It is refreshing to find that the American Bar Association is now taking the same position which the American Federation of Labor has long taken: that the schools must teach about Communism to protect our nation from it.

However, it is not only the attacks from Communists and other known venal forces that we must fight. There is a movement well planned by certain industrial leaders to indoctrinate teachers and pupils with a belief that our nation's future rests upon the acceptance of the status quo in industrial relations, with probably a repeal of most social legislation which has been adopted for the common good.

For some time the National Association of Manufacturers and other such industrial organizations have fostered and promoted a campaign through which "to tie industry and education together." Industry-Education days were one consequence of this tie. Reports on the earlier activities of these programs have been made to previous conventions and strong action has been taken by preceding American Federation of Labor conventions to thwart such propaganda programs, through our schools. However, a bold far-reaching program was initiated last year by industry at a conference in New York City at which the Chairman of the Board

of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company urged "a marriage of business and education." The first aim of this conference was to take over American colleges and universities by offering them greater financial support. A more detailed conference was then planned for last November, held in White Sulphur Spring, W. Va. The report of the White Sulphur Spring's conference specifically states "Educators and industrialists were invited on the basis of size, type, and location of their respective educational institutions and business enterprises." The Conference proposed "cooperation in providing expanded educational services for industrial employes." But significantly it did not invite any representative of industrial employes. The Conference enthusiastically agreed to support "greater efforts on the part of industry and education toward an understanding and resolution of problems of mutual importance." But no representative of *any* teacher organization was invited.

The Conference agreed that "support for education *by industry* will be the natural consequence of further cooperative efforts in projects of mutual interest," and that "Educators and industrialists should meet and work together whenever possible on a person to person basis." The fact that this program is a serious challenge to academic integrity, and to the nation's schools, is shown clearly in resolutions adopted by this Conference to the effect that "more educational programs should be geared to industry's direct and immediate needs and, at the same time that industry should contribute more freely and fully to the general needs of educational institutions." With absolute candor the conference urged industry to give more money for education, stating that "In corporate giving, where there's a will there's a way" and "Corporate aid should be considered not as a gift or a grant, but as a factory expense, that is, as a cost of doing business." Probably the most encouraging note in the Conference statement was the admission that "While presidents of universities and presidents of business organization may agree fully, college faculties on the one hand, and directors and stockholders on the other, must be convinced of the mutuality of interests of education and business, and be willing to help further it in word and deed." According to this statement, college faculties can not be purchased as easily as college presidents.

However, while this top-level conference was laying its broad plans on how industry may finance and otherwise "help" American education, industry at other levels was continuing "direct action" programs. One of the outspoken suggestions which appeared some time ago in *Factory Management and Maintenance* spelled out the program for industry in simple words under the caption "How to Help Local Schools." "If you're looking for a good way to take part in education of local kids, why not supply company written textbooks to community schools. 'Don't have to be expensive,' says Edgar S. Brownfind, Public Relations Director, Republic Steel Company. He adds, 'You can start this thing on a shoestring,

you don't have to put out books; you can put out mimeographs. The idea is to get started. Start small; and don't give up'." This spells out our challenge.

We recommend that all State Federations and Central Bodies be asked to take an active part in fighting the use of company written textbooks and other slanted source material, in our schols, whether it be from industry or labor or any other special interest group.

We are keenly sensitive to attacks on public education. Probably, partially because the American labor movement has played an important part in establishing and maintaining the public schools, and assuredly because the well-being of our children is involved in this issue. On the other hand a conscientious effort to improve our schools and their teaching deserves our sympathetic attention.

During the last year at least a dozen popular magazines have criticized the standards and achievements of our elementary and secondary schools. It is significant to observe that many classroom teachers, who are in the American Federation of Labor, have themselves long been concerned over questions like those raised in these magazine articles: questions pertaining to the maintenance of educational standards in our schools. Basically we must take rightful and essential leadership in focusing nation-wide attention on the need for re-evaluating educational objectives. Then in cooperation with the craftsmen best fitted to guide us in such activity—the professionally qualified teacher—we must help the teacher develop an atmosphere which will assure to each child the sound training which our children are entitled to have.

Our members must be given factual information to help them understand what the school's program is and what it should be.

Teachers Who Plead The Fifth Amendment

Congressional Committees and other legislative and administrative bodies investigating alleged Communist influence in our schools have asked witnesses, including a number of those engaged in teaching in our schools and colleges, whether they are Communists. Many of those asked have declined to answer, pleading the Fifth Amendment.

The question has been asked whether we should oppose the employment of such teachers or whether opposition to their employment is, in effect, a denial of their civil liberties guaranteed under the Constitution.

As American citizens, we are dedicated to the spirit and the letter of the Fifth Amendment. It is an essential element of the judicial process, designed to vouchsafe the accused a fair trial by providing that he shall not be compelled to testify against himself.

However, there exists a wide gulf between the invoking of this eminently fair device for the protection of an individual under criminal charges in a court of law and citing it as a negative claim to the privilege of holding an office of public trust.

We submit that an individual's refusal to admit or deny Communist

Party membership when asked, by properly constituted authority, places on the authorities who employ him the responsibility to determine if he is fit and qualified to hold office.

The teachers in our public schools are employes of their respective states. It is the right and the duty of the state to determine the qualifications of its employes. Its teachers are rightfully required to demonstrate possession of certain qualities—to be intellectually free and ethically bound by basic moral principles. A Communist cannot possibly comply with such requirements. He is forcibly disciplined by his party to follow *its* precepts only, regardless of their relationship to truth, and to obey its commands implicitly even though the Communist Party has been determined, at law, to be an instrument designed to overthrow our government by force and violence.

Obviously, therefore, a Communist is not fit to be a teacher, regardless of any other attainments he may claim. And it follows logically then, a refusual to admit or deny Communist Party membership would properly place on the authorities who employ him the responsibility of determining his fitness for office through the school system's own properly constituted machinery for hearing and trial and to remove such teacher from office if he is found to be unfit.

The American Federation of Labor reaffirms its positive opposition to the employment of Communists as teachers, and maintains that an individual's refusal to admit or deny Communist Party membership places the responsibility on the board of education to re-examine the facts and to determine his fitness through properly constituted machinery to continue in their employment.

Policy Making for Education at the National Level

Early this year three Administration-sponsored bills were introduced through which it was claimed "a dynamic educational program will be developed." The bills provided for: (1) Educational conferences at the national and state level, (2) a national advisory committee on education, and (3) research in education to be conducted cooperatively by the federal government and private agencies.

We were early advised by the American Federation of Teachers of hidden proposals in these bills. One bill, for example, authorized the government to accept funds to be used "as the donors wished." With the help of our friends in the Senate, we were successful in having the language of the proposed legislation so changed as to eliminate the objectionable features written into the language of the bill. Our friends in the Senate also supported us in preventing the use of these bills to delay action on the School Construction Bill. These three proposals are now law. It is our responsibility to do all we can to have these laws implemented in the public interest. (See National Legislation report for a fuller discussion of this legislation.)

State and National Educational Conferences—State and national edu-

cational conferences have now been authorized by law. Our State Federations should be immediately advised to make sure that they are to be represented in such state conferences and they should also be given data to guide them in preparing plans and programs which they may wish to submit to the conferences.

National Advisory Committee on Education—It is imperative that we be represented on this committee of 15 by a representative of the American Federation of Labor, selected by the Federation who is qualified by training and experience to aid the Committee in its work and to present and interpret our position on educational policies.

Provisions for Cooperative Research—This law now contains many safeguards, in provisions for periodic announcements and reports on research projects jointly undertaken by government and private interests.

We recommend that the Committee on Education report to the President of the American Federation of Labor periodically on the research projects undertaken and advise him regarding the significance of each project.

The Welfare of Our Children

Our nation's fifty million children under 18 are our most profound concern. It is axiomatic that we hold they are entitled to the best the nation can give them. We highly commend the excellent services developed under the leadership of the U. S. Children's Bureau in cooperating with public and private agencies at the state and local level. We urge our leaders at the state and local level to assist communities in every way to secure necessary funds to make more effective the administration of these federal-state programs conducted in the interest of our children. We urge them also to take a leading part in the further development of programs sponsored largely at the local level by private organizations, usually through the local Community Chest. Further reference to our growing interest in such work is made elsewhere in this report.

We would wish, however, to emphasize that the Federation has always considered the child primarily in relation to his family; his natural family first of all. If the child is deprived of his right to a normal life with his family, then we have sought to give him as good a substitute for the natural family life, as a socially conscious community can provide. At no time must we let it be forgotten that a child can best be served if his family is economically secure; if his house is adequate and comfortable; if his parents have knowledge of how the child's personal well being can best be protected. Hence, we devote great consideration to family welfare.

Child Care and Industrial Changes

The simple home life in which the family as a unit meets for meals and informal talks on daily occurrences is no longer the prevailing pattern. Today we must realistically plan day care beyond family care for

children of all ages. We must recognize the elements of danger in baby-sitting, danger to both the baby and the very young baby-sitter. We have initiated a study of this problem. We must plan how best to preserve the ideals of good family living in a somewhat changed family life.

Our nation is confronted with dangerously mounting juvenile delinquency. The number of youngsters appearing before our courts is greater than at any time in our history. This social sickness profoundly disturbs us. Effective prevention and treatment call for the combined efforts of a range of communities and organizations. We commend the leadership of the Children's Bureau in alerting the country to this serious problem. We commend the steps it has taken during the past two years and that it continues to take to stir communities and states in this action, and to give them constructive guidance for action.

AFL Policy on Use of Foundation Funds

Several years ago the Fund for Adult Education gave a grant of a half million dollars to the Inter-University Labor Education Committee to finance a three-year labor-education program.

The question of whether American Federation of Labor representatives should serve on the I.U.L.E. program was carefully considered. It was finally agreed that the presence of our representatives would keep us informed on the programs undertaken and would also afford us the opportunity of advising in regard to actions which would perhaps be entirely against our interest.

The original trial period now has come to an end. We are called on to decide our next step. We believe that a general basic policy must be established concerning our relationship with such committees and with other organizations seeking to work within and in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, using funds other than our own for this purpose. We, therefore, recommend the following principles to govern our policies:

1. When the American Federation of Labor is asked to serve on a committee with representatives from other organizations in the conduct of educational programs, those named to represent the American Federation of Labor should

(a) Stand instructed to state that as a general principle the American Federation of Labor believes that we should conduct our own programs with our own funds.

(b) Serve only so long as their presence and participation protects and implements the American Federation of Labor's position on labor policies and practices.

(c) Report regularly to the Standing Committee on Education regarding the programs and projects undertaken by such committee.

2. They should at no time serve on any committee which seeks to direct or function *in* any union's internal program. Training for union

leadership or for union craftsmanship is and must remain the function of the union itself.

3. These general policies must be supplemented by specific procedures:

(a) Each request for cooperation and participation must be examined and evaluated on its own merits.

(b) State federations and city central bodies should be fully informed of our policy and the officers of each should be advised that before his organization agrees to participate in any joint educational program financed by sources other than our trade union movement he should refer the request for such participation to the American Federation of Labor Committee on Education for advice and information.

International Educational Activities

The Federation has long supported a number of international educational programs. We were among the first organizations which helped establish UNESCO and which supported many exchange programs which sought to develop international understanding by closer contact among peoples and among nations. We believe that a tremendous good has come through these programs and they merit our continued support. However, we believe also that if the administrative machinery for these programs was improved that the programs themselves would be improved and attacks on them which have menaced their operation would be less likely to be made.

UNESCO

We reaffirm our support of the ideals of UNESCO. We must, however, also again call attention to the need for changing the machinery of the United States National Commission on UNESCO and certain administrative practices of the commission. At present, the Executive Committee appoints the Nominating Committee which in turn nominates the Executive Committee. Labor must fight this undemocratic procedure and if necessary have the statute creating the UNESCO National Commission amended to modify such practices as the one referred to above. Other similar deviations from democratic procedure and even departures from the law itself which have seriously injured the operation of the program should, in the interest of the program, be discontinued.

Exchange Programs

We would again call attention to the inadequacy of labor representation on all Boards directing international exchange programs. We recommend strongly that legislation be prepared and its adoption sought which would expressly provide for representation of labor on all exchange policy-making boards.

We should also insist on administrative modifications which would assure a more thoroughly "grass roots" program, in the interest of the rank and file, than the present program provides.

The American Federation of Labor continues its cooperation with the educational work of the ICFTU and the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations.

The Federation is giving considerable time and effort in assisting governmental programs of international exchange of workers and information of the U. S. Departments of State and Labor, and the Foreign Operations Administration, the U. S. Information Agency, and other governmental agencies. Staff members of the several departments of the American Federation of Labor help interpret to visiting teams of foreign workers and workers' education leaders, the educational program of the American Federation of Labor. An increasing number of requests for printed material and information from all parts of the world concerning our movement are coming in. Government agencies frequently call on the American Federation of Labor for assistance in preparing government materials on the American labor movement for distribution in foreign countries. Our own *News Letter* and other American Federation of Labor material are regularly sent to many union and workers' education centers throughout the world, and to labor attaches, labor information officers, U. S. information libraries, and FOA officials abroad.

The American Federation of Labor also cooperates in selecting awardees of Ruskin College and Coleg Harlech scholarships and Fulbright fellowships in adult and workers' education for study in Great Britain and other foreign countries. The education director of the Federation has been a member of the selection committees for these study opportunities for several years.

COOPERATIVES

Affiliates and members of the American Federation of Labor have for many years taken the leadership in organizing and operating consumer cooperatives and credit unions. During the past year, the advent of economic recession, with its threat of reduced employment and dwindling purchasing power, have given an added incentive to trade unionists to obtain maximum value for their dollars by giving maximum support to these consumer-owned nonprofit enterprises.

Especially encouraging gains have been made in the past twelve months in the field of cooperative health services despite vicious attacks on these activities by reactionary elements led by the American Medical Association. In addition to operating many health centers themselves, A. F. of L. affiliates and members have been in the forefront of a vigorous campaign for the continuing right of consumers to organize cooperative health centers.

In such cities as Philadelphia, St. Louis and New York, labor-operated health centers have expanded both their membership and services to provide the highest quality of medical care to their members. In other cities, including Los Angeles, San Francisco, Milwaukee and Denver, trade unions have supported and assisted cooperative health insurance

plans which have met the highest standards for medical care and services at the lowest possible cost.

As they have for many years, A. F. of L. affiliates and members in cities and towns throughout the nation have played a leading role in successful and expanding distributive cooperatives in many fields, including dairy and grocery cooperatives, funeral buying services, suburban cooperative shopping centers and a consumer-owned radio station. Cooperative housing projects organized by A. F. of L. unions are providing good living accommodations in well-planned communities to thousands of families of trade union members and other middle-income families.

Our affiliates should continue to give all possible support and leadership to foster the growth of cooperative enterprises. Trade union members and their families and friends should participate actively in this democratic movement. Our Federation should give guidance and assistance to our members to help them organize and take a leading part in cooperatives to the end that both the responsibilities and the benefits of their successful operation might be shared on the broadest possible basis.

Credit Unions

Our affiliates and members have shown an increasing interest in credit unions and have contributed notably to the spectacular growth in numbers, membership and assets which this form of cooperative enterprise has enjoyed in recent years. The hundreds of our affiliates which have established credit unions have made it possible for their members to invest their savings at a good return and to borrow funds for necessary expenditures at reasonable interest rates. Increasingly, union members have organized credit unions as the most effective way of making available to workers low-cost credit and thereby preventing them from falling into the hands of unscrupulous small-loan sharks. Their pooled savings in credit unions are a source of low interest loans to members which involve neither unnecessary red tape nor embarrassing investigation.

A. F. of L. unions have established and are now operating 476 credit unions while many others, not officially labor-sponsored, largely owe their initial organization and successful operation to the efforts of our local affiliates and their members. It is important for our Federation to continue to give all possible assistance and guidance to affiliates and members in the organization and operation of credit unions. Advice with regard to procedures necessary for sound management of credit unions and necessary safeguards of the funds entrusted to them should continue to be provided from our headquarters to our affiliates interested in organizing credit unions.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

The 1954 Elections

Labor's immediate political goal is the election of a more liberal Congress on November 2. Thirty-seven of the 96 U. S. Senate seats and

all 435 seats in the House of Representatives will be filled in the 1954 election.

There is an exceptionally good chance for labor to make substantial gains in this election, if the workers of this country can be prevailed upon to register and to vote in full strength in what is generally considered an off-year election.

More than ever before, our members understand that Congressional elections are vital to labor's welfare. This is evidenced by the gratifying response thus far received to our appeals for voluntary $1 contributions to the LLPE political fund.

There can also be detected a growing dissatisfaction among voters generally with international and domestic developments in the past two years. The disappointing record of the 83rd Congress, the "give-aways" engineered by the present Administration, the loss of American prestige in international affairs and the effects of the economic recession, all have combined to disenchant the public with reactionary policies.

This conclusion is borne out by the primary elections held so far this year.

South

In the South, where victory in the Democratic primaries is usually equivalent to election, the Dixiecrats and other conservative elements have suffered severe reverses.

In Alabama, the voters renominated Senator John Sparkman, an outstanding liberal.

After a bitter fight, Kerr Scott, a staunch supporter of labor while Governor of North Carolina, defeated the incumbent Senator Alton Lennon for the Democratic nomination for Senator.

In Oklahoma, the two major candidates for the Senatorial nomination were considered friends of labor. Incumbent Senator Robert Kerr won renomination with LLPE support. Both the winner and the runner-up for Gubernatorial nomination were considered friends of labor also.

A big surprise took place in Texas where incumbent Governor Allan Shivers, a pro-Eisenhower Dixiecrat, was forced into runoff with the liberal Gubernatorial candidate, Ralph Yarborough. In addition, anti-labor Representative Wingate Lucas was defeated for renomination by labor-backed James Wright, Mayor of Waterford.

In Arkansas, as was expected, Senator John L. McClellan, with the benefit of the TV publicity he received in the McCarthy-Army hearings, won renomination over his liberal opponent, former Governor Sidney McMath.

Also, Senator Allen J. Ellender, who consistently votes against labor except on housing legislation, won an expected victory in the Louisiana primaries in his bid for a fourth Senate term.

Certain aspects of the Southern primaries deserve recognition. Despite the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation, appeals to

racial prejudice such as characterized the 1948 and 1950 campaigns proved notably unsuccessful.

Furthermore, the "States' Rights" issue appears to have lost its appeal to workers who have been shocked by the enactment of Open Shop law in four more Southern States during the past year.

Another significant trend has been the new support received by liberal candidates from farmers who are upset by moves to undermine price supports on their basic crops.

Mid-West

In the mid-west, three loyal friends of labor in the Senate are up for reelection. All Democrats, they are running in States that normally go Republican. However, prospects for their reelection have improved since a growing number of farmers have joined with the solid ranks of labor in their support. They are Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota; Paul Douglas, of Illinois, and Guy Gillette, of Iowa.

All three were elected in 1948 when farmers and workers alike rebelled against the miserable record of the 80th Congress. History may well repeat itself this year as a similar reaction develops against the record of the 83rd Congress.

East

Primary election returns were also encouraging in the East, showing a distinctly favorable trend for candidates supported by LLPE.

In Maryland, educator H. C. Byrd, running on a frankly pro-labor platform, won a close contest for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

In Republican Maine, Senator Margaret Chase Smith's five-to-one primary victory over a pro-McCarthy opponent was regarded as a significant gain for the liberal cause.

A favorable indication for the reelection campaign of Senator Matthew Neely in West Virginia came in recent city elections in that State, which resulted in Democratic victories for the first time in decades.

In New Jersey, both parties have put forward Senatorial candidates with pro-labor records while serving in the House of Representatives.

While Senator Theodore Green should win reelection easily in Rhode Island, the conservative Senator Leverett Saltonstall may be defeated in Massachusetts.

West

Three Senate seats currently held by friendly Senators are at stake in the West. Senator James E. Murray, of Montana, and Senator Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico, face strong opposition but are favored to win reelection. In Colorado, Senator Edwin C. Johnson is retiring from the Senate to run for Governor. If present prospects hold true, one of several strongly liberal candidates for the seat could be elected.

On the other hand, incumbent Senators in four other States who

consistently oppose labor could be replaced if union members work hard enough to take advantage of the opportunity.

In California, Representative Samuel W. Yorty, supported by LLPE, won the Democratic Senatorial nomination with the higest vote in years despite the lavishly financed campaign of the Republican incumbent, Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, who cross-filed. This year the law required party designation for the first time in the State's cross-filing system, where candidates can run in the primary on both party tickets. Not one reactionary running for Congress won both party nominations. The only two Representatives who did win bi-partisan nomination were both strongly pro-labor.

In Wyoming, former Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, a long-time friend of labor, has decided to run again for the seat to which Republican Senator E. D. Crippa was appointed after the death of Senator Lester C. Hunt.

In Idaho, there is a chance to defeat Senator Henry Dworkshak for reelection because of public dissatisfaction with the Administration's power policies.

The same issue may change enough votes to elect Richard Neuberger, backed by LLPE, in traditionally Republican Oregon in place of the anti-labor incumbent, Senator Guy Cordon, Republican.

Organization

In accordance with plans approved last year the League appointed four Area Directors and a Director of the National LLPE Women's Division, all of whom operate under the National LLPE Director.

The four Area Directors are each charged with coordinating activities in their respective twelve-state areas in the North, South, Mid-west and West. These Directors were selected for their past accomplishments in political activity and their knowledge of the labor movement in their areas. They fill a long-felt need for field work in rendering assistance in forming local Leagues and improving their operating methods.

Already the work of the Area Directors is bringing gratifying results.

The Women's Director was appointed to help enlist the support and participation of the women members of trade union families. The Women's Division is not concerned primarily with women who are A. F. of L. members, but with the wives and daughters of A. F. of L. members. The League needs their support and participation in electing pro-labor candidates to public office.

Women's Divisions are being set up in conjunction with LLPE units from the local union level right on up to the State Federation level. Where Women's Divisions are already in operation they are proving extremely effective as a source of volunteer election workers and voting strength in support of LLPE endorsed candidates.

Fund Raising

Prior to 1953, the League conducted campaigns for one dollar voluntary contributions in Federal election years only. Unfortunately, this procedure meant that sufficient funds were not available for the early primaries in one-party States. So, in 1953 for the first time the League conducted a fund raising campaign in a non-election year. The amount collected was $174,227.95 which was enough to allow us to give material assistance in the primaries this spring.

Commencing on the first of March the League launched its 1954 Voluntary Contribution Campaign. By mid-year 67 unions were participating directly and three others indirectly with their own fund raising campaigns.

It appeared that the response would be better than ever this year. In the first four months of the 1954 campaign, $88,264.24 had been contributed as contrasted with $53,556.92 in the first four months of the 1952 Presidential election year campaign.

Research and Information

New voting records covering the period from 1947 through May 1954 were mailed out to every local union participating in the fund raising campaign and to all the International Unions, State Federations, Central Labor Councils and LLPE units at all levels. In accordance with the procedure established in 1952 these voting records were approved jointly by LLPE and the AFL Legislative Committee.

In addition, the National LLPE office sent out all over the country, more than a million pieces of literature explaining the purposes of the League, the issues in this election, the need for voluntary contributions and the importance of every trade union vote.

Newspaper mats and stories promoting the League and its fund raising campaign went to all labor publications.

LLPE Report by Director James L. McDevitt goes out as an exclusive feature for the International Union Journals each month. Thanks to the cooperation of most of the International Unions this report is made available to several million AFL members monthly.

The *AFL News-Reporter* is the principal means by which the League is able to reach the weekly labor papers and AFL members each week. The political editor of the *News-Reporter* is a member of the LLPE staff, thus providing the closest liaison.

The League has built up an extensive research file on the actions of incumbent Congressmen and on the legislative issues. Material from the files is provided upon request to AFL and LLPE affiliates.

The League limited the amount of recorded educational programs which it financed for radio and union meeting use. However, the League did finance production of public service programs for requesting Congressmen.

Conclusion

While the chances for electing a Congress more friendly to labor are good this year, one warning should be kept in mind. All 435 seats of the House of Representatives are filled every two years. But, only a third of the Senate seats are filled every two years. After carefully looking over the composition of the Senate and the seats open in this year's election, it is apparent that there is little likelihood of having a clear pro-labor majority in the Senate after this election. This is the third of the Senate last elected in 1948, in which year the election results were unusually favorable from labor's standpoint. If we can re-elect friendly Senators and defeat a number of those opposed to labor's views, it will be a relative victory.

It is important that union members understand that the election of a clear pro-labor majority in both Houses of Congress is unlikely prior to 1956.

Maximum effort to defeat as many reactionaries as possible is essential. The only way to be sure that the next Congress will at least preserve the liberal social and labor laws still on the books is to repudiate and defeat anti-labor candidates. This can be accomplished by getting out the vote for LLPE-endorsed candidates.

Labor's League for Political Education was formed for the same reason as any other organization of the AFL—to protect the welfare and rights of AFL members. Both as trade unionists and as citizens we depend upon fair governmental policies and actions. Good, honest laws are written by good, honest lawmakers.

That is why the League urges each AFL member to contribute to LLPE to look at the record of each candidate, to register and then vote each and every election day.

LLPE offers a means whereby every AFL member can exert his influence and participate in an independent and non-partisan way in the election of public officeholders who are friendly to the working people.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

A report of the Department's activities during the year ending June 30, 1954 is herewith submitted:

Organizational Functions

The finances of the Department are in excellent condition. All affiliated national and international unions are in good standing and will be represented at the 47th Annual Convention. The membership of the affiliated unions continued to increase throughout the year. The Department issued charters to 12 newly organized local Building and Construction Trades Councils. There are now well over 600 councils; 595 local and 21 state councils. To keep these local Councils and the affiliated unions informed of events which vitally effect them, the Department

in addition to its extensive correspondence, continued publication of its monthly official organ, *The Building and Construction Trades Bulletin* during the past year and it has been well received.

Outlook For Employment and Earnings

The construction industry has enjoyed another boom year. As a result, employment of our members has been at peak levels. According to the Department of Labor, monthly employment averaged about 2,644,000 last year. Estimates for 1954 are in the vicinity of 2,700,000. However, the wage picture for the past year is not as good as we had hoped considering the record volume of expenditures. Our only satisfaction is that although the average wage increases were smaller than in previous years, the gains were not offset by rising living costs which have remained relatively steady.

The outlook for employment and earning in the construction industry is uncertain. A glance at some figures will indicate why. Expenditures for new construction constitute an important part of our economy making up about 10 per cent of our Gross National Product. However, it is not independent of the other segments of the economy. Therefore, when we see that in the year ending June 30, construction expenditures rose 10 per cent while industrial production dropped an equal percentage, there is need for close examination and appraisal. Explanations of this economic divergency vary. On the one hand, it may be that construction expenditures reflect the true state of the nation's economy and the decline in industrial production is merely temporary and will soon continue its upward growth. On the other hand, it may be that the construction industry is merely the last to experience the nation's deepening recession and that a painful adjustment for the industry is soon forthcoming. Foretelling the future can be never more than an informed guess, but we would feel that in the absence of concrete government action, the construction industry cannot continue its post-war pace.

However, irrespective of the interpretation as to the actual state of the economy, the Department urges that increased public construction to meet the present needs of the nation be begun immediately. The building of adequate roads, schools, hospitals, water facilities, and houses should not await the downward turn of the business cycle. These needs should be met now and should not be used merely to compensate for declines in other sections of the economy. We urge the government to "take off the shelf" its plans for construction of public works so that people of the country can enjoy now some of the benefits without awaiting a major depression. Although employment in the industry is now at high levels, we have a labor force capable to 100 per cent expansion.

Closely akin to the outlook for employment in the industry is the outlook for wages. An ominous cloud has appeared on this horizon. The decline in industrial production has released thousands of workers who since the beginning of the year have gravitated to the construction in-

dustry. Already these unorganized workers are having a depressing influence on wages. Our unions have been very vigilant in their organizational efforts, but look, and rightly so, to the headquarters for aid against the restrictive legislation on union security passed on both the national and state levels.

Relations of Department with Government Agencies

A great deal of our time and effort has been spent in securing proper governmental administration of the laws and regulations which affect our membership. Among the laws which affect our people specifically are the Davis-Bacon Act, the Anti-Kickback Act, the 8-Hour Law, the Walsh-Healey Act, The Fair Labor Standards Act and others not excluding the Taft-Hartley Act.

There is one agency of the Government to which laboring men should be able to turn immediately for aid in seeing these laws are administered efficiently and justly. This agency has in its enabling Act the purpose of "promoting the welfare of the wage earners of the United States, improving the working conditions, and advancing the opportunities for profitable employment." This is, of course, the Labor Department. Unfortunately it has not and seemingly cannot fulfill this purpose. Although Big Business is now running the administration, Secretary Mitchell seems disposed to give labor a fair shake. However, he is restricted in what he may do by the few functions remaining in his office. Even these few functions, which are mostly statistical will be further curtailed because of inadequate appropriations.

The diffusion of the proper obligations of the Labor Department to other Government agencies, the curtailing of other functions, and the serious understaffing of the Department create serious handicaps for Labor. We have had to spend considerable time and effort in merely locating the proper responsible officials to demand that an Act of Congress be implemented or enforced.

An example of this is the time required to pressure the Federal Housing Administration into assuming responsibility for enforcement of the wage provisions in the National Housing Act. Finally, we obtained awards of almost half a million dollars in back wages paid to employes who were illegally paid less than the established rate. For years one agency after the other "passed the buck" of responsibility back and forth while the workers suffered the loss. Some of the laxities in this regard have become publicized as a result of the FHA scandals.

Another example was the time required to fix responsibility in the Defense Department's mishandling of construction work. We have vigorously opposed the practice of using civil service employes or maintenance personnel, at less than the prevailing rates, to do construction work. We have also opposed the practice by the Corps of Engineers who repeatedly and extensively under the guise of training have been employing on construction work men drafted into the Army not as slaves

or prison laborers, but as soldiers to defend our country. It is hoped that some agreement on the end of all these abuses has been reached.

An agreement reached at the Picatinny Arsenal with the Army may serve as a pattern in the future. There the Army discontinued its policy of hiring temporary employes and have awarded contracts to employers who are required by law to pay the prevailing wage scales.

Other examples of the time wasted in ferreting out the responsible officials include: the necessity of dealing with another non-Labor Department agency, the National Labor Relations Board for decisions on Taft-Hartley; the need for negotiating with the Atomic Energy Commisison for regulations concerning labor disputes connected with the construction of atomic energy plants; the negotiations with the Defense Department to make employers with Defense contracts obey the spirit of the 8-Hour Law to pay overtime compensations for work in excess of 40 hours a week.

The purpose of this emasculation of the Labor Department over the past years seems clear to us. The moneyed interests seek by this indirect method to discourage unions from seeking any kind of government assistance. They believe this policy of decentralizing the responsibility in Government labor matters will frustrate unions in their efforts to secure prompt and effective enforcement of laws made obstensibly for their protection. This Department has not and will not be frustrated in its attempts to secure justice for its membership. However, we do decry this weakening of the Labor Department and urge that all help and assistance be given to the Department of Labor.

Jurisdictional Problems

The problem of jurisdictional disputes which exists with our affiliated unions are on three different levels. We have progress to report on all levels.

In jurisdiction conflicts between members within the Department we can report continued progress. On May 1, 1954, the National Joint Board for the Settlement of Jurisdictional Disputes in the Building and Construction Industry commenced its seventh year of operation. Last year, in addition to the local job decisions rendered, six general agreements between the International Unions were consummated. Moreover, considerable reductions were made in time lost and the number of picket lines established because of these disputes. While at times we have not been entirely satisfied with all the activities of our Joint Board, we realize it has been an instrument by which a great deal of money has been saved for our unions and their membership. Had not this Board been established, these cases would have had to be taken to the Government's NLRB and the unions concerned would have been involved in long and expensive litigation. Thus far only two of the hundreds of cases brought before it have been taken to the NLRB and this is surely an admirable record.

In the case of jurisdictional conflicts between our unions and others in the American Federation of Labor, we await the final disposition of our detailed recommendations offered the convention last year for the adjudication of jurisdictional conflicts within the A. F. of L. As we understand it, this convention will act on this question.

In the case of jurisdictional conflicts between our members and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, we can report that as of the end of the fiscal year, over half of the Internationals affiliated with this Department, have so far signed the No-Raiding Pact initiated on June 9, this year.

It is hoped that all these steps toward the proper adjudication of jurisdictional disputes will bring about an increase in good will and understanding which will in turn place us all in a better position to utilize our full resources in bringing to each and every organized worker the benefits which he so richly deserves.

Apprenticeship Program

Many hurdles have been placed in the way of building a sound apprenticeship program. We are all familiar with the legal obstacles which Taft-Hartley has imposed on apprenticeship programs in the construction industry. We know, too, the difficulties of recruiting young men who face, also, at this age, military service. There is, too, the unwillingness of some of our contractors to bear their share in the expense of training this supply of skilled manpower through programs of this sort. The emasculation of the Labor Department mentioned above, has also hurt the apprentice program as there are insufficient field representatives to supervise an expanding program.

In spite of these difficulties and obstacles, substantial progress has been made. The Bureau of Apprenticeship announced that over 130 new union-employer joint apprenticeship committees in the building trades were formed bringing the total to 3,747 as of the first of the year. During the year, the number of active-registered apprentices has increased 10 per cent from about 86,000 to 92,000. We note also that we in the building trades have been more persistent in our efforts in apprenticeship than have other unions. As a result, the percentage of building trades apprentices in relation to the total in the country has increased consistently during the past five years. In June, 1949, the percentage of building trades apprentices was 49.5 per cent of the total; in June, 1953, it was 57 per cent, and we confidently expect when the tabulations for this year are made this trend will have continued.

Project Agreements

This department has been directing considerable attention and effort into developing and negotiating large project agreements. These agreements have achieved gratifying results. Union-management good relations are strengthened, our members receive work at decent wages, our

contractors get work from able and efficient men, and there is a resultant absence of labor disputes and of time lost because of those disputes. A striking example of the benefits of the latter type was in the building of the $195 million Steam Electric Station at Joppa, Ill. Before the Bechtel Corporation took over the project and signed a project agreement last year with our Internationals, there were over 30 work stoppages involving labor disputes. Since the signing of the agreement there have been none. Large project agreements which have been similarly negotiated in the past year by our Department cover the building of the Air Force Base at Portsmouth, N. H., and the construction of huge facilities at two separate locations in upper Minnesota to be used for the mining of Taconite. Result of all these agreements have been . . . no labor disputes and no time lost. It is expected that the popularity of these joint ventures on the side of management in these large scale projects will find a corresponding increase in the number of large scale union agreements negotiated by this Department in the coming year.

Housing Activities

We have been active in extending every effort at obtaining the goal of a decent home for every living American family. This Department is, of course, especially concerned as we are in a position to observe more clearly the needs of the nation. The Department has worked in close conjunction with Vice President Harry C. Bates, chairman of the A. F. of L. Housing Committee, and with other A. F. of L. unions concerned with the problem of adequate housing.

One of the most publicized events in this field in the past year was the FHA scandal. While these disclosures have made the public a little suspicious of Federal Aid to Housing of any nature, one of the salutary effects has been that the public is also beginning to realize the reason for some of the high building costs. At first, the blame had been put on high material costs. Then these costs declined and labor became the favorite whipping boy. These Congressional hearings now reveal that much of the excessive costs in building was the improper siphoning off of mortgage funds by some speculative builders. Mortgage funds intended for the house ended up in the builder's pocket.

In this connection it is ironic to note that the blame for building costs were attributed to Labor while at the same time builders were notoriously ignoring not only the Davis-Bacon Act to pay prevailing wages but even the Fair Labor Standards Act to pay even a minimum wage.

It is hoped that some benefit will result from these investigations, in Government circles at least. The attitude of the officials concerned with Housing has too often been that they existed to serve exclusively a private commercial interest. Perhaps now they will realize the true purpose of government in housing is to make good housing available to more people.

We would like to add a footnote on public housing. So far this pro-

gram is entirely inadequate, representing about 5 per cent of the dwellings started. However, we support this program in the hopes that it will gain in importance as the need for slum clearance and urban redevelopment become more widely recognized. Perhaps some of the builders who have attacked this program as scandalous will be a little more reluctant to mention the word scandal. A great deal of time and effort will still be needed to obtain not only housing for the lower income groups but also something will have to be worked out for those in the middle income groups who cannot qualify on the basis of need for the Public Housing and cannot qualify on the basis of income for the type of homes that the industry is currently providing.

Taft-Hartley

As per usual, each year we have to report that a great deal of time and effort of this Department was concerned with labor legislation passed by Congress and the various states. The promised revision of the Taft-Hartley Act did not take place. Paradoxically, we, who have been in the foreground in urging revision of the law to correct inequities which are particularly unfair to the building trades, were somewhat relieved that the law was not revised. The promised revisions turned out to be revisions not of relief for the laboring man but for his further repression.

This Department declined to testify at hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to amend Taft-Hartley when it was announced that all testimony was to be restricted to specific outlined amendments proposed by President Eisenhower. Our principal contention was, and still is, that revisions which fail to take into account appropriate amendments to Section 14(b) are almost worthless.

This restriction of amendments to only those proposed by the President proved to be the downfall of the whole bill. Foreseeing this, we, in the Department, tried to salvage something from this Congress by introducing to the Committee a proposal for a two-year moratorium from the provisions of Taft-Hartley. During this time we would work with management and the government to devise a program which would allow the industry to proceed in an orderly manner and which would grant some degree of security to the building tradesmen. In an informal presentation of representatives of employers and labor in the building industry, we presented our proposal to the Committee. President Meany made a particularly eloquent plea for us to obtain some relief. However, we have been informed as of this date from sources high in the Eisenhower Administration that the administration plans to do nothing further to amend or change the Taft-Hartley Act during this session of Congress.

At the same time we have done our best in an attempt to operate under Taft-Hartley. The NLRB has been still unable to work out a method of holding representation elections in the building and construction industry. Notwithstanding this dereliction of duty, the Board still continues to hand down decisions adverse to our interests without provid-

ing us an opportunity to be certified. On December 30, 1953, for example, the Board handed down a decision in the Ebasco Services Inc. case which invalidated a collective bargaining agreement which doubtlessly would have been legal if the Board would hold a representation election.

On April 25, the Board handed down another decision affecting our membership, this time involving the Denver Building Trades Council. (As you recall, this spunky local council carried on one NLRB ruling against it to the highest court in the land before bowing to a 6-3 decision.) In its April ruling, the Board has extended its interpretation of a secondary boycott to include subcontractors who are not even independent as to what wages they can pay. Our men are thus compelled to work side-by-side with nonunion men of a supposed subcontractor who is in reality nothing but a foreman for the primary contractor.

We were pleased to note that some of the areas of conflict between Federal and State laws have been settled by the Supreme Court. The decision in the Garner case may prove to be of benefit to Labor. The Court held that States had no right to regulate or interfere with labor conduct in interstate commerce when that conduct is already controlled by Federal Law. This should prevent some states from going beyond the bounds of Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley. In another case the Supreme Court ruled favorably that prevailing wage determinations made by the Secretary of Labor under Davis-Bacon are not to be considered the maximum wages to be paid.

The number of states passing laws prohibiting union security continues to increase. These anti-labor developments on such wide and diversified fronts require increasing political action. It is probable that the only action that we can obtain is through the National Congress and the voting records of all incumbents up for reelection should be examined, in the light of their position on Taft-Hartley.

We want to thank President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the prompt and unfailing cooperation which they have extended in all matters affecting the Building and Construction Trades Department.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

There has been progress made by the Metal Trades Department during the past year. Eight additional Metal Trades Councils have been chartered by the Department. These Councils are in areas in which there is increased industrial activity. Also organizational programs undertaken by affiliated International Unions of the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor. Much of this organizational work has been carried on with the full cooperation of the Organizing Department of the American Federation of Labor.

A resume of the activities of the Department indicates an increase

in the number of employes in the industrial plants, represented by craft unions bargaining in concert with each other with employers. Negotiations have been concluded in many of these plants with increases in wages averaging six cents per hour. This includes shipyards, atomic energy installations, and other industrial plants.

The Metal Trades Department has devoted considerable time to organization of employes in the atomic energy plants. The unions affiliated with the Department now represent upward of some 40,000 employes in maintenance and production in this type of operation. Elections were held in two atomic activities, in one of which the Metal Trades Council was successful. There is one major atomic installation now in the process of construction, and another partially completed in which a petition for a representation election is now pending.

Many problems connected with the mine, mill and smelting industry have been met during the past year, the solution of some of which however cannot be concluded until action is taken by the convention of the Metal Trades Department, and possibly the American Federation of Labor.

The Master Shipbuilding Agreement, which, for years, has been an outstanding example of area bargaining, has again been negotiated with substantial improvements, both in wages and other conditions, affecting the employes, this agreement being applicable to the shipbuilding and ship repair industry on the Pacific Coast.

The attention of the Department has been directed to the rapid decline of the American Merchant Marine. Shipbuilding and ship repair yards are, with few exceptions, virtually at a stand-still, except where vessels for the United States Government are either being newly constructed or reactivated. Ships for commercial use will have been completed by the end of 1954, and unless new ones contracted for, other than repair work, the shipbuilding yards of the United States will be empty.

This serious condition affecting the shipbuilding and ship repair industry has resulted in proposals before Congress calling for a shipbuilding program which would be distributed equally on both oceans and the Gulf, also the inland waterways. There is also a submission before Congress for the reconditioning of some two hundred vessels now laid up, these being principally of the Victory or Liberty type. This program would provide for immediate work in shipbuilding and ship repair industry.

The Legislative Committee of the Metal Trades Department has continued its functioning in cooperation with the National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor. The various committees from the Department have been working closely with committees from other American Federation of Labor Departments, or unions, in matters affecting Federal employes. There have also been permanent committees created within the Department, composed of representatives

from various International Unions, to deal with problems affecting civilian employes of the United States Navy.

Joint meetings have been held with other A. F. of L. unions representing employes of the Federal Government on a single overall wage board. Representations have been made to the Department, and these unions, by representatives of the United States Civil Service Commission, for a single wage board governing ungraded employes of the various Federal Departments. It was determined, as a result of investigation and interchange of procedures for fixing wages at various Governmental agencies, that a single board establishing wages for all ungraded Government employes, could not be feasible and practical in its application to all employes. The Department, in conjunction with other organizations of the A. F. of L., will continue its interest in an equitable method of establishing wages for Federal employes.

The Metal Trades Department has continued its close cooperation with the Building and Construction Trades Department concerning the International Unions affiliated with both Departments; there being a common interest due to the frequency with which employes may transfer from construction work of a plant to maintenance work in the same plant, and retain their membership in the same local union.

The unions with members employed in industrial plants, either represented by affiliation with a Metal Trades Council, or direct, have not been subjected to problems resulting from jurisdictional differences which were not adjustable on a local level. There has been no stoppages of work requiring the attention of the Department as the result of jurisdictional differences between affiliated International Unions, or the Department or Metal Trades Councils during the past year.

This is a brief summation of the activities of the Metal Trades Department. The Department's interests will continue to be directed toward the development of the atomic energy industry, the organization of employees in atomic energy plants, also the many employees in the shipbuilding and ship repair industry, and other commercial operations employing members of unions affiliated with this Department, including those employed by the Federal Government.

Experience has proven beyond any contradiction that employes can be organized into craft unions in any industry, and bargain as a unit, in conformity with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor, and in the interest of the trade union movement the Department's activities are directed at all times.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES' DEPARTMENT

The Railway Employes' Department and its affiliated International Organizations have continued to seek improvements in the working conditions of their membership in the railroad industry. Further progress in the union shop movement has been halted temporarily because of litigation, but national movements are in progress both in the United

States and Canada for improved vacations, holidays with pay and other changes in rules. On the legislative front, important amendments are before Congress to liberalize the Railroad Retirement and the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts.

Union Shop Movement

While the vast majority of the railroads throughout the country have signed union shop agreements with the non-operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations cooperating in the national movement, further progress has been temporarily suspended because of litigation which has been instituted on a number of carriers, either to enjoin the management and the organizations from entering into an agreement, or where an agreement has been signed, from carrying out its terms.

Generally these suits have challenged the validity of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act, claiming it is an unconstitutional exercise of Congressional legislative authority over interstate commerce and that the State right-to-work laws forbid union shop agreements.

The State courts have rendered decisions on a number of these cases which should be noted.

In a suit brought by several employes of the Santa Fe System, a Texas court decided on February 6, 1954, that the Texas right-to-work law prohibited the union shop and issued an injunction preventing the negotiation of a union shop agreement on this property. This case has been appealed.

In another suit brought by five employes of the Union Pacific Railroad, a Nebraska court decided on January 16, 1954, that a union shop agreement already signed was prohibited under the Nebraska right-to-work law, and issued an injunction to prevent its application to the employes on this property. This case has likewise been appealed.

More recently, in a similar suit instituted in a Virginia State court to prevent the application of a union shop agreement on the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, the court on July 28, 1954, sustained the organizations' demurrer, holding that the union shop agreement with the carrier was lawful, that the Virginia right-to-work law had been superseded by federal legislation and that the latter was constitutional and properly applied within the State of Virginia.

Where the federal courts have passed on these issues, they have uniformly upheld the constitutionality of the union shop amendments to the Railway Labor Act and the agreements negotiated pursuant thereto.

In a case involving the Florida East Coast Railway, the Federal District Court in Jacksonville, Fla., decided on June 25, 1953, that the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act was a valid exercise of the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce, that the Act superseded the right-to-work provision of the Florida Constitution and therefore the trustees of the carrier could legally enter into a union shop agreement in accordance with the terms of the Railway Labor Act.

On the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, where a union shop agreement was made effective, an employe failed to join the union because of religious scruples and was discharged as provided in the agreement. Before being suspended, however, he was given an opportunity to pay the dues uniformly required of all other employes without the requirement of actual membership, but he declined. He sued for reinstatement on the grounds the Railway Labor Act was unconstitutional. The District Court for the Eastern District of New York declined to grant him injunctive relief and he appealed to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, which upheld the decision of the lower court. In its decision rendered June 8, 1953, the Circuit Court of Appeals held that the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act was constitutional with respect to the religious issue and that the union shop agreement negotiated pursuant thereto was valid.

A similar case was decided by the Federal District Court in Los Angeles where in addition to raising the religious issue, the constitutionality of the Railway Labor Act was attacked generally. An employe of the Southern Pacific Railroad and another employe of the Union Pacific Railroad declined on religious grounds to join the organizations representing their respective crafts, as required under the union shop agreements in effect on these carriers. They, too, were given the opportunity to pay the dues uniformly required in order to overcome their religious scruples. After being found in non-compliance, they brought suits against their respective carriers. The court granted a temporary restraining order pending hearings on a temporary injunction. The involved organizations intervened and petitioned the court for a summary judgment denying the plaintiffs applications for injunctions, vacating the restraining orders previously issued and dismissing the cause of action. These cases were consolidated and on June 10, 1954, the court rendered its decision upholding the position of the organizations. The decision is being appealed by the plaintiffs.

It may be necessary to refer some of these cases to the Supreme Court before the issues involved are finally decided but we are confident that the position of the organizations will be sustained.

Meanwhile, the union shop agreements which are in force on the vast majority of the railroads have served to increase the membership of the organizations covered, including those affiliated with the Railway Employes' Department.

National Movement to Secure Improvements In Working Conditions

In our previous report, we indicated that a national movement had been inaugurated by 15 non-operating Standard Railway Labor Organizations, including those affiliated with the Railway Employes' Department, to secure improved vacations with pay, holidays with pay, a health and welfare plan, premium compensation for Sunday work and improved free transportation privileges. But the adamant attitude of

some railway managements, and resort by the carriers to litigation, has prevented an early settlement of this dispute.

Uniform notices were served on the individual carriers on May 22, 1953, and in keeping with the usual procedure followed by the railways and the organizations over the past 20 years, the carriers were also requested to form conference committees to deal with this dispute in the event an agreement was not reached in local conferences on each property.

The carriers replied by serving counterproposals on the organizations requesting revisions in current agreements which would serve to nullify the progress which has been made by the organizations during the past half century.

In accordance with the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, conferences were held on the individual properties. No settlements could be reached, however, so the organizations requested the carriers to form conference committees to handle the dispute to a conclusion.

After some delay, the carriers in the Eastern, Western and Southeastern Regions did form conference committees, but when they failed to enter into negotiations promptly as contemplated by the Railway Labor Act, the organizations invoked the services of the National Mediation Board and also referred the dispute to the membership in the form of a strike ballot so they could express their sentiments.

Under the auspices of the Board, conferences were held between the parties on November 3 and 4, 1954, however, the carriers took the position that under the Railway Labor Act they were not required to negotiate on the employes' proposals for a health and welfare plan and free transportation. With the carriers refusing to discuss all of the matters in dispute, the conferences were terminated. Immediately thereafter, the carriers brought suit in the United States District Court in Chicago for a declaratory judgment against the 15 cooperating organizations to establish the principle that the Railway Labor Act did not require bargaining on these issues.

The National Mediation Board assumed jurisdiction of the dispute at the request of the organizations on November 11, 1953, and mediation proceedings were conducted until December 17, without reaching a settlement. Arbitration was then proffered, which the carriers declined and the Board terminated its services.

It is significant that just before mediation was terminated, the carriers signed an agreement with the trainmen for a wage increase of five cents an hour, the inclusion of the escalator increase then payable of 13 cents an hour into the basic rates and a third week of vacation which they claimed set a "pattern." They urged it upon the non-operating organizations as a basis of settlement, but it was declined because it would leave most of the matters in dispute still unsettled.

Upon being advised of the pending emergency by the Board, the President issued an Executive Order on December 28, 1953, creating an Emergency Board to investigate the dispute. The Board, which was

appointed on January 16, 1954, consisted of Charles Loring, former Chief Justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court, Chairman; Adolph Wenke, Justice of the Nebraska Supreme Court; and Dr. Martin Paul Catherwood, Dean of the New York State School of Industrial Labor Relations at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Hearings were begun by the Board on January 27, 1954, during the course of which a recess was taken to permit the parties to present their arguments in the United States District Court on the carriers' motion for a declaratory judgment, which was dismissed by Judge Win G. Knoch on February 4, 1954. Although the carriers appealed the ruling of the court, the Board continued its hearings and investigation on all of the matters in disput until April 3, 1954, and on May 15, sumbitted its findings and recommendations to the President.

Briefly, the Board recommended a third week of vacation with pay, seven paid holidays and that the carriers negotiate a health and welfare plan to be paid for jointly on an equal basis, but turned down the employes' requests for premium pay for Sunday service as such, and improved free transportation privileges. The Board also recommended a number of changes in rules requested by the carriers.

Following receipt of the Board's report, conferences were resumed with the carriers on June 3, 1954. The findings and recommendations of the Board were thoroughly discussed, and the conferences were recessed on June 16 at the request of the carriers' conference committees so they could confer with their member roads.

On June 28, when conferences were resumed, the carriers indicated they were prepared to withdraw their objections to a health and welfare plan and that they were willing to negotiate an agreement on the basis of the Board's Report.

Negotiations are still in progress as our report goes to press.

National Movement on Canadian Railways

Meanwhile, a similar national movement was inaugurated by 16 Standard Railway Labor Organizations on the Canadian Railways to secure improved vacations with pay, holidays with pay, a system of cumulative sick leave and premium pay for Sunday work.

Uniform notices were served on the carriers on November 2, 1953, and negotiations were begun on November 25, but the railway managements declined the employes' requests and negotiations were terminated on November 30. Conciliators appointed by the Minister of Labor likewise failed to bring about a settlement and the dispute was referred to a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under the Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act.

The Board consisting of Mr. Justice R. L. Kellock, chairman; Mr. A. J. Wickens, Q.C., nominated by the employes; and Mr. Marshall M. Porter, Q.C., nominated by the Railways, conducted hearings and after

trying unsuccessfully to conciliate the dispute, made its report to the Minister of Labor on April 23, 1954.

Briefly, the chairman recommended a three weeks' vacation after 25 years of service and three statutory holidays, but with the requirement that work on such holidays be paid for at the pro rata rate rather than time and one-half. The labor member of the Board recommended three weeks' vacation after 15 years of service and liberalization of the vacations already provided by agreement, as well as seven paid holidays. Both the chairman and the labor member denied premium pay for Sunday work and sick leave with pay, but suggested that the parties continue to explore the possibility of negotiating a plan for the payment of hospital, surgical and medical benefits to the employes. The carrier member of the Board recommended that all the employes' requests be denied.

Dissatisfied with the action of the Board, the organizations referred the matter to the membership, in the form of a strike ballot, who voted overwhelmingly in favor of a suspension of work as our report goes to press.

Amendments to Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts

In the legislative field, proposed amendments to the Railroad Retirement and Railroad Unemployment Insurance Acts were presented to Congress early this year to provide for improved benefits for railroad employes and their families.

After giving careful consideration to the needs of the membership, a bill designated as S. 2930 was introduced in the Senate on February 11, 1954, and an identical bill designated as H. R. 7840 was introduced in the House on February 12, 1954. Among other things, this legislation which was sponsored by all of the Standard Railway Labor Organizations, would (1) increase the maximum creditable and taxable compensation from $300 to $350 a month, (2) increase the maximum daily benefit rate under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act from $7.50 to $8.50, (3) permit widows and dependent parents to become eligible for survivor benefits at age 60 instead of 65, (4) permit an employe on a disability annuity to earn up to $100 in any month without affecting his annuity, (5) provide for the payment of survivor benefits where a child is over 18 years of age if it is totally and permanently disabled and (6) provide for the payment of both a survivor annuity and a retirement annuity to a widow where she is eligible for the latter in her own right.

These amendments were passed by the House on July 30, 1954, and the Senate Labor Committee has reported the measure out favorably, but action by the Senate has been blocked temporarily by a number of reactionary Senators. We anticipate, however, that the measure will be approved before Congress adjourns.

Conclusion

In the light of the developments which have occurred in the railroad industry during the past year, it is appropriate to comment again on the need for political action.

We have called attention previously to the progress we have made under a friendly administration and the danger which existed if a reactionary administration assumed control of our government. What we predicted has come to pass even beyond our expectations, however, the change has had a deeper significance than is apparent from an examination of the legislative record.

To be sure, the enactments of the last Congress were designed to favor big business and the vested interest, and this was to be expected. But it should be observed that the influence of the change in administration reflects itself beyond the halls of Congress.

For example, even though no change is made in existing legislation, progress on the economic front can be impaired just as effectively by the appointment of reactionary officials to administer the laws governing labor, which in many cases is already an accomplished fact.

A more intangible effect of the change in administration, however, is the attitude of the employers toward our organizations. They have become bolder and more reactionary and nowhere has this become more evident than in the railroad industry.

There can be no question that many of our present difficulties arise primarily because of the political climate in which we are now operating and the only way in which we can remove this obstacle to further progress is to elect to public office candidates who are friendly to labor.

Viewing the present situation in the light of the progress we have made in the past, it is incumbent on all employes to protect their future welfare by financially supporting Railway Labor's Political League and registering and voting in the coming elections for those candidates who are pledged to support labor's objectives.

UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Since its last convention in St. Louis, Mo., the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has continued its campaign of education and promotion not only among its own affiliated organizations, but, to a limited extent, among the general consuming public. While adhering to the basic fundamental principles of union label, shop card, and union button promotion, the Department has, on occasion, endeavored to broaden its program wherever and whenever possible. As has been stated in the past, the Department is always alert to the latest promotion ideas and new means of communication. Since the basic job of the Department is one of education among A. F. of L. union members and the general public, the Department has tried to maintain an equitable balance between the time and effort spent working

among our A. F. of L. affiliates and the outside public. Virtually all known publicity avenues are being used in an attempt to keep increasing the demand by consumers for the products made, and services rendered, by members of the American Federation of Labor. It is difficult to gauge the end result in attempting to determine whether our biggest job is among our own people or the general public.

Taking into consideration the fact that the membership of the American Federation of Labor has swelled to such great proportions in the past few years, the Department has been engaged in preparing union label literature for distribution by all A. F. of L. unions to their membership. This, plus the various sources of publicity at the Department's disposal, has been and will continue to be utilized in an effort to alert our own A. F. of L. members to become a solid bloc of union label purchasers and patrons of union services.

One of the vital elements in this intramural program has been the formation and reactivation of Union Label Councils throughout the nation. Insofar as mass communication with the general consuming public has been concerned, the Department believes it has at its disposal one of the most potent means of bringing organized labor's story to the general public: This is the highly successful and well-established A. F. of L. Union-Industries Show.

Acknowledgments

The Union Label and Service Trades Department wishes to acknowledge the wholehearted cooperation of President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler of the American Federation of Labor in carrying out many of the important Union Label promotional campaigns during the past year. The Department extends its sincerest appreciation to these outstanding leaders of our parent organization for their valuable advice and assistance, and for their numerous contributions to the activities of this Department.

Director Harry E. O'Reilly of the Department of Organization has continued to extend a helping hand whenever and wherever possible. His nationwide staff of organizers has always been on hand to assist this Department whenever possible.

The A. F. of L. Publicity Department under the guidance of Director Phil Pearl has continued to be a vital point of Union Label news dissemination through its ever-growing weekly, *The A. F. of L. News-Reporter.* Managing Editor Bernard Tassler of *The American Federationist* has also made numerous contributions to the Union Label program with his colorful pictorial layouts and feature articles.

Needless to say our sincere appreciation is also extended to A. F. of L. radio news commentators for their valuable support, and to all editors and publishers of labor newspapers, journals, and other periodicals who have supported this Department's publicity programs.

Union Label Week

The period of September 6 through 12 was celebrated nationally as "Union Label Week." Established to promote goodwill and better public relations for all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L., this year's celebration was again an outstanding success.

The Department issued special news releases, photographs, special mats and posters. In addition, Department personnel worked closely with numerous organizations in staging special parades, picnics, exhibits at fairs and displays in store windows.

Officials of State Federations, Central Labor Unions and Union Label Councils went all out in encouraging many state governors and city mayors to issue special proclamations declaring the period of September 6 through 12 be set aside for union label celebrations.

Press Relations

The Public Relations Division of the Union Label and Service Trades Department has continued to devise new promotional ideas for the propagation of the union label, shop card, and union button. It has steadily increased the output of news releases, special feature articles, stories of union labels, photos, mats, cartoons and posters. In addition the publicity staff has been responsible for the gathering and writing of news material for our new magazine, *Labor Guide.*

"Speaking of Union Labels," the monthly column started last year by the Department, has gained wide acceptance throughout the labor press field. During the past year many editors have sent in letters commending this monthly feature and asking that it be expanded. Our miniature billboards which are on display in various union halls throughout the country continue to be one of the most popular means of publicizing the union label, shop card and union button to the rank and file. Inserts for these billboards are shipped out quarterly.

Members of the public relations staff have worked very closely with many of our affiliates during the past year in writing articles and making photographic layouts of the various activities engaged in by the respective organizations. In addition, we have been successful in preparing many printed pieces and publicity material upon request for several of our affiliated unions.

In addition to the newer assignments the publicity staff has continued to keep its contacts in the news, radio, TV and motion picture fields, as well as many of the union manufacturers throughout the country.

Women's Auxiliaries

The officers and members of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor have loyally and wholeheartedly supported the cause of the union label, shop card and union button.

This union label conscious organization, with its outstanding leader-

ship, has continued to concern itself with the great purchasing power of its membership and has continued to work toward the end that its members are the most potent force as a solid bloc of consumers.

The A. F. of W. A. of L. has made steady progress during the past year in gaining affiliates and in the placement of many of its members in a large number of important civic, state and federal positions.

These staunch supporters of the union label program have been most important to the entire labor movement in helping to bring about a better understanding of the problems and aims of our parent organization, the American Federation of Labor.

A. F. of L. Union-Industries Show

The American Federation of Labor outdid Hollywood itself this year in staging the 1954 A. F. of L. Union-Industries Show.

The ninth such exhibition staged by the Union Label Service Trades Department, the Los Angeles show, held at mammoth Pan-Pacific Auditorium, played host to approximately a half-million visitors. From near and far, spectators flocked to the auditorium to see the "World's Greatest Labor Management Exhibition." Nowhere else in the world could such a graphic example of harmony between unions and their respective contractual employers be seen. Side by side, union members and the nation's leading manufacturers and purveyors of union services demonstrated the quality and craftsmanship of union-made products. This indeed was democracy on display.

The colorful "premiere," held on the eve of the official opening day of the show, was replete with dignitaries and movie celebrities. California's Governor Goodwin J. Knight, Master of Ceremonies Edward Arnold, His Eminence James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, scores of civic, state and government officials and leaders of virtually every A. F. of L. national and international union, were on hand for the big event.

A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler made a special trip to Los Angeles to be on hand for the gala opening event, and played host to hundreds of invited guests at the giant all-new A. F. of L. Exhibit which occupied the most prominent spot in the auditorium. Both in quality and size, the 1954 show topped all previous exhibitions.

New Affiliates

The Department is pleased to announce the affiliation, since the 1953 convention, of the Building Service Employees' International Union. This fine organization became affiliated shortly after the first of the year and has already taken its place among the other older affiliates in supporting the Department's various activities.

Union Label Councils

The Label Councils Division of the Department has concentrated its efforts during the past year in helping establish sound programs for

the many Union Label Councils throughout the country. At the same time this Division has continued its efforts to establish new Councils and strengthen some that had not been functioning to their fullest extent.

Organizational efforts were concentrated in areas where recent Union-Industries Shows were held. Outstanding progress was made in forming Councils in California prior to the 1954 exhibition. These local label organizations were of great value in helping publicize the Show and helped develop the huge attendance the exhibition enjoyed.

State Union Label Councils are in the process of being formed in Connecticut and Massachusetts and several other states are studying the possibility of similar groups. These State Councils will help coordinate the activities of the local Councils in their respective areas and will work in close cooperation with the sponsoring State Federations of Labor.

The reorganization of the Ohio State Union Label Council and the appointment by the Department of a Regional Director for Ohio and Kentucky have helped re-establish this area as one of the Union Label strongholds of the nation. The Department has successfully completed the reorganization of the Washington (D. C.) Union Label Council and this group is now strongly supported by the local labor movement and is successfully promoting the label in the nation's capital.

These Union Label Councils, acting as branch offices of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, are helping to carry the Department's campaigns forward on a local level and are developing a greater understanding on the part of the general public for the aims and objectives of organized trades unionists.

A. F. of L. SERVICES TO THE COMMUNITY

American workers are proud of their part in the community life of the nation and of their active participation in the civic, social, and welfare work in their locality.

Wage-earners represent a substantial majority of citizens in every city and town. Representing workers, trade unions can make a vital contribution to community life. Advances gained by unions through collective bargaining contribute directly to the betterment of living standards of the whole community.

While such gains are of foremost importance, the contribution of unions to community welfare is much broader in its scope. Throughout the country, in 826 major communities, there is a central labor union which acts on behalf of the various American Federation of Labor unions in the locality. The central labor union is the spokesman through which the American Federation of Labor workers in the community express their views. Their voice is thus raised effectively on a wide range of economic, civic, political and welfare problems affecting the life of the community.

During the past year, American Federation of Labor activities in community affairs continue to grow. Of particular importance was the increased support extended by the American Federation of Labor to the Community Chests and Councils of America. Throughout the country thousands of our union members are serving on local boards administering the coordinated community welfare programs. In a number of localities, active unionists have been elected to the presidency of their local Community Chests. In the meantime, labor participation in the national office through the Labor Participation Department assures that labor interests are considered in developing national policies and programs.

In addition, through the constructive work of our central labor unions, the range of community services of our unions has been broadened and their pace intensified. Among the objectives sought by our unions for the advancement of the community were: improved education; replacement of slums by better housing and formulation of sound redevelopment plans; greater recreation and park facilities; development of highways and improved transportation facilities; expanded welfare and health services, particularly for needy children and the aged; and improved procedures for registration and voting.

Responding to the call of our 1953 Convention for intensified community activities of our unions and seeking to provide nationwide guidance for them, President Meany appointed a Standing Committee on Community Relations of the A. F. of L. to coordinate all A. F. of L. activities in this field. Matthew Woll, First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, is chairman of the new Committee, and serving with him as members are William F. Schnitzler, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor, and Lee W. Minton, President, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association. Provision is being made for a full-time Director of Community Relations to serve under the policy direction of the Committee.

The new Committee has arranged to review all appeals and requests from all nationwide voluntary health, welfare and recreational associations. It will make recommendations on participation in the work of such organizations to the American Federation of Labor and its National and International Unions, as well as State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions.

The Committee will study the administration and functioning of these voluntary agencies and make available their findings and recommendations to our affiliates from time to time. It will be the Committee's purpose to encourage support of all worthwhile agencies serving the nation and local communities and at the same time help our affiliates devote their time and effort to the activities that will best serve the community.

The program of the new Community Relations Committee of the A. F. of L. will help our movement in taking a larger part in community

activities as an integral part of the community, joining with their fellow citizens in a drive for community betterment and growth. Under this new arrangement, American Federation of Labor services to the community will be given the fullest opportunity for growth and development.

We ask our central labor unions to establish their own committees on community relations to help develop this program in every community and call on all our affiliates to give active support to the A. F. of L.'s new community relations program.

CONCLUSION

America stands at a cross-roads in her destiny. Are we to move forward courageously to a brighter, more rewarding and more peaceful future, or are we to shrink backward into economic defeatism and fatal retreat from our world responsibilities?

Let us do everything in our power at this Convention to prove to the nation and the world that American labor looks to the future unafraid. Let us adopt programs that will strengthen our country and promote the cause of peace and freedom throughout the free world. By holding steadfast to our principles, by cementing our friendship with the free workers of other lands, we can make a significant contribution to the salvation of the free way of life.

Fraternally submitted,

GEORGE MEANY,
President.

MATTHEW WOLL,
First Vice President.

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Second Vice President.

DANIEL J. TOBIN,
Third Vice President.

HARRY C. BATES,
Fourth Vice President.

W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
Fifth Vice President.

W. C. DOHERTY,
Sixth Vice President.

DAVID DUBINSKY,
Seventh Vice President.

CHARLES J. MacGOWAN,
Eighth Vice President.

HERMAN WINTER,
Ninth Vice President.

D. W. TRACY,
Tenth Vice President.

WILLIAM L. McFETRIDGE,
Eleventh Vice President.

JAMES C. PETRILLO,
Twelfth Vice President.

DAVE BECK,
Thirteenth Vice President.

MAURICE A. HUTCHESON,
Fourteenth Vice President.

A. J. HAYES,
Fifteenth Vice President.

WM. F. SCHNITZLER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR

ASSIGNMENT OF SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE'S COUNCIL'S REPORT

SUBJECT COMMITTEE

Introduction—Resolutions.

Change of Title—Executive Council Report.
  International Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.
  International Brotherhood of Longshoremen.

Death of William L. Hutcheson—Resolutions.

New American Federation of Labor Headquarters Building—Executive Council Report.

Selection of Fraternal Delegates—Executive Council Report.

Report on Revision of Constitution—Laws.
  Annual Auditing for Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions.
  Fidelity Bond Coverage for Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions.
  Federal Labor Unions Per Capita Tax.
  Initiation Fees from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.
  Minimum Dues for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, A. F. of L.—Resolutions.
  A. F. of L. Assistance to New International.
  Return of Locals outside of New York.
  The Situation in New York.
  First Election Ordered.
  Second Election Ordered.

Labor Unity—Resolutions.

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  A. F. of L. Internal Disputes Plan.

Organization—Organization.

Benefit Services of Standard National and International Unions for 1953—Executive Council Report.

Wage and Hour Administration—Resolutions.
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A. F. of L. Activities in Germany and Austria—International Labor Relations.
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International Brotherhood of Longshoremen.
New American Federation of Labor Headquarters Building.
Selection of Fraternal Delegates.
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Return of Locals outside of New York.
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Annual Auditing for Local Trade for Federal Labor Unions.
Fidelity Bond Coverage for Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions.
Federal Labor Unions Per Capita Tax.
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- Teachers Who Plead the Fifth Amendment.
- Policy Making for Education at National Level.
- Welfare of Our Children.
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- Central Wage Board.
- Government Salary Campaign.
- Government Employee Life Insurance.
- Annual Leave.
- Salaries for Beginners.
- Supplying Uniforms.
- The Whitten Rider.
- Meritorious Awards.
- Overtime Ceiling Raised.
- Callback Pay.
- Crafts—Custodial—Protective.
- Longevity.
- Transportation.
- Union Recognition and Lloyd-LaFollette Act.

Governmental Reorganization.

Proposed Changes in Congressional Rules.

Mortgage Insurance for Medical Facilities.

Public Health Service Appropriations.

Reinsurance of Voluntary Health Insurance Plans.

Alaska, Hawaii Statehood.

Territories and Possessions.
- Canal Zone.
  - Fringe Benefit Study.
  - Overseas Allowance Act.
  - Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance.
  - Federal Employees' Unemployment Insurance.
  - Travel Allowance for Overseas Employees
  - Maritime Act 50-50 Amendment.
  - Tort Feasor Bill.
  - Alien Cash Relief.
  - Deceased Employees' Account.
  - Income Tax.

Legislative Achievements, 1953 Edition.

International Envelope Company (Dayton Plant).

Fine Arts Commission.

Bills on Prohibition.

Sugar Act.

Safety.
- Industrial and Government.
- Diverting Mine Safety to States.
- Safety on Railroads.

Railroad Retirement Act.

Constitutional Amendments.
- Bricker Amendment.
- Vote for 18-year olds.

Sections of Executive Council's Report Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations

The Present World Situation.
- A. Dangerous Illusions.
- B. The Road to Deterioration.

The Soviet Orbit—Its Problems and Perils.

Challenge and Menace to the Free World.
- A. Reducing International Tension.
- B. Co-Existence — Communist Theory and Practice.
- C. Towards a New Locarno?
- D. Trade with Soviet Orbit?
- E. Discontent in the East—Disunity in the West.
- F. Whither Germany—and the E.D.C.
- G. Communist China — Aggressor Against U.N.

Peace and Armaments.
- Moscow Prevents Prohibition of Atomic Warfare.

Colonialism—Menace to Peace and Freedom.

A. F. of L. and World Affairs.
- A. American Foreign Policy.
- B. International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
- C. Free Trade Union Committee.

A. F. of L. Activities in Europe.

A. F. of L. Activities in Germany and Austria.

A. F. of L. Activities in Latin America.
- Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).
- Joint U.S.-Mexico Trade Union Committee.

International Labor Organization.

Foreign Operations Administration.

Trade Union Advisory Committee on International Affairs, Department of Labor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I should like to introduce to the delegates to this convention three gentlemen who are here as our guests and who will be here with us all week. I want you to know them so when you see them around you will have a chance to talk to them, two being from the British Trades Union Congress and one from Canada.

I would like first to present to you Mr. Vern Metheral, fraternal delegate of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Brother Metheral will get a much more elaborate introduction a little later when he makes his address, but at this time I am just presenting him so you will know and have a chance to chat with him during the week. I want to present him with the fraternal delegates' badge to the Convention. Brother Metheral.

. . . Mr. Vern Metheral arose, acknowledged the applause of the delegates, and was presented with a delegate badge.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Next I want to present the representative of the British Trades Union Congress and present him with his badge of the Convention, Brother A. E. Tiffin, representing the British Trades Union Congress; and the second delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, who is with us here as a fraternal delegate, is Brother J. C. Baty. I want to present him with his badge.

. . . Mr. A. E. Tiffin and Mr. J. C. Baty arose and were presented with badges, and received the applause of the delegates.

I wanted to present Mrs. Tiffin and Mrs. Metheral but they have gone shopping, I understand. I will get hold of them in the morning and present them to you, too.

At this time I want to note the presence of a visitor here and ask that he stand up and take a bow. He is visiting with us and we are very happy to have him spend whatever time he can. He is the Congressman from Sacramento, California, Congressman John E. Morse, a member of the House of Representatives Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, one of the men who led the fight for the Federal employees' five per cent pay raise legislation, which, as you know, passed the Congress, but died through a pocket veto by the President. Congressman Morse, will you stand up and take a bow?

. . . Congressman John E. Morse arose and received the applause of the delegates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present to you a representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, an organization in which the American Federation of Labor holds membership, along with the CIO and the Trades and Labor Congress in Canada, an organization which we played a part in forming in 1949, an organization of free labor throughout the world, designed to bring the message of free labor to all countries of the globe.

This organization is doing a splendid job in combination with the various trade secretariats and the national trade unions in combatting the attempts of the Communist-led World Federation of Labor to infiltrate into the various trade union movements.

I take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you the President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, also the Secretary of the Transport Workers Secretariat, Brother Omer Becu.

OMER BECU

President, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions

President Meany, Secretary Schnitzler and Delegates: It is a great pleasure to bring to this mighty gathering of American Trade Unionists the fraternal greetings and best wishes of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Although I had the privilege before of visiting a Convention of the American Federation of Labor, this is the first time I do so on behalf of the Confederation.

As you all know, the ICFTU embraces some 60 million trade unionists of many nationalities, races and creeds, in virtually all the free countries of the world. Amid that great multitude of free men, the AFL occupies a very proud place.

As President of the ICFTU, I know what a tower of strength the AFL is in our ranks, and I am glad of this opportunity to pay a well-earned tribute to our American brothers for their great part in bringing the Confederation into being and enabling it to do a good job since its inception.

By the role it plays in world labor affairs, the AFL reveals a strong grasp of the present-day situation. For today the interdependence of nations has become such that none can live securely or prosperously apart from the others. This is true in more senses than one; though for the moment I am thinking primarily in economic and social terms. The AFL's far-sightedness and its generous participation in international affairs is the bright and encouraging feature in the troubled state of the world.

That the raising of labor standards is not simply a matter of sectional interest, but actually a factor conducive to the prosperity of the whole economy, is a great truth which is being more and more realized.

A team of British investigators, representative of a wide range of interests and opinions —workers, employers, technicians, economists, etc.,—upon returning from a study mission to the United States recently, wrote in their report that the attitude of the American trade unions was one of the factors contributing to

the high level of productivity of American industry. For in their opinion, workers' demands upon the employers had been a powerful inducement to develop and adopt the best possible methods of production. This is a vital lesson which other countries have to learn from the United States and its labor movement.

That the prosperity of the world is indivisible is another great lesson which has to be learned. It is one of the basic tenets of the ICFTU and finds expression in the particular interest it takes in the development of regions, such as Africa and Asia, which are still socially and economically underdeveloped and in promoting the growth of trade unionism where it is still in a rudimentary state or even non-existent. We realize that the development of healthy trade unions must be the job of the workers concerned, but this is no argument against giving them a helping hand. For judicious assistance cannot but accelerate the rate of progress.

Bearing in mind that to help the other fellow is also to help oneself, and particularly that speed is today all important, the merits of the policy of the ICFTU in this field are apparent. To this policy the AFL is making a handsome contribution, for which I would again express the deep gratitude of the ICFTU.

The close connection between economics and politics is only too evident: The very existence of the ICFTU is due to the fact that the organization which was set up after the last war, the World Federation of Trade Unions, to achieve the world unity of labor and to devote itself to the economic interests of the workers of the world, was shamefully betrayed by the Soviet Union and turned into a political tool, with the result that it became imperative to create another international organization genuinely dedicated to free workers. The AFL deserves very great credit for the part it played in exposing the attempt to exploit the economic needs of the workers for sinister ends.

And now let me say something about the current Communist attempt to meet with the ICFTU. As far as the ICFTU is concerned, we regard the WFTU as a Communist espionage apparatus and one of the arms of the Cominform. This is what we said in a report on the WFTU which your labor press has published in some detail. We regard the WFTU as an enemy of workers everywhere. We will expose, as we have in the past, its conspiracies and evil designs. Let no man think that there is the slightest possibility of free workers—who want to remain free—sitting down to talk with men who would enslave them.

So we have today the ICFTU, an independent international instrument of the workers. But though its function is primarily and genuinely economic, we are still exposed to attacks of a political nature. We must meet those attacks with the utmost determination, in order to survive, and thus the struggle of the free trade union movement has to be waged on two fronts, political as well as economic.

It is a platitude that economic misery can be exploited for political ends. But until all the implications are realized it can hardly be overemphasized. There are extensive regions of the world where the mass of the people still live in abject poverty. The sight of prosperity in other parts of the world is bringing about an awakening among them. Unless they can hope to share in that prosperity, they become an easy prey to political exploitation.

Communist propaganda is particularly busy in such regions. To counteract it, the social and economic conditions of the people must be raised. This can only be done by forging in these regions, in the shape of effective trade unions, the necessary instruments for the purpose. I have already mentioned the policy which is being pursued by the ICFTU on these lines: how the workers of under-developed regions, whilst being encouraged to do what they can by self-help, are being given as much assistance as possible in building up their trade unions. Also in the political contest, now under consideration, the significance of this ICFTU policy is clear.

The United States, I am happy to say, is one of the countries where labor is fully alive to the political implications. The reasons are not far to seek. It is Communist strategy to concentrate the main attack on key countries and key industries, and to alternate between phases of aggressive encroachment, during which new territory is seized, and phases of subtle infiltration during which they consolidate their gains and prepare for fresh advances. Your country, being as it is, such a thorn in the side of the Communists, has suffered more than most others from attack. No wonder that the labor movement and other lovers of freedom here display such grim determination in the fight against the menace.

I have particular sympathy for this uncompromising attitude, as I have had personal experience of Communist machinations in the maritime and waterfront industries which have formed my background. In the days when I was a leader of the seamen and dockers of Belgium, and the Communists were making a bid to conquer the port of Antwerp, I learned how far they will go in ruthlessness and unscrupulousness to achieve their totalitarian aims.

This was at the time of the Atlantic Pact discussions, when Communism still hoped to divide the Western Powers and was carrying on intensive agitation among the seamen and dockers of the Western European countries. We were able to meet the challenge not only in Belgium, but all along the line, in the Scandinavian countries, Germany, Holland, France and the United Kingdom. Since then the Communists have been lying low, but we are not fooled and know they are only waiting for another opportunity.

Strength is the only argument that impresses the Communist. Though we must not abandon hope of peace and keep the door of negotiation open as long as possible, we must not make the mistake of thinking that appeasement offers a solution. Agreements must be based, not on fictions, but on realities.

There are some people who say they believe that peaceful co-existence with Communism is possible. Put that way, the belief can mean everything or nothing. There is no reason why a country where the means of production are owned by the State cannot live side-by-side with a country where capitalism prevails. But there is every reason why it is impossible to live in peaceful co-existence with a country which, while talking of peace, has enslaved millions of human beings and their native lands. Who can believe in the Soviet Union's protestations about peaceful co-existence? The workers of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, China, North Korea, East Germany? So long as we have in existence an International Center of Free Trade Unionists—in Exile—it mocks the great cause of free labor to talk about peaceful co-existence as an imminent possibility.

Until Soviet Communism is abolished, or until it changes its nature—if it can—we live in danger of thermonuclear war. The Soviet

Union cannot ensure peaceful co-existence because it does not believe in peaceful co-existence any more than Hitler believed in peaceful co-existence. Free labor, powerfully organized in the ICFTU, free labor determined to resist aggression and to build a better world, can make peaceful co-existence a reality.

The Communist record on disarmament and atomic power illustrates my point. Whilst paying lip-service to mankind's love of peace, Communists never show real interest in constructive attempts to create the conditions for it. They will talk about it, to gain a tactical advantage; they will demand the abolition of the atom and hydrogen bomb; but they will not make any practical contribution as to how to go about it. For their real purpose is to spread confusion, to hamper the progress of the West, whilst they try, principally by means of intrigue and espionage, to catch up. The West must not be humbugged by such maneuvers.

I repeat, we ardently desire the abolition of weapons like the atom and hydrogen bomb, just as we urge the progressive reduction and eventual abolition of all armaments. But the test of earnestness is the effort one is prepared to make to translate the idea into reality. Here one may observe that on the other side of the Iron Curtain there is great eagerness to prohibit the manufacture of arms in which Soviet Russia lags behind, but a noticeable lack of interest in a reduction of armaments in general.

Nevertheless, nothing must be left undone to prevent a war in which the most destructive weapons would be used: what this would mean for mankind is too horrible to contemplate; but other armaments are also a threat to civilization and progress, and must also be progressively abolished: to start with, by placing the manufacture and movement of all arms under international control and making sure the control is effective.

President Eisenhower has given a clear lead as to how the problem of atomic power can be approached, in his proposal for the creation of a world pool of atomic energy which shall be under international supervision and used only for peaceful ends. This is a line of thought which labor can wholeheartedly support. As a matter of fact the ICFTU and other labor organizations have made pronouncements to that effect. It is well to remember that this great discovery of science can become a blessing to mankind instead of a curse.

The idea of the utilization of atomic energy by all nations for peaceful ends opens up tremendous possibilities. Information which has been published in the press suggests that it may become a practical proposition at no distant date. I understand that various types of atomic reactors are being developed which could be produced on a commercial scale and made available to the world at large. Power on this scale could bring fertility and abundance to whole regions which hitherto have been arid and desolate. It could transform the face of the earth.

May I now touch, very briefly, upon the situation in Western Europe, for as trade unionists we cannot avoid it. I have already mentioned the Communist strategy of alternately blowing hot and cold, of concentrating on certain countries and industries, while apparently leaving others in peace. This explains why the fight against Communism does not everywhere hold the center of the stage to the same extent. However this does not mean, where such is the case, that the condemnation of Communism is any less passionate and I would like to impress that upon our American friends. It means that sometimes the problem of Communism has to be solved in a broader context.

I am thinking of one or two issues which have recently bulked large in European affairs—the place of Germany in Europe and that of a new conception of national sovereignty. I must honestly say that I have some understanding for those in France, Britain and even in Germany, who have qualms about the rearming of the latter country until they are sure that history will not repeat itself. I can understand the hesitation of a country like France at surrendering part of her sovereignty until she is satisfied that other European nations, notably Britain, are committed to a corresponding degree; or, again, the dilemma of Britain torn between solidarity with Continental Europe and with her Commonwealth.

Nevertheless, I remain completely convinced that some pooling of West European defense is absolutely necessary, and that it must include some contribution by an armed Germany and some renunciation of national sovereignty by all the countries concerned.

You will not want me to go into the details of these questions here. What I feel we have to keep in the forefront of our minds is that the countries of Western Europe are united in their rejection of Communism, and that it is a question of devising the ways and means of meeting the particular situation of each. Though EDC has collapsed, we are left with a deeper understanding of the problem, and provided the discussions are continued in a constructive atmosphere I think this justifies the hope that the answer to it will emerge.

In the meantime, we must strengthen the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—NATO—as the major hope of resistance against the increasing threat of Communist aggression in Western Europe. NATO saved Western Europe by its very existence and this is the moment in history when its military significance should be broadened to encompass major economic and social planning. NATO's job, as free labor sees it, is not merely to act as a defensive military weapon against Communism, but it should also take the political offensive, the social offensive against those very conditions which help Communism to survive in Western Europe. What we have accomplished, and are accomplishing each day militarily through NATO, can and should be accomplished in the social, political and economic field. There must be a complete integration of the free European countries in the democratic European world if we are to hold back the Soviet aggressors.

In labor circles the need for the friends of democracy to pull together is clearly recognized, a recognition reflected in the close-knit unity of the ICFTU. Labor must continue to place itself behind the wider task of promoting unification and integration in Europe and the rest of the world. For upon unity alone we can build the strength which will make the enemies of democracy listen to reason.

There are a host of problems to discuss from the point of view of international labor, but they all tend towards the same conclusion—and on this note I would end my address to this gathering—that in spite of all the difficulties and dangers there is emerging a framework within which the friends of democracy can stand strongly together.

It is a framework within which the free trade union movement can hope also to realize the social and economic aims which are its own particular business. With this in mind, I am confident that we shall continue to march together along the road towards the greater unity and well-being of all men, be-

cause — FREE LABOR MEANS A FREE WORLD.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Becu, for your very fine address on a tremendously important subject. I'll repeat what I said this morning: There is nothing that transcends in importance the question of our relations with labor throughout the world. Every avenue of approach must be used to keep those that are still free from the clutches of those who believe in stateism rather than free government. I recommend that everyone take the trouble to read again in the proceedings of this Convention the message that Brother Becu left with us this afternoon.

Along the same subject, and we are not going to get away from this subject too much, I don't believe, all during the convention, because of its tremendous importance, I want to introduce to you a very distinguished American. In dealing with the free nations we have long been convinced that the most important contact that we can make is with the worker. Perhaps the best proof of that is what happened in Czechoslovakia some six years ago when, in a country where the Communists had no party of any substantial number, where they owned no businesses, where they had only one newspaper—a rag such as the New York Daily Worker, which was then printed in Prague—where they had no one in government, they took control of a people who loved liberty just as much as we do. They overthrew Masaryk and Benes, Czech patriots, within a period of seven days. And why? Because they got control of the Czech trade union movement. They needed nothing else. We do not want to play down the work of diplomats, but we have always insisted that workers from America should be used in our contacts with the peoples of the various free countries that are still outside of the Russian orbit.

We have here today a very distinguished American, who agrees wholeheartedly with our position, and who has been working for the last nine months with the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Organizations and the CIO through the instrumentality of an Advisory Committee, to place more and more labor people into that sort of work and bring American labor through government channels or any other channels in contact with free labor all over the world. I take great pleasure in introducing to you this very distinguished American, the Honorable Governor Harold E. Stassen, Director of our Foreign Operations Administration.

HAROLD E. STASSEN

Director of Foreign Operations Administration

President Meany, officers, delegates, and guests of the American Federation of Labor:

It is an honor to respond to your invitation to speak to you in this Seventy-Third Annual Convention. I have come to present a commendation, a report, and a challenging task to the American Federation of Labor.

I will speak frankly, but I will speak as a friend. My own brothers and nephews have been members of the A. F. of L. for many years. Many members of my official family as governor and now as Director of Foreign Operations are members of the A. F. of L. I have a vivid recollection of meeting with you on the occasion of your 61st Annual Convention in Seattle, and of the cooperation of the Minnesota Federation of Labor during my terms as governor.

May I say to you, with a smile, that I drew just an extra bit of pleasure, in view of the party to which I belong, in attending an opening session in which the Republican Governor of the state is introduced as endorsed by the American Federation of Labor. I suppose you would respond to me that it is a pleasure for you to meet another Republican Governor that you feel like endorsing.

I said I was to bring a commendation, a report and a challenging task.

I commend you for the active and constructive interest which you have taken for many years in the foreign policy of our country and in the free trade union movement in other countries.

I report to you that we have now reached a complete agreement for a working relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Foreign Operations Administration.

We were able to reach that agreement because the fundamental objectives of the A. F. of L. and of President Eisenhower's Foreign Operations Program are the same. We were able to reach that agreement notwithstanding differences of political party, and notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in a change of national administration, because our basic aims are above party and our program is bipartisan in origin, bipartisan in support, and bipartisan in action.

Under this agreement the President of the A. F. of L. Mr. George Meany, and a number of your Executive Council serve with officers of other labor organizations as the Labor Committee of the Foreign Operations Program. This committee nominated, and I accepted the nomination and appointed, a member of the A. F. of L. with extensive overseas labor experience as the Director of the Office of Labor Affairs, Mr. John Meskimen. He is here. Would you stand up, John?

. . . Mr. John Meskimen arose.

We are now in the process of implementing the program and expanding the labor activity of the Foreign Operations Administration. Much needs to be done.

The months and years immediately ahead are of crucial importance for free labor everywhere. It is the period of changeover from the Korean War and the Indo-China War to conditions of peace. The current situation throughout the non-Communist nations contains some grounds for confidence and some factors for grave concern.

The expansion of construction generally, and the increase in home building throughout the free nations as a whole in 1954, has been very encouraging. It is now clear from the reports we receive from around the world that in the year 1954 more homes will be built in the free nations than in any previous year in history. The building trades as a whole, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, electricians, and masons, are having the best year they have ever had with high earnings and no new inflation in any of the major nations to wipe out their purchasing power. Likewise the retail employees and the various types of service employees are doing very well in the free world as a whole.

The food supply is also the best that it has ever been in the non-Communist two-thirds of the world. Better farming methods, including selected seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, irrigation, and similar practices have been spreading rapidly so that in 1954 the free peoples will be better fed as a whole than ever before.

But in the occupations most directly affected by war production the readjustment is difficult. These include the miners of most of the basic minerals, the ordnance craftsmen, the armament industries, the shipbuilders, and to some extent the related activities in steel and transportation.

The challenging task of the free world is to complete this economic readjustment to the desirable conditions of peace and to go forward with expanding economies and better conditions of living which will provide jobs for all of those no longer needed in production for war.

I believe that it can and will be done. I know you fully realize that it is my responsibility to think of it in terms of the free world as a whole, and I discuss it in that context. It is not my place to take up specific domestic legislation or steps at this time, but I know full well that you realize that the fact that I do not take up these domestic concerns does not necessarily mean that I agree with everything that President Meany stated this morning. And he agrees.

But in talking of the free world situation one essential for success is the constructive activity of sound and strong labor unions, free of communist domination, in the major countries. The outlook is now favorable that the wages of the workers throughout the free nations can be and should be raised in 1955. The wages can be and should be raised without new inflation and with increased productivity. The result should be expanding internal markets and growing worldwide markets as the workers advance in their standard of living.

The No. 1 threat to such an orderly and significant advance is the Communist officers who have fastened themselves on too many of the unions in various countries. These communists are disruptive of the true progress, and prevent the conditions of stability under which better standards of living can be realized. The members of the unions of Czechoslovakia now know only too well and too late the tragic consequences which follow from Communist union control. Their living standards are lower today than they were in 1948 at the time of the Communist takeover.

Fortunately, in Guatemala, the workers did have an opportunity to help in throwing off their Communist oppressors and in re-establishing their freedom. If they now win the fruits of steady progress in working conditions and in wages through non-Communist leadership, the result will be far reaching beyond the borders of Guatemala.

Another obstacle to sound progress is the tendency in some nations to hold wages very low and drive hard for expanded export business through price-cutting. This shortsighted policy can be very harmful to free world economic progress. Its temporary success is obtained at a serious cost of lasting balanced progress for the free nations as a whole. It is comparable to the practices of the outdated sweat shop which held back labor and industry. This course fails to recognize the dividends for all which come from expanding markets and better working conditions.

The recognition of these truths by labor, business, and government throughout the free world is vital to future strength, peace and progress for all.

Thus we welcome, in President Eisenhower's Foreign Operations program, the active cooperation of American labor and of American business.

The problem is intense, but the stakes are very high. It is my view that one of the most important lessons of the depression period of the 1930's is that economic reactions are not confined to national boundaries. Serious unemployment and widespread business bankruptcies in one major country, if long continued, affects other countries, and a downward spiral of bad consequences with adverse repercussions from nation to nation is the result. Thus the economic success of the free world as a whole is very important to the economic success of the United States. And vice-versa is equally true.

The strength of a common defense of free nations is even more evident.

On these principles of mutual concern and mutual interest our United States program of foreign operations rests. This is the background for the relationship which President Eisenhower has eloquently described as a good partnership between free people.

The highlights of the program in this current fiscal year are as follows:

The total new appropriations for the year are 2.8 billion dollars; 75 per cent of this fund will be spent inside the United States for materials, commodities, supplies, technicians, machinery, munitions, and other items used in helping other countries. The remaining 25 per cent of the dollars are spent abroad, and eventually most of these are respent in the United States to pay for other exports.

In nearly all of Latin America and in thirty other countries of the Near East, Africa, and the Far East, programs of technical cooperation, known as Point Four programs, are conducted at a gross cost of 110 million dollars. These programs involve 1740 U.S. technicians overseas, 1900 overseas technicians studying in the U.S., and over thirty University and College contracts for educational help in other lands.

In thirty-six nations cooperating for combined defense a portion of the arms and airplanes and other munitions for defense which are beyond their means are supplied. In addition to NATO, significant programs of this type are under way in Spain, Pakistan, the Philippines, Formosa, Korea, and many others.

In Indo-China an epic refugee program is being carried out. Over 250,000 of the people of Northern Viet Nam have fled from the Communists with little more than what they can carry. They have been transported to new land in the south and are being assisted in setting up new villages and are being supplied with simple tools and basic necessities of life.

In Korea the war torn Republic is being rebuilt with the objective of re-establishing a healthy economy and maintaining a powerful defense force of ROK troops.

Over one billion peoples in other lands are affected by this United States program, and every home inside the United States will be affected by its success or failure.

This is the program, complex and compounded, humanitarian and hard-headed, dramatic and painstaking, in which your participation will have a very vital part.

I have a deep and abiding faith that it will succeed.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to express to Governor Stassen the appreciation of the Convention for his very timely talk here this aft-

ernoon, and to assure him of the complete cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in carrying on the work of the Foreign Operations Administration. This work is of tremendous importance, and I can assure you there is absolutely no division of opinion between Governor Stassen and ourselves as to the importance of the work and how it should be carried out.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

. . . President Meany announced the appointment of the following escort committees:

For Mr. Dave Morse, Director of International Labor Organization: Vice President McFetridge, Ed Miller, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, and Anthony Matz, Firemen and Oilers.

For Nelson A. Rockefeller, Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare: Vice President William C. Birthright, J. Scott Milne, IBEW, and Patrick Gorman, Meat Cutters.

For Dr. Karl Gruber, Ambassador from Austria: Vice President William C. Doherty, Vice President Herman Winter, and Peter Fosco, Secretary-Treasurer of the Laborers.

RESOLUTIONS RECEIVED WITHIN THE TIME LIMIT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: I wish to announce the receipt of the following resolutions which have been received within the time limit specified in the constitution, and, therefore do not require unanimous consent.

From the California State Federation of Labor: Campaign to Repeal Existing "Right to Work" Legislation and Prevent Further Enactment; Preserve Intact Our National Parks and Monuments; Oppose Peaceful Co-Existence with Soviet Union; Commend Senators Who Fought Atomic Power Give Away; Labor Public Relations; Comprehensive Housing Program; Public Housing Administration Appropriations; Union Recognition for Postal Employees; Repeal Hatch Act; Seniority by Law for Postal Employees.

From the United Textile Workers of America: Right to Live; Walsh-Healey; Textile Unemployment; Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance at 60 Years of Age; Fair and Free Enterprise in the United States Textile Industry; Labor Memorial at the City of Hope; Monopolies in the Textile Industry.

From the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union: Expressing Appreciation for Assistance During Hatters' Strike; A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Unity.

From the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America: Housing; Protection of Stained Glass Industry Against Import Competition; Manufacture of Paint and Varnish at Mare Island; Urging Repeal of McCarran Act; Endorsing No-Raiding Pact Between A. F. of L. and C. I. O.; Urging Campaign for Establishment of Six-Hour-Day at Present Forty-Hour-Week Wage Rate; Requesting A. F. of L. to force Electricians, Building Service and Bakers Unions to Relinquish Painters; Social Security Amendments.

From the National Federation of Post Office Clerks: Major Legislative Program, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

From the American Federation of Government Employees: Legislative Program, American Federation of Government Employees.

From the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: Right to Work Laws; Prohibiting Military Personnel Replacing Civilian Workmen; Social Security.

From the International Typographical Union: Social Security; Right to Work Laws; Ordinance Prohibiting Door-to-Door Selling; LLPE Support; Shorter Work Week.

From the Metal Trades Department: Right to Work; Shipbuilding; Permanent A. F. of L. Atomic Energy Committee; Apprenticeship; Physically Handicapped; Compensation for Loss of Hearing Caused by Industrial Hazards; Safety; Unemployment Compensation; Enlisted Personnel; Apprentice Training Appropriations; Charter Metal Mining, Smelting and Refinery Workers.

From the Union Label and Service Trades Department: Participation in Union-Industries Show; Affiliation of Federal Labor Unions with Union Label Councils; Union Label Week; Affiliation with Union Label and Service Trades Department.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: The Special Sub-committee of the Executive Council has recommended unanimous consent for the following resolutions:

From the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor: Partition of Ireland.

From the Upholsterers' International Union of North America: To amend the Hobbs Act; Endorsement of Memorial for 1953 Revolt of Berlin Building Workers Against Communist Tyranny.

From the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union: Urging a Mobilization of Labor Forces for the Coming Congressional Elections; on the Migration of Industry to Low-Wage Areas.

From the Organizations composing the Government Employees Council: Postal and Federal Employees' Salaries; To Amend Federal Employee Retirement Act.

From the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly: Protesting Unauthorized Use of Confidential Information in Dismissal of Teachers.

From the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union: Revise the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act; For Freedom of All Colonial Peoples.

A resolution on the Railroad Retirement Board and a supplemental report from the Executive Council on the change of convention dates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard these resolutions which require unanimous consent of this Convention for their introduction. Are there any objections to the introduction of these resolutions?

Hearing none, they will be received.

. . . The resolutions referred to above will be found at the end of today's proceedings.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present to you another speaker representing a department of government we have always had represented at our convention. The Department of Labor is the Department dedicated under the terms of its charter to foster and protect the welfare and interest of the nation's wage earners. So we are very happy to have here with us this afternoon the Secretary of

that Department dedicated to Labor's interest. He is one whom I have known for many years and most of you in the room know him also.

I am happy to present to you James Mitchell, Secretary of Labor.

JAMES P. MITCHELL
Secretary of Labor

Mr. Meany, Secretary Schnitzler, Officers and delegates to the Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor: It is a great privilege for me to be here and particularly to have been escorted to this platform by my very worthy, able and competent predecessor, Marty Durkin.

My appearance before you today is one to which I have looked forward. This is in the nature of an anniversary report on my one year of stewardship as Secretary of Labor. It is particularly appropriate that this report be made to the largest labor organization in America.

Before making this report—in fact, as a part of it—I want to clear up a few points of confusion about me and my work.

Recently, there have been two general types of comments about me: (1) I am pro-labor and doing such a good job for the working people that management must complain; and (2) While I am a nice guy, I am so ineffective that I might as well not be around.

You may have read, for example, such conflicting statements as these: "Mitchell—whose influence at the White House is substantial, so much so that management groups are complaining" and, on the other hand, one of my good friends in the A. F. of L. said. "I think he will be as good a Secretary of Labor as Brother Weeks allows him to be." You may also have read that people "are now becoming increasingly concerned by James P. Mitchell's extra-legal influence and interference in other legally independent Federal Agencies" and, on the other side, that "Secretary Mitchell is a well-meaning person, a good political soldier, and a dutiful member of the team. We all have the deepest sympathy for him in his predicament . . . sitting as a silent member of the Cadillac Cabinet." Maybe you have seen one side call me "an honest man . . . a man of many talents" and the other side state that I have "alleged federal labor czarist aims." Some people have looked at my activities and inquired "how pro-labor can a 'Business Administration' be" and others have stated categorically that there is no one in this Administration who is pro-labor.

It is obvious that all of these comments cannot be right. I cannot be of substantial influence at the White House and ineffective within the Administration. I cannot be interfering in other Agencies and yet be a silent Member of the Cabinet. I cannot be both an honest and decent man and have federal labor czarist aims. I cannot be pro-labor if the entire Administration, including me, is anti-labor.

As you can see, I have found that you cannot satisfy all the people. You may be assured, however, that I am not concerned about the criticisms of a minority of management or of a minority of labor. I am only concerned that I do, and help President Eisenhower do, the best possible job to promote the interests of all the American people.

In my first year in office, this is what I have tried to do:

1. To aid, through an effective Federal-State Employment Service System, in getting the best possible job for the worker, and the best possible worker for the job; and, when suitable jobs are not to be had, to ensure the availability of a system that provides adequate Unemployment Compensation with dignity and despatch.

2. To help employees, employers, and the States in making work-practices and workplaces safe and healthy; and, when injury or illness do occur, to aid in the provision of Workmen's Compensation which will not only prevent hardship to the injured worker and his family, but whenever possible restore him to health and useful employment.

3. To provide a framework within which Employers and Employees can conduct their affairs and fairly work out their differences with a minimum of Government intervention; but where practices exist that offend American standards of decent wages or hours or working conditions, to blot out these sub-standard conditions by vigorous enforcement of Labor Standards Legislation.

4. To sponsor training programs and vocational guidance which bring out the best potentialities in individuals of all ages, and which will produce a body of skilled and versatile workers to meet the needs of our expanding economy and of National Defense; and to anticipate the demands of a possible mobilization period by manpower planning that, within our traditions of freedom and protection of labor standards, will effectively safeguard the National Security.

5. To supply the factual information needed to develop sound judgments and policies on employment, unemployment, productivity, wages, hours of work, working conditions, labor relations, work injuries, prices, cost of living, and the like; and to undertake, assist and stimulate economic and social research which promises new knowledge to aid in furthering the well-being of working people.

6. To make provision for the particular needs and opportunities of individuals in special circumstances, such as: Older workers, whose ability to contribute to the economy must be better understood, women, whose skills are vital to the Nation's Labor Force; young workers, who require both added protection from damaging work surroundings and also special guidance and training; handicapped workers, whose capabilities, properly analyzed and developed, can be a valuable resource to themselves and to the country; minority groups, who possess great untapped resources of talent and strength that must not be wasted through discriminatory rules, attitudes or practices; and veterans, who, through special placement efforts and guarding of re-employment rights, may be assisted to regain their competitive position in the labor market without undergoing a penalty because of the interruption of their careers by military service.

7. To promote public and private programs which, as a means of improving international harmony, will help the workers of this country and other countries to a better understanding of each other's attitudes, aspirations, and institutions.

We have not been successful in all our efforts. No one is. The man never lived who could bat 1.000 for a year. Few do it for even a day.

But we have constantly remembered that the aspirations of American working men and women are:

To give, through their work, the highest and finest expression to their God-given abilities and talents;

To maintain the dignity, the pride, and the freedom that rightly belong to all free men;

To achieve a material standard of living within which these ideals of a good and useful life can, in ever-increasing measure, be realized for the worker and his family.

The principal objective of the Department of Labor is to foster the conditions under which these aspirations can be attained.

For when the self-expression, the liberty and the prosperity of the working people are assured, it follows that the broader objective—the well-being, strength and greatness of our country and of all its people—is also assured.

During the past year we have made progress toward achievement of these objectives. There are more than 62 million people employed. Average hourly wages in manufacturing are at an all-time high.

It is true that unemployment is higher than it was last year. The reduction in defense spending and in inventories stopped and reversed our tremendous economic growth in 1953. Peak unemployment during the recent downturn was reached in March of this year. Unemployment at that time was, however, notably lower than the level reached during the 1949-1950 business recession. I firmly believe this was the mildest contraction that we have ever had in any post-war period. But that is no comfort to those without jobs. We share your conviction that even a little unemployment is too much.

The unemployment level has declined somewhat recently and appears to have leveled off momentarily at just under 3¼ million. We are not satisfied, however, with an economy standing steady on a plateau—even if it is a high plateau. We seek continued economic growth with jobs at decent wages available to all those able and willing to work.

President Eisenhower's program is designed to strengthen our nation by helping our people help themselves. We have increased social security benefits and extended social security protection to 10 million persons not previously covered. We have provided unemployment insurance protection for four million additional people.

In addition, at the President's request, I urged the states to increase the amount and duration of unemployment insurance benefits. California, Michigan and the District of Columbia unemployment insurance systems have been improved this year. We are hopeful that other states will improve their systems when their legislatures meet next year.

The Housing Act has been extended, providing 35,000 new housing units and liberalized loan arrangements. We have expanded and strengthened the nation's vocational rehabilitation services to enable many more thousands of the physically handicapped to become self-respecting, productive workers again.

In addition, President Eisenhower has recommended a realistic and much-needed medical re-insurance program to bring health insurance within the reach of many now unable to afford its protection. The President's program also provides for ship construction to keep our shipyards busy and our merchant marine strong and a huge federal highway construction program to meet our road-building needs and provide increased employment.

We in the Department of Labor have been vigorously enforcing the labor legislation which we administer. For example, in the first 6 months of this year, 20 contracting firms have been denied the privilege of doing business with the government because they violated prevailing minimum wage laws on government contracts. This is twice the number that have been so blacklisted in the past 20 years. These firms violated the Davis-Bacon Act and related laws either by not paying their workers enough money or by not observing proper work standards. Consequently they have been barred from further government work.

Restitution of back wages under the Wage-Hour Law and the Public Contracts Act is at a high level.

We in the Department of Labor are interested in promoting apprentice training. We are not satisfied that our apprenticeship program is as fully effective as it might be. We are not satified with the amount of money appropriated to operate the Bureau of Apprenticeship this year. It is worth noting, however, that during the past year there was an increase of over 3,000 in the number of establishments participating in registered apprenticeship programs. A substantial number of new joint apprenticeship committees have also been established.

On April 6, 1954, I issued a new minimum wage determination for the woolen and worsted industry increasing the minimum required to be paid on government contracts for almost all products of the industry from $1.05 to $1.20.

In June of this year, hearings were held on determining the prevailing minimum wages for metal business furniture and for paper and pulp. On August 19 I issued a proposed determination increasing the minimum wages to be paid on government contracts for metal business furniture from the 75-cent minimum currently applicable to $1.10 an hour.

During the Second World War and during the Korean hostilities, previous Secretaries of Labor had granted an exception from the Public Contracts Act for canned fruits and vegetables. A renewal of this exception was requested this year, but after thorough study of the problem, I concluded that it was not in the public interest to renew the exception. On May 4, 1954, I formally announced my decision denying the request. Consequently, procurement contracts in this industry are now subject to the provisions of the Public Contracts Act.

We have been concerned with the welfare of workers on the job, and to that end have vigorously promoted and encouraged job-safety programs. I believe it is fair to say that these efforts are at least in some part responsible for the present down-trend in injuries in manufacturing. We have just received figures on the injury-frequency rates in manufacturing during the second quarter of this year. This is the third consecutive quarter in which a new low in the rate has been reached. It is with considerable satisfaction that we note this achievement in protecting working people from injury or death.

These are but a few illustrative examples of the way I have performed my duties during the past year.

The people of this country know that quietly, and without hoopla, we have achieved an impressive record of legislative and executive action that helps the working men and women of the nation.

As you know, I have had close and intimate contact with both the wage earners and the businessmen of our country. Over the years, I have learned to call things as I see them and to be as fair-minded and objective as possible.

This is the attitude and frame of mind I have brought to my work as Secretary of Labor.

As Secretary of Labor, I have tried to carry out the instructions of President Eisenhower, who told me he wanted a Secretary of Labor not influenced by one side or the other but by an over-riding interest in the mass of working people.

We have been trying to guide our actions by the needs and aspirations and hopes of the human beings whose destiny and well-being are so largely influenced by our acts. We have conscientiously attempted to put the national interest first and act in the light of the public welfare.

To perform our duties with the greatest degree of effectiveness, we, in the Department of Labor, need the full support, understanding and confidence of the people for whose welfare we are working. This includes, of course, organized labor. I believe that we have this support, and I am glad that we have it, despite minor incidents and occasional convention oratory.

This Administration has been trying to help working people. It is logical that we should not always agree as to the best ways to do this. Surely any individual citizen or any group of citizens has the right to criticize any administration with which it does not agree. That is a privilege of free men in a democratic nation.

I have great respect and admiration for Samuel Gompers, and I agree with his political philosophy that labor should not be wedded to any political party but should reward its friends and oppose its enemies. It is difficult to see, however, how that philosophy is being applied when criticism of an administration is all-encompassing and takes no note of its intentions or accomplishments. It is hard to conclude that there has been an objective appraisal of the Eisenhower administration's achievements when there is only grudging praise for the addition of 10 million people to the social security system; an increase in social security benefits; the first major federal extension of the unemployment insurance system in its history, giving protection of this system to an additional 4 million persons; dynamic public housing, highway, and maritime construction programs; a medical re-insurance proposal, and other dramatic and forward looking programs for the benefit of our people.

There is no reason why the American Federation of Labor should be satisfied with the progress of the country as a whole. There is no reason why your union should be complacent about what this administration or any administration does. The American Federation of Labor should be and is in the forefront leading and demanding a constant increase in the standard of living, working conditions, and general well-being of the working people of the country. Wage earners and their representatives should always aspire to higher and better standards of living. This you are doing, and in this I hope you will always be successful.

While I applaud your efforts in this direction, as a long-time friend of labor, I am disturbed when you criticize unfairly.

It seems to me that anyone criticizing an administration should do so not on the basis of its political tag, but on the basis of what he really believes it is doing wrong.

In the past 20 months we have accomplished much for the working men and women of America, and I can pledge to you that we will continue to do so. But I would like to suggest to you that if we were as confident of your support when we do right as we are of your criticism when we do wrong, we would be even more effective in your behalf.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to report to you after nearly a year in office and for permitting me to speak my mind.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Secretary Mitchell. I am quite sure that permission to speak one's mind is part of the warp and woof of the American Federation of Labor. We like it ourselves, and we certainly accord it to all our visitors. I want to assure Secretary Mitchell of our continued support to strengthen and build up the Department of Labor. I think he will concede it is a department of government that needs strengthening. It needs greater appropriations to carry out the work that it is charged with in protecting the interests of the wage earner. And I can also assure you that by the time this convention adjourns, we will have passed judgment from our point of view and made a complete appraisal of the work of his Department and of the Administration, and I can assure you that that appraisal will be more than fair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

PRESIDENT MEANY: I will call on the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, Chairman Robinson.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN ROBINSON: Mr. President and delegates, the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is now ready to report. The report will be read by Joseph Lewis, the Secretary of the Committee.

. . . Committee Secretary Lewis submitted the following report:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m., and remain in session until 12 noon, reconvening at 2 p.m., and remain in session until 5:30 p.m., on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday of the first week of the convention. On Wednesday, of the first week, the convention will be called to order at 9:30 a.m. and continue in session until 12 noon. On Monday and Tuesday of the second week and every day following that is necessary to complete the work of the convention, the convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a.m., and remain in session until 12 noon, reconvening at 2 p.m., and remain in session until 5:30 p.m.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise at the same time to speak, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. A roll call on any motion shall be called at the request of 10 per cent of the delegates present.

Rule 11. Speeches shall be limited to 10 minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 12. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the chair.

Rule 13. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 14. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 15. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in triplicate form.

Rule 16. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 17. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 18. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have preference in the order named.

Rule 19. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 20. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 21. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

Committee on Rules and Order of Business

John B. Robinson, Chairman, Barbers; W. R. Brooks, United Garment Workers; R. J. Petree, Tobacco Workers; John C. MacDonald, Elevator Constructors; Samuel Hershkowitz, Hatters; Charles Aquadro, Roofers; Frank B. Field, Musicians; Joseph Lewis, Secretary, Stove Mounters; Mike J. Minaden, Cleaning & Dye House Workers; Daniel J. McNamara, Street Railway Employees; Marcel Boucher, Window Glass Cutters; George Nolan, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; A. J. Cleland, Bricklayers; Robert Morgan, Railway Clerks; Norman Zukowsky, Handbag Workers; Robert Soule, New Orleans Central Body; J. A. Hunealt, Maintenance of Way Employees; R. Emmett Kelly, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Joseph Jacobs, Textile Workers; Eddie R. Stahl, Aluminum Workers; Roy M. Brown, Machinists; John Casselman, Firemen & Oilers.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Lewis the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time we have a motion to suspend the rules and to adjourn until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning. Is there an objection?

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

. . . At 4:00 o'clock p.m. the convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock a.m., Tuesday, September 21, 1954.

. . . The following resolutions were received and referred to the appropriate committees:

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30-day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regular constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to the constitutional requirements:

COMMITTEE AGAINST THREATS TO THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The past year has been marked by an increasing number of so-called "investigations" of labor union activities by Congressional committees, state legislative committees and federal and state grand juries, and

WHEREAS, It is apparent that such so-called investigations and inquisitions thrive principally upon speculation, conjecture and rumor, or are in the nature of "fishing expeditions" to find some excuse for further proceedings, and

WHEREAS, It appears that the real purpose of most such investigations and inquisitions is to harass, annoy, embarrass, impede, obstruct, unfairly publicize, attempt to incriminate, and ultimately to destroy the legitimate trade-union movement of this country, and

WHEREAS, Many elected legislators by sponsoring such investigations either because of their desire for personal publicity and political advancement, or because of their willingness to aid those who seek the destruction of the free trade union movement, are thus engaging in their own peculiar type of "racketeering", and

WHEREAS, It is a practical impossibility for any single local labor organization to adequately protect itself, its officers and members from such insidious attacks which are supported by the weight of some branches of government, the anti-labor press, and some influential anti-labor employers, and

WHEREAS, The real threat of this intensive anti-labor program can be met only by a well-coordinated, national program designed to expose the "political racketeers" and to prevent the abuses and perversions of the instruments of government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, go on record to: 1. Endorse, and urge the formation of a national Committee for the purpose of meeting on a vigorous and co-ordinated basis, these pervasive threats to the existence of the free trade-union movement. 2. That such national committee be composed of representatives of all legitimate labor unions, local, regional, national, or international, which desire to participate in such program. 3. That the principal purpose of such committee shall be to devise and carry out programs, either legislative or legal, which shall be designed to correct the abuses and perversions of investiga-

tive and legal processes, particularly as they apply to labor unions, and to expose the "political racketeers." 4. That such committee shall also arrange to provide adequate representation and aid to those unions and their officers who may require such assistance to defend themselves against the specific abuses to which this resolution is directed. 5. That the function of such committee be limited in scope so as not to interfere with the usual legislative, legal and organizational activities of the participating unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ATOM AND H-BOMB CONTROL

Resolution No. 2 — By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The horrible threat of the "H" Bomb Warfare hangs precariously over our civilization and especially over the workers of the great industrial cities of the world, and in the event of such a war they would find themselves utterly helpless unless an avenue of escape and measures of protection were provided, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, endorse the following course of action: 1. That we call upon the President to develop an effective bi-partisan policy for foreign affairs in a fashion that will win us friends among the free nations. 2. That we call upon the President of the United States to continue forthrightly to reveal the great dangers of atomic warfare so that the people are made more aware of it than they are at present. 3. That the convention support a strong and comprehensive Civil Defense Program in City, State and Nation. 4. That we support an aggressive program of international inspection and control of atomic energy under a joint control such as the United Nations or similar organizations. 5. That we call upon the shackled workers in totalitarian states and countries, urging them to break their chains and to make their masters realize that they will not support an "H" Bomb war against American workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AMERICAN-BRITISH LABOR RELATIONS

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Marx Lewis, Alex Rose, Samuel Hershkowitz, A. Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union and Sal B. Hoffman, R. Alvin Albarino, Tony Remshardt, George Bucher, Reed J. Stoney, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The most valued fraternal relations of the American Federation of Labor for more than two generations have been with the British labor movement, as represented by the British Trade Union Congress, and

WHEREAS, This special bond has both reflected and furthered the enduring common interest of our respective countries, for the preservation and extension of human freedom and the advancement of the cause of international peace, and

WHEREAS, The survival of the free world in the face of Nazi and allied Japanese Imperial aggression which provoked World War II would have been impossible and inconceivable except for the firm alliance and understanding between not only the governments but by the labor movements of our respective countries, and

WHEREAS, The menance which our peoples faced and defeated in World War II confronts our peoples again by the rise of a powerful and dangerous aggressive totalitarian alliance of Soviet Russia and its Asian counterpart which it has created in its own image as a result of twenty-seven years of military intervention in China, and

WHEREAS, The policy to be pursued with respect to this new danger has created serious differences of opinion not only betweeen the British Government and ours, but also between some parts of the British labor movement and our own, the visible evidence of which was furnished recently by a so-called good will mission sent by the British Labor Party to Russia and China, in the course of which leading members of this mission paid tribute to the leaders of the totalitarian governments who met them, and thus enabled these totalitarians to use the visit for their own propaganda purposes, and

WHEREAS, Some leaders of British labor have justified this gesture of friendship towards our common enemies by the claim that opposition in the United States to it is inspired by big business in the United States, when, as a matter of fact, it is the American Federation of Labor which regards such friendship as inimical to the best interests of world labor and fraught with great danger to the security the free world seeks, and

WHEREAS, The restoration and preservation of British-American labor understanding and solidarity are conditions precedent to the maintenance of the free world and the defeat of the aggressive forces which have plunged the world into an armament race the ultimate outcome of which may be a war in which all that civilization has established in centuries of progress may be completely wiped out, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the Executive Council to consider: (1) a conference between the leaders of our respective movements for the purpose of adopting, if possible, a common front to resist totalitarian aggression, and (2) the making of arrangements for the exchange of visiting delegations by this Federation with the British labor movement for the purpose of presenting to the workers of each country, through an exchange of information, our respective views, and thus making possible an elimination of the misunderstanding which

now seems to prevail and a clarification of the purposes which we all have in mind, and which we believe are essentially indentical.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POULTRY INSPECTION

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have revealed information which establishes that because of inadequate inspection by federal or state authorities, poultry which is unfit for human consumption is being marketed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America in their efforts to obtain more stringent regulations for proper inspection of the poultry killing and packing industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Bette Hogan, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act has now been in existence for many years and has an accumulated surplus of many billion dollars, and

WHEREAS, The act provides low retirement benefits, and only at the age of 65 years, and

WHEREAS, Payments under the Act are wholly inadequate to provide minimum requirements, and

WHEREAS, The average monthly payment at present is $36.00, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor reiterate its stand for a full Social Security program, including revisions of the Act as follows:

(1) Lowering the age retirment to 60 years for men and 55 years for women.
(2) Participation in payment, and benefits of all who work for wages, as well as self-employed.
(3) Providing benefit payments to those permanently incapacitated regardless of age.
(4) Provision to increase immediately contributions of both employer and employee to three per cent each to keep the reserve solvent, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be submitted to the proper committees in the Senate and the House of Representatives and to the President of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As a result of diligent efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions the valuable principle of seniority has been pretty generally established in industry, and

WHEREAS, It appears that organized industry is making a concerted effort to eliminate and destroy the principles of true seniority by either refusing to include provision for seniority in collective bargaining agreements or by forcing numerous disputes over seniority into arbitration, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of this problem for the purpose of attempting to devise a more effective program to combat the efforts of organized industry to eliminate and destroy the principles of seniority as it is known to the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTEST AGAINST "WIRE TAPPING BILL"

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, What is known as the "Wire Tapping Bill" but now called the "Anti-Traitor" legislation, demanded by Attorney General Brownell, Jr., is dangerously near passage, and

WHEREAS, This Bill is deeply rooted into the past history of organized labor's struggle through the Pinkerton and Yellow Dog Contract days, now underhandedly recommended by Big Business and Anti-Labor forces, with a cover-up and a smoke-screen of "Anti-Traitor" terminology, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled take action necessary to protest and kill this Wire-Tapping Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Only a healthy people can promote a vital democracy, and to function on a vigorous basis, America must establish the highest possible health standards for its citizens, and

WHEREAS, Millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care, medical facilities and health service, and

WHEREAS, It is commonly considered that the current health standards of the nation are far below even our minimum needs because of drastic shortages of doctors, nurses, hospitals, clinics and medical schools, and

WHEREAS, The high cost of medical services denies needed medical care to millions of Americans as confirmed by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, which reported on the shocking state of the nation's health and confirmed also the gravest fears regarding the availability of medical services and our failure to develop socially sensible ways to finance medical facilities and medical care, and

WHEREAS, A recent survey by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago revealed that medical costs have put eight million families in debt to hospitals, physicians, dentists and loan companies, and that approximately $200 a year is spent on medical care by the average American family, and

WHEREAS, These critical conditions can be met only by a broad program of national health insurance, and

WHEREAS, Though fully cognizant of the fact that despite the concerted efforts of labor and welfare groups to stimulate immediate social action and to provide the millions of our people with the necessary health care, nothing has been done, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the responsibility for meeting the health needs of the nation's families rests squarely with the present Administration and the Congress, for they can establish the machinery for a national health insurance system which, among other things, would provide for preventive medicine and a system of prepaid health protection; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality, while, at the same time, protecting the rights of individual patients and individual doctors, and

WHEREAS, The need for immediate enactment of such health legislation is urgent and any further delay can serve only to increase the deplorable state of our nation's health, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record to call upon Congress to enact legislation that will establish a coordinated and integrated national health program, based on national health insurance, designed to provide the American people with the best medical services, facilities and personnel available by:

1. Establishing a system of prepaid health protection which will provide all Americans with a complete program of preventive care, diagnostic services and comprehensive rehabilitative services for the disabled
2. Providing federal assistance to schools of medicine and dentistry, for training nurses and medical technicians, for construction of hospitals and health centers, for student scholarships and for research
3. Extending federal aid to state and local health programs, and aid maternal and child health services and the expansion of programs for handicapped children
4. Developing a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel
5. Aiding in the understanding and the prevention of chronic diseases.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT, The General Federation of Trade Unions in the State of Israel, has been the outstanding example of a democratic labor organization in the Middle East for the past 35 years and today plays a leading role in the life of the young Republic by spearheading the many economic, social and cultural advances of the country in which men of labor represent a majority of the coalition government, and

WHEREAS, The young Republic of Israel, numbering only 1,650,000, is surrounded by more than 45 million Arabs, who even now after the conclusion of an armistice maintain an armed blockade against the young State in order to starve Israel into submission, and who are on record against peace with Israel and are pledged to a policy of the Arab League to wipe the new State of Israel from the face of the Middle East, and

WHEREAS, Seven Arab nations organized into the Arab League, the majority of which are members of the United Nations, disregard the mandate of the United Nations for direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT, with a membership of more than 500,000, is doing everything possible not only to improve the lot of labor in Israel but also to serve as an example to the toiling masses of the Arab nations who are enslaved by the Arab masters and big land owners, and to urge all Arab men and women of labor to organize and unionize to elevate their working standards and conditions and improve their lot, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT has continued to develop its network of cooperative institutions in the field of health and serves close to a million Jews and Arabs; in the field of vocational training for youth and adult immigrants; in the building of cooperative

housing projects for workers and immigrants; in the stimulating of cultural activities among the Jews and Arab workers in their respective languages; in the fostering of mutual aid and social services; in the promotion of closer relations between Jewish and Arab workers to establish cooperatives and encourage them to organize freely into trade unions, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has extended a helping hand to Labor Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East seeking to promote trade union education in that part of the world, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT is engaged in the continuous fight of converting homeless peoples into productive citizens of the State of Israel, endowed with all the privileges and responsibilities of dignified workers in a living democracy which is badly in need of continued help from all American labor, and

WHEREAS, The withdrawal of Great Britain from the Suez Canal Zone opens the gateway for invasion of Israel by all military forces of Egypt from an increasing number of directions than formerly and thus makes possible for Egypt to carry out its threat of extermination of Israel, and

WHEREAS, Communist Russia, in the councils of the United Nations, has aligned itself with the Arab countries in order to gain control over that strategic part of the world in its plotting for world domination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in session in Los Angeles, extend its heartiest fraternal greetings to the people of the State of Israel and to HISTADRUT, the General Federation of Trade Unions in the State of Israel, and pledge its continued moral support to all efforts of the Free Trade Unions of the State of Israel to build a nation which will enrich the lives of its own people, contribute to the improvement of the peoples in the Middle East generally, and serve as a citadel of democracy in that part of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention express its sympathy with the efforts of the State of Israel to promote peace and tranquillity in the Middle East by settling all outstanding issues between the Jews and the Arabs through peaceful negotiations at the conference table, so that all countries in the Middle East may unite in inaugurating a new era of peaceful coexistence among the neighboring states and to keep Soviet Russia and Communism out of that part of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention endorse the activities of the American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel which, for years, has served as goodwill ambassador between the organized workers of the United States and the trade unionists of Israel, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call upon all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to continue all support necessary for the further peaceful development of the State of Israel, in general, and of its Free Trade Unions, in particular.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Historically, investigations by Committees of Congress have provided useful and valuable facts and material which served as the basis for the enactment of desirable legislation for the country, and

WHEREAS, In our belief, there exists an international Communist conspiracy to dominate the world, to subjugate peoples and nations and establish dictatorships in all conquered countries in which freedom of speech, press and assembly, the existence of free labor unions, civil liberties and rights, political parties or groupings would be abolished; and schools, churches, art, science and all endeavors of a free and democratic world would be placed under the Iron Heel of Communist dictatorships, and

WHEREAS, These grave threats and dangers to democracy and all democratic states, including the United States, the nature, scope and operation of which are legitimate areas of objective investigation, are being exploited by selfish and reactionary politicians as a weapon for intimidation, harassment, witch-hunting and character assassination through the reckless circulation of unsupported and unverified rumors, charges, innuendoes, subtle suggestion against citizens under investigation who are bullied and brow-beaten under a veritable inquisition with the High Inquisitor denying the person under charge adequate protection of his rights or the privilege of full reply to questions put to him, and

WHEREAS, This kind and type of investigation and the foul practices hereinabove enumerated have even affected the morale of the Armed Forces of the United States — the greatest and most loyal servants of our country — whose leaders have been accused of coddling Communists and thus endangering the security of our country, and

WHEREAS, If this type of investigation continues no citizen, regardless of his standing in the community, will be immune to smears and character assassination and our beloved country will be faced with disunity, moral degradation and chaos, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That since the guarantee of freedom of thought, press, speech, assembly and worship is necessary to a free democratic society, this 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record as supporting the policy and practice of Congressional investigations as a proper and necessary function of Congress and call upon

the Congress for the adoption and recognition of rules and methods or a code of fair procedure, including;

1. The right of a person to defend himself, including the right to testify in his own behalf; to present other evidence in his own behalf; to subpoena witnesses, both for and against him; to cross-examine his accuser within reasonable limits, to file a statement in his own behalf; to have the opportunity to be accompanied and advised by counsel; and to receive advance notice of the charges against him, insofar as possible.
2. To have only relevant questions asked a witness; to give the witness a transcript of his testimony or other individuals' testimonies affecting him; to have statements released by a committee only with full committee approval

so the character assassination practices invoking the principles of guilt by association, or failure to make distinction between opinion and incitement to action may prevail no longer to mar the stature, dignity and position of our beloved country in these days of world crisis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That Congressional investigations by personal dictatorships of individuals, known the world over today under the name of "McCarthyism," be condemned and repudiated as being a deadly thrust at the very heart of democracy and as the best method of giving aid and comfort to Communists and Communism since it is, in essence, the practice of the police state, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record also to support all efforts made by the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and all liberal and forward-looking forces of our country engaged in fighting "McCarthyism," which is synonymous with Nazism and Fascism because it threatens the democratic way of life of the citizens of our country and tends to undermine our civil liberties and the free institutions which form the bulwark of the greatest republic in the world — the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MILITARY PERSONNEL OFF-DUTY ACTING AS STRIKE-BREAKERS

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Members of the Air Force personnel of the Hamilton Air Force Base, Hamilton, California, have acted as strike-breakers for H. Koch and Sons of Corte Madera, California, and our local affiliate, Leather and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, has made representations to the Group Commander to order withdrawal of the men who are giving aid and comfort to an anti-union employer bent upon running a non-union shop, and

WHEREAS, The Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, went on record in a letter to our Leather and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, dated August 10, 1954, as follows —

a. "Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, (10 U. S. Code, Section 609) prohibits off-duty employment of enlisted men on active duty where it shall 'interfere with the employment of local civilians.' There are nowhere that we can find any regulations or laws of the United States specifically prohibiting military persons working in a plant where a labor dispute is in progress or which is being picketed, or prohibiting military persons crossing a picket line."
b. "As we interpret it Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, does not imply such prohibitions."
c. "While we may have sympathy with the merits of your case it is beyond the scope of my authority to order these airmen not to work in the H. Koch Luggage Company."
d. "I would personally prefer that no airman be required by force of financial circumstances to engage in any outside employment. Most of these airmen have wives and children and are forced to supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort.", and

WHEREAS, Said interpretations and conclusions of the Group Commander allow not only coddling strike-breakers but in giving full approval to members of the Air Force personnel, off-duty, to work as strike-breakers in order that they may 'supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort,' and

WHEREAS, Such coddling of strike-breakers and approval of members of military establishments, off-duty, acting as strike-breakers pose a grave problem for all union labor who may find themselves at one time or another in open combat with anti-union employers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, go on record that we disapprove the interpretation placed by the Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, on Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, (10 U. S. Code, Section 609), and that we urge that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take all necessary measures with the higher authorities to make sure that there is a clear-cut definition of said Regulation prohibiting members of the military establishments, off-duty, to engage in strike-breaking and in replacing civilian strikers on strike and crossing the picket line for union standards and conditions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, in speaking as a presidential candidate before the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1952, pledged as follows: "I will not support any amendment which weakens the rights of working men and women. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union-busting. Neither do I", and

WHEREAS, As of today, close to two years since that pledge, this potential union-busting Taft-Hartley Act still stands on the statute books and the American labor movement continues to be saddled with a law which seriously weakens the labor unions, undermines collective bargaining and drastically interferes with labor's vital necessity of organizing the unorganized, and

WHEREAS, It is commonly considered that if not for the interferences, obstructions and shackles of this law, millions of workers now deprived of union benefits would have been organized into labor unions, and

WHEREAS, Eighteen states, because of the express provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, have introduced laws which deprive working men and women of their rights to bargain for union security and a union shop under the guise of "right-to-work" laws which are but "right-to-scab" or "right-to-a-sweatshop" laws and which have proven the greatest lure to employers of union labor to move their shops from union centers to anti-union localities, and

WHEREAS, The National Labor Relations Board was so reconstituted that a majority of its members are now anti-union and pro-management — all appointees of President Eisenhower — and the Board, by its majority, has demonstrated again and again its employer-bias by its wholesale reversal of previous Board decisions which were considered as protecting unions and their members, and

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the Board have added further restraints on labor unions with the result that in state court after state court, judges, taking their cue from the Eisenhower Administration, have with increasing frequency issued injunctions against strikes and all other forms of concerted activities, and

WHEREAS, The American trade union movement has been able to stand up to this combined attack only because our unions are built upon a solid foundation of a united membership devoted to their organizations and their freely chosen leaders, as well as to the indisputable fact that during the years that the Taft-Hartley Act has been in force we have had full employment and labor was greatly in demand, and

WHEREAS, The Eisenhower Administration has not only failed to live up to its pledge to enact a labor relations law based upon "justice and fairness" to both management and labor, but during the 1954 session of Congress, the President and Republican majorities in the Senate and House Labor Committees would have foisted upon the American labor movement a labor relations law far worse than the Taft-Hartley Act, thus revealing the aims of the Republican Administration and its leadership bent upon union-busting which had been begun by the Taft-Hartley Act and supplemented by the still worse anti-labor laws of eighteen different states, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in Los Angeles, reaffirm our determination to continue our fight for the right of American workers to join unions of their choosing and to bargain collectively; and reaffirm further our belief that the right to strike is necessary and fundamental to the free workers of America in a free democracy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention reinforce our determination to fight for the repeal of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Act, an Act designed to give preference to non-union labor and strike-breakers, to break unions by injunctions, to make it illegal for unions to extend brotherly aid and cooperation to other unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention go on record to instruct its Officers and Executive Council to call upon all affiliated state federations, city central bodies and federal unions to demand of President Eisenhower that he redeem his pledge to enact a "fair and just" law and to withdraw from the states the license to enact so-called "right-to-work" laws which are laws to break unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That labor be mobilized to make sure that the makeup of the next Congress is labor-friendly instead of labor-hating and labor-baiting.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The maintenance of full and stable employment and the continued prosperity of our country are the most important problems of our national economy, which is known as an economy of "boom and bust," and

WHEREAS, Full and stable employment depends upon a high standard of living of the American people and their having a regular income for fifty-two weeks during the year in order to maintain our way of life, and

WHEREAS, The entire free world is dependent upon a strong and economically stable America, and

WHEREAS, The present recession and spread of unemployment constitute a potential and present danger to the working and living standards of our people, the prosperity of our nation and the maintenance of economic stability throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, The Full Employment Act, adopted by Congress in 1946, declared it to be the policy of this nation to maintain full employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record to urge Congress to take all necessary measures to assure the full-time employment of our people, including such effective means as:

1. A program of public works — the clearing of slums; the building of schools, hospitals, homes for the orphans and aged; improvement of roads; the facilitating of home building for workers of low incomes, etc.
2. An increase in the national minimum hourly wage rate for all workers.
3. A reduction in the national weekly working hours for all workers.
4. A higher personal tax exemption for all people of low incomes.
5. An increase in unemployment insurance benefits.
6. The extension of unemployment insurance to all unemployed workers during the entire period of their unemployment without limitation on the number of weeks workers are forced into idleness.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MENNINGER FOUNDATION TOPEKA, KANSAS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate of Topeka Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Mental Health is the Number One Health Problem in America, with 700,000 persons now hospitalized for mental illness, 250,000 persons being admitted to mental hospitals each year and 250,000 persons being treated in out-patient clinics and by private physicians each year, at a total cost of $3 billion in public expenditures and loss of earnings, and

WHEREAS, More than one-half of all the hospital beds in the nation are occupied by mental patients, and one out of every 12 persons sometime in his life will suffer mental illness severe enough to require hospitalization, and

WHEREAS, 98% of those hospitalized with mental illness are hospitalized in public mental hospitals, and

WHEREAS, There is an extreme shortage of psychiatric and allied personnel in public mental hospitals and out-patient clinics upon which the working people of America depend to restore and maintain the mental health of themselves and their families, when they become ill, and

WHEREAS, Less than two cents is spent for research into mental illness for every dollar spent to hospitalize and treat mental patients, and

WHEREAS, The working class of people bears the brunt of this lack of psychiatric treatment and research, and

WHEREAS, The Menninger Foundation of Topeka, Kansas, has achieved world renown for its outstanding contributions to mental health by (1) training more psychiatrists than any other single institution, (2) expending more funds for research than any other private psychiatric institution, and (3) consulting with public mental hospitals in Topeka and Kansas which has made them models for other public mental hospitals, and

WHEREAS, All of these contributions significantly enhance the health and welfare of the American working man, and

WHEREAS, The Menninger Foundation is a non-profit psychiatric treatment, training and research center supported by public subscription, and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and support the Menninger Foundation, financially and otherwise, and to recommend concurrence by the affiliated bodies which they represent.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

CONDEMNATION OF SENATOR McCARTHY'S RECORD

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Communism flourishes in backward countries where people are subjected to sub-standard conditions, low wages, insufficient education, slum housing, denial of civil rights, oppressive taxation, and other social and economic injustices, and

WHEREAS, To be consistent a sincere anti-Communist must have been identified with legislative efforts to eradicate the causes and prevent the growth of Communism, and

WHEREAS, The junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, has been a member of the United States Senate since 1946 during which time 33 separate issues affecting the working people and their unions have been voted upon, and

WHEREAS, On every one of these 33 issues he has voted **against** the interests of working people and their unions, and

WHEREAS, He has voted wrong on Minimum Wages, Social Security, Public Housing,

Taft-Hartley, Rent Controls and Inflation Controls, Aid to Education through Tide-Lands Oil Revenues, Civil Rights, Veterans, Farmers, Taxation and many other domestic issues designed to strengthen us against Communism at home, and

WHEREAS, He voted to cut military and economic aid to free countries fighting Communism abroad, and

WHEREAS, He has spurned the democratic procedures practiced by the American Labor Movement and has created disunity by his condemnation of loyal public officials, and

WHEREAS, His voting record shows a lack of sincerity of principle and purpose and convinces many that his fight against Communism is for personal, political and financial benefit, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor meeting in Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954, condemn the anti-labor voting record of Senator McCarthy and question his sincerity as an opponent of Communism at home and abroad.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PLAN FOR INTERNAL DISPUTES

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates of International Chemical Workers Union.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and 65 affiliated International Unions have wisely concluded no-raid pacts with the CIO and 29 of its affiliated Unions, and

WHEREAS, This step forward has already begun to pay off to the rank and file membership as the time, energy and effort consumed by raids and attempted raids between AFL and CIO unions has been diverted to the handling of basic Union-Management problems and to organizing the unorganized, and

WHEREAS, Despite the advantages accruing to the Unions involved as well as the rank and file membership where no-raid pacts are entered into and honored, internecine warfare continues and sister AFL Unions raid and counter-raid each other to the detriment of the membership, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, directs its officers to set up machinery and techniques for establishing and enforcing no-raid pacts between AFL International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WORKERS' SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, As a result of the arbitrary imposition of rigid physical standards and tests by industry, workers have been and are being deprived of their jobs without regard to their seniority rights, and

WHEREAS, In most cases the workers who are being arbitrarily discarded by industry are actually capable of performing the jobs required of them for many more years, and

WHEREAS, These workers have no recourse open to them due to the lack of sufficient protective clauses in the collective bargaining agreements, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to study this problem with a view to obtaining remedial legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to refer this resolution to the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor for their study with a view to preparing protective clauses for inclusion in the collective bargaining agreements negotiated by local labor unions, which clauses should be furnished to all local labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate J. S. Smith, Virginia State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Close observation of the National Congress and States Legislatures indicate a trend toward anti-labor legislation more restrictive than that which presently faces us, and

WHEREAS, If the present trend continues the ultimate result will be a noticeable reduction in the total membership of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, This serious situation affects the American Federation of Labor and all National and International Unions affiliated, and

WHEREAS, The National and International Unions can render more cooperation and assistance in the field of political education than has been exhibited up to the present time, and

WHEREAS, Political education among other things can relieve and eventually solve the many problems which confront us in the legislative field, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled in this Seventy-third convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that all National and International Unions employ special political organizers to work among their members within the various States to establish local union committees on political education with the ultimate goal, all members qualified to vote, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these special political organizers work in close cooperation with Labor's League for Political Education and with the Leagues within the States wherein they work.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POINT FOUR PROGRAM

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Along with imperialism which amounts to the denial of political independence and freedom to the peoples of Asia and Africa, the natives are still suffering from extreme forms of poverty, illiteracy, disease, landlordism and excessive exploitation through small loans at exorbitant rates;

WHEREAS, The existence of political imperialism and economic and social feudalism have combined to create social misery which constitutes fertile grounds for the growth of seeds of Communism spread by the agents of the Kremlin who promise relief from various forms of oppression and exploitation and a bright and glorious future under the hammer and sickle; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, herewith, go on record in reaffirmation of its already expressed position of supporting the Point Four program, the policies of which are now being administered by the Technical Cooperation Administration as a method of enabling the natives of Asia and Africa to develop selfhelp to assist them in eliminating poverty, illiteracy, disease and the plague of landlordism; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention express its accord with the British government in extending recognition of self-determination to its former colonies, such as Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma and the Sudan; and its present policy of recognizing the right of West Africa, under the government of Nkrumah, and the right of Nigeria, under Azikiwi, to become self-governing political entities; and also applaud the United States in its humane, democratic and sound international policy toward the Philippines, as well as recognize the wisdom of the Dutch government in not attempting to block the nationalism of Indonesia for self-government; but urge the French government to recognize the inevitable growth and march of nationalism in Tunisia and Morocco, Algeria and Indochina as self-governing, independent countries as a policy of humanity and justice, and in the interest of winning these peoples over as allies of the free world and against the march of the Soviet Union toward world conquest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

UNITED NATIONS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C.L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Strong tides of opposition are running high in the United States and throughout the world against the United Nations despite the achievements of this young institution in the field of international affairs in connection with serving as the agency for collective action against Communist aggression in Korea; keeping the flames of nationalistic conflict between Pakistan and India from bursting into a war; as well as maintaining the mechanism for continued negotiation in the interest of peace between Israeli and the Arab states; together with its many social, economic, agricultural, labor and educational agencies to achieve goodwill and the advancement of world literacy, health, science and peace and plenty, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as reaffirming its support of the United Nations and call on the United States government to utilize the United Nations in the future to a greater degree than it has in the past, in order that it may develop the prestige, position, power and place to fulfill its mission as expressed in its charter which will also serve to concentrate the free world in one common agency, in order that it may fight for world peace, the alternative of which can only be atomic and hydrogen warfare which is certain to encompass destruction of modern civilization.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

AFRICAN MALANISM

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The sinister racist policies of Dr. Daniel F. Malan of South Africa, that not only take away the land of natives but rob them of the right to sell their labor through trade union organization for decent wages, improved and humane working conditions and fair working hours, and seek to stigmatize them with the mark of racial inferiority and reduce them to the status of perpetual social outcasts, industrial and agricultural peons; and

WHEREAS, The two million white population, with this attitude to subjugate, degrade and demoralize the native Africans, will not permanently prevail against eight million blacks in whose breasts are now burning unquenchable passions for freedom, independence, economic security and human dignity, will only serve to stir the fires of revolt and revolution of the black man against the white man in South Africa and other areas of the continent which will constitute a threat to world peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as urging the United States government to withhold financial loans to the Union of South Africa and urge the International Bank to insist as a condition

for financial aid, that the Union of South Africa abandon its persecution of natives, Indian and British minorities; and that our government urge the United Nations to take prompt action against complaints brought against the Union of South Africa on behalf of Africans and the Hindus.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

1955 LABOR DAY DEMONSTRATION

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate J. C. Turner. Washington Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Labor Day is a National holiday, dedicated to the wage earners of America, and

WHEREAS, In recent years, it has not been given the prominence it deserves as a national holiday by members of organized labor because of the many other attractions that are presented to our members on this day, and

WHEREAS, The Washington Central Labor Union is of the opinion that there should be a national demonstration by the members of organized labor to awaken their interest in such an important day, and

WHEREAS, In view of the hostile legislation that has been enacted and proposed by Congress and the different State Legislatures against the American Federation of Labor, that the American Federation of Labor in order to revive interest in Labor Day should cooperate with the Washington Central Labor Union in staging a huge demonstration in the Nation's Capital on Labor Day in 1955, and that all national organizations, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies be requested to hold in their respective communities such demonstrations in order that it can be demonstrated that the American Federation of Labor is one of the most important segments of our population, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions, requesting their active cooperation in carrying out the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State Federation of Labor, and David J. Majors, Omaha Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are now eighteen states that have deceptively labeled "right-to-work" laws in effect, and

WHEREAS, This is an increase of four states in the last eighteen months on the part of reactionary anti-union interests to put this vicious anti-American piece of legislation into effect in a sufficient number of states so it will become the law of the land, and

WHEREAS, There are entirely too many International Unions that are operating under a policy of sending their Organizers only into the states that do not have these laws because it is easier to organize and less expensive, and

WHEREAS, We believe that by some of our International Unions operating under this policy we are not only defeating our own purpose but we are playing into the hands of the reactionary interests opposing us, and

WHEREAS, Those International Unions who are discharging their duties in a proper manner by organizing and servicing their local unions in these seventeen states have met with a great deal of success, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September 1954, go on record in recommending that all International Unions discharge their duties in a proper manner by organizing and servicing local unions in the eighteen states that have "right-to-work" laws in effect, so as to preserve the free trade union movement in those states.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Jesse Clark, Frank R. Edmonson, M. S. Mason, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

WHEREAS, The City of Hope National Medical Center which was founded forty-one years ago by members of the trade union movement, has helped restore to normal life and usefulness thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement who have suffered from tuberculosis, cancer, lukemia, and heart ailments, and

WHEREAS, Its medical services, given without cost to our fellow trade unionists, demonstrate dramatically that through our joint efforts we can help our brothers and sisters in need to overcome the high financial barriers which often stand in the way of the average worker's ability to combat the ravages of catastrophic diseases, and

WHEREAS, A large number of international unions, local and state central bodies and their affiliates and members are giving their wholehearted support to the City of Hope's three-pronged program of medical service, research and technical training, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the trade union movement are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope, and its research and training programs help advance medical knowledge, so that doctors, technicians, and nurses are enabled to better serve their communities throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, It is fitting and proper that this convention of the American Federation of Labor commend and encourage the splendid efforts of our numerous affiliates, on behalf of the City of Hope National Medical Center, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, in September 1954, again call upon all affiliated to join in this great work of combatting catastrophic diseases through the facilities and services of the City of Hope; and urge furthermore that all affiliated unions, central bodies, and locals endorse a special campaign effort so that a memorial will be established on the grounds of the City of Hope National Medical Center, at Duarte, California, to the great leaders of the trade union movement whose vision and devotion is reflected in the high principles of service to humanity exemplified by the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPULSORY POULTRY INSPECTION REGULATION

Resolution No. 25 — By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Max Osslo, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

WHEREAS, Recent disclosures to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen reveal the shocking existence of filth, unwholesomeness and the utter lack of sanitation in certain areas of the Poultry Industry, and

WHEREAS, At the present time there exists no compulsory Federal Regulations governing the slaughtering, inspection, grading, labeling, processing, or handling of poultry, as is true in the case of beef, pork, veal and other meats and meat products, and

WHEREAS, Only very few states have any Poultry Regulations or Inspection Program whatever, and

WHEREAS, Less than 20% of the commercial poultry supply of the nation comes under Federal Inspection and then only on a voluntary basis, which in many respects is absolutely meaningless, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and its affiliated local unions have pledged themselves to the task of arousing the American people to the great hazard to health and welfare of the consuming public that exists in this poultry situation, and

WHEREAS, The support and cooperation of Congress, the State legislatures, Municipal officers, and every group of consumers in the nation, especially Organized Labor, is earnestly solicited in this cleanup drive and campaign for effective compulsory Poultry Regulation and Inspection not only on the Federal, but on the State and local levels as well, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record endorsing the Poultry Cleanup Campaign launched by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation and its affiliated International Unions, at the earliest opportunity, take such other legitimate steps within its power, as may be necessary to aid in the success of this worthy project in the interest of the health and welfare of the entire nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COLORADO RIVER

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, In the 64th Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in New Orleans in 1944 a resolution was adopted opposing the Colorado River Project, and

WHEREAS, In each succeeding convention the American Federation of Labor has reaffirmed its opposition to the Project, and

WHEREAS, Legislation has now been introduced into the Congress advocating the construction of a series of storage dams in the Upper Colorado River Basin known as the "Upper Colorado River Storage Bill," and

WHEREAS, The construction of these dams would impose upon the taxpayers of the nation a subsidy of over $1,000,000,000 to provide irrigation water for less than 370,000 acres of land—of which about 240,000 acres would receive only a supplemental water supply, and

WHEREAS, This amounts to $2,500 per acre irrigated which is not economically justifiable, and

WHEREAS, The construction of these dams would break the 80-year conservation policy of the Government by invading the Dinosaur National Monument to supply irrigation to land which is substantially limited in producing capacity, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in Los Angeles, California, hereby reaffirm the previous position on the Colorado River Project, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers be instructed to oppose the adoption of such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ABOLISHING JIM CROW HOUSING

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Although the United States Supreme Court has repeatedly handed down decisions against racial segregation in various sections of our national life, including housing, the federal government of the United States is today the greatest single force in promoting segregation in residential areas through FHA, the slum clearance program and other agencies in this field, and

WHEREAS, A state of violence bordering on armed conflict now exists in Trumbull Park

federal housing project in the City of Chicago since August 5, 1953, with law-abiding colored tenants being threatened with violence, and

WHEREAS, At Levittown, Pennsylvania, the FHA has insured millions of dollars worth of property, the government knowing that in this new community there is a rigid, hidebound and undemocratic program of excluding all colored people solely because of race; the government being also fully aware of the fact that discrimination against Negro citizens is a general policy of major insurance companies in the administration of their housing developments, and

WHEREAS, In Birmingham, Alabama, and Baltimore, Maryland, the slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs are being used to clear colored persons from certain areas of the city to make way for Jim Crow projects in definite defiance of the Supreme Court decisions, and

WHEREAS, The housing and home finance agency of the government is lending its influence and support to the development of so-called new Negro housing which is giving governmental sanction to segregation in the building of housing projects which will tend to set up hard and fast segregated areas in various communities which is not only a method of attaching the stigma of inferiority to an entire group of people but is contrary to the American dream of equality of opportunity for all persons without regard to race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as condemning and opposing segregated housing and the use of government funds to promote same as contrary to justice, fair-play and sound, democratic principles as set forth in Supreme Court decisions striking down segregated housing.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The white settlers and government officials of the Colony of Kenya have combined to take away the choice land from the natives, without which life is unbearable, and

WHEREAS, The most brutal and barbaric form of warfare is being directed agninst the natives of Kenya which, together with a desire to regain their desirable land, has caused the members of the Kikuyu tribe to form a secret order known as the Mau Mau which is fighting back with desperation against bombs dropped by airplanes upon the men, women and children, and

WHEREAS, The conditions imposed upon the people of Kenya is colonialism in its most reprehensible form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That while expressing opposition to murder by the Mau Mau as a method of settling their problems, that this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as condemning the policy of the white settlers and colonial Kenya government in dispossessing the natives of their valuable land and call upon the United States delegates to the United Nations to demand a thorough-going, comprehensive study of the oppression of the Kenya people and urge the formation of an international commission, composed of representatives of labor, church, business and education, to travel to Kenya for the purpose of observing and studying the problems that plague the natives and the white settlers and government officials, with a view to publicizing findings of same in the interest of moulding world opinion for the elimination of colonialism in this area of Africa, so that under the aegis of the United Nations these people may move to a self-governing status, a condition which will strengthen the forces of democracy throughout the world and dispossess the Communists of an effective weapon of propaganda against the Western democracies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates of International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees Council, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government Service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in this Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

L.L.P.E. ACTIVITIES OF CITY CENTRAL AND STATE BODIES

Resolution No. 30 — By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Since 1947 the AFL has engaged actively in the political arena in a determined effort to elect men and women to the Congress who are not antagonistic to labor's interests and who believe that sound social legislation benefits the entire nation, and

WHEREAS, Political action in order to be effective must have the active support of our local LLPE groups who are organized and controlled by our Central Labor Unions and State Federation of Labor. Unless that support is given, pronouncements and policies laid down by the Conventions of the AFL or its Executive Council are doomed to failure, and

WHEREAS, Too often the unlimited freedom of action enjoyed by CLU and SFL officials is utilized to oppose AFL aims and policies and too often some of these unlimited freedoms are turned against the best interests of labor, now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed to cause a study to be made of the relatonships that exist between CLU's, SFL and AFL to the end that the aforementioned conditons be corrected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WALSH-HEALEY ACT

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The passage of the Walsh-Healey Act in 1936, providing for the setting of wages at prevailing rates in the manufacture of goods under government contract, was a milestone in labor's progress, and

WHEREAS, This Act served notice that federal funds would not be used to undermine existing wage standards which are particularly important in an industrial economy in which government expenditures account for a significant portion of the national product, and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of the Act has been seriously impaired since our last Convention as a result of the adoption, in 1952, of the Fullbright Amendment which provides, among other things, for judicial review of all wage determinations made by the Department of Labor under the Public Contracts Act and specifies that any interested person can request a court review of any legal question connected with a determination, with the result that employers are encouraged to delay enforcement by challenging, in the courts, either the amount of the determination or its application on a nation-wide basis, and

WHEREAS, In February, 1953, a minimum wage determination of $1.00 an hour was made under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act for the cotton, silk and textile industry, and immediately the legality of a nation-wide rather than a regional, determination was challenged with the result that today more than a year later the case is still in the courts and the effect of the wage determination has thus been nullified, and

WHEREAS, The same thing happened recently in the woolen and worsted industry wherein a $1.20 an hour minimum wage determination, originally proposed over fourteen months ago by the late Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin, was finally approved in April, 1954, only to be contested in the courts, and

WHEREAS, There is real danger that reactionary forces, emboldened by this success, will attempt further to weaken the Act by trying to revive previous proposals which would require the determination of prevailing wage standards on the minimum in a "city, town, village or other civil subdivision" and permit the exemption of a standard-type product sold in the open market, and

WHEREAS, The reactionary forces of the country, through the National Association of Manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce, now seek to obstruct further the operation of the Act by denying adequate funds for its enforcement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge the immediate repeal of the Fullbright amendment and oppose all further amendments to the Walsh-Healey Act which would restrict its operation or subvert its objectives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY—LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE FOR WOMEN

Resolution No. 32 — By Delegates John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

WHEREAS, Under the Social Security Act the age at which a person becomes eligible for either primary benefits or benefits for dependent wife or husband is 65 years, and

WHEREAS, The level of benefits in most cases makes it impossible to retire on primary benefits alone, with the result that the average age of retirement for working men is 69 years, and

WHEREAS, In this country the age of husbands averages several years more than the age of wives, and

WHEREAS, These factors combine to enforce postponement of actual retirement in most cases until the time the younger wife reaches age 65, and

WHEREAS, In the case of employed women dependent for their livelihood and that of their dependents on their earnings, it is far more difficult to continue at work or to find employment after reaching age 60; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Social Security Act should be amended to provide that the dependent wife of any person eligible for retirement benefits at age 65 be eligible for a wife's benefit at age 60, and be it further

RESOLVED, That any woman otherwise eligible for primary retirement benefits be eligible at age 60, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor call for these changes in the Social Security Act and call upon the American Federation of Labor to make such amendments a part of its legislative program for enactment by the Eighty-fourth Congress of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Joseph Stefani, Cambridge Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Proportional Representation method of voting is a European System, and does violence to the American plurality system of voting, and

WHEREAS, Proportional Representation destroys the bipartisan, or two-party system, and

WHEREAS, Proportional Representation is un-American, undemocratic, and leads to dictatorship, and

WHEREAS, Under a dictatorship unionism, as a protection for the worker, withers and dies, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, voices opposition to Proportional Representation and believes that any cities or towns operating under Proportional Representation should by legislative enactment return to the American System of majority or plurality elections, and be it further set forth that the object of this resolution is to insure the preservation of those rights, liberties, and freedoms proclaimed by the founding fathers in the Declaration of Independence.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY IN U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is general discussion regarding the capability of personnel in the United State Department of State, and

WHEREAS, The United States has not exerted any appreciable leadership or influence on the conference at Geneva, and

WHEREAS, Communist aggression in southeast Asia has developed into a grave threat to the security of the world, and

WHEREAS, We win wars but lose the peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That there shall be established as part of the State Department a school, academy or other institution similar to West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy, for the purpose of training and preparation of personnel in the art of diplomacy with foreign governments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Senate and the Congress, in Washington, D.C., to consider the establishment of a State Department Academy for our Diplomatic Service.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 35 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Workers today are having difficulty finding employment after reaching age 50, and

WHEREAS, Most union workers at age 60 have already worked 40 years or over, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act and the Railroad Retirement Act for the purpose of lowering the age limit for old age benefits from sixty-five to sixty years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Disabled workers are finding it impossible to keep up with the American standard of living during disability, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act, so that benefits may be paid to workers who have been disabled.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

$1,000 STATE AND FEDERAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The nature of the administrations recent tax revision gave all the tax relief to the higher bracket groups, and

WHEREAS, The greater group of wage earners have been forgotten, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring a $1000 State and Federal income tax exemption, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our Senators and Congressmen be instructed to draft such legislation as will bring about the intent of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

$1,000 INCOME TAX EXEMPTION COLLEGE STUDENTS

Resolution No. 38 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There are many families in Oregon and other states, who find it impossible to send their children on to college due to the added expense, and

WHEREAS, There is no provision in the present income tax structure recognizing this added burden on the family budget, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring an amendment to existing tax legislation to permit parents to claim dependency credits for children under 21 years of age instead of 18 as is now provided, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the income tax exemption for college students be established at $1000 per year.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 39 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Working people who are nearing retirement age are prone to infirmities and often lose much time due to sickness in the last few years of their employment, and

WHEREAS, Unemployment is a more likely hazard in later earning years, and

WHEREAS, The consequent lost time under the Act as now written, causes the person who falls within the above conditions to have their Social Security Retirement benefits cut down, and

WHEREAS, This does not show a true picture of the contributions made by the individual over his earning years, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record favoring amendment of the Social Security Act for the purpose of basing Social Security payments upon a worker's most productive years.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSING ATTACKS ON CIVIL SERVICE

Resolution No. 40 — By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, S. H. Shawyer, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, It has been proved that Civil Service is not only a protection to the employee, but it is also a protection to the public against abuses as practiced by some politicians, and

WHEREAS, The vast majority of Civil Service employees are honest, loyal and hard working people, and

WHEREAS, Civil Service procedure is intended to protect the employee from being summarily fired without cause, and at the same time ample provisions are set up to protect the public against incompetent and dishonest employees, and

WHEREAS, In some instances employees have been discharged contrary to accepted practices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the action of some public officials in their attacks through the medium of the public press on Civil Service employees and Civil Service in general.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING IMPORTATION OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF SOVIET DOMINATED COUNTRIES

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, We as citizens of the United States of America believe in the philosophy as enumerated by the great President, Abraham Lincoln, when he stated that a free government is one that is "of the people, by the people and for the people," and

WHEREAS, We of the free democratic nations are confronted with despotic idealogy of dictatorial communism that has for its purpose the destruction of the Four Freedoms as had been promised the peoples of the world by another great President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

WHEREAS, Soviet Russia and its dominated satellite puppet governments have created slave labor in every nation coming under its domain, and the products of such slave labor are being exported to various parts of the world, and

WHEREAS, The United States Department of State has permitted the importation of millions of dollars worth of products that are produced in communistic controlled factories and which are sold at ridiculously low prices in our free competitive markets, thereby forcing the closing down of some American factories and aggravating an already current and growing unemployment situation, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record protesting the importation of any products manufactured or produced in any of the countries that are under the domination of Soviet Russia, including Russia itself, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this protest be sent to the President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower, and to the Secretary of State.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

U. S. SECRETARY OF LABOR

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Department of Labor is primarily concerned with affairs of Labor of these United States, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Commerce is primarily concerned with affairs of Employers and Commerce, and

WHEREAS, The U. S. Secretary of Commerce is chosen from the ranks of business with business qualifications, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the U. S. Secretary of Labor be chosen from the ranks of Labor with labor qualifications, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor favor action and the fulfillment of this purpose, at the close of this convention, and that arrangements be made to submit same to the proper committees of the U. S. Senate and the U. S. House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

STATE RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Right to Work Law has been enacted into law by some States, and

WHEREAS, Similar legislation is now pending in many other States, and

WHEREAS, This type of legislation endangers the common good of the Union labor movement and disturbs industrial peace, and

WHEREAS, It tends to set class against class and betrays the democratic process of Government, and

WHEREAS, It is an unfair, unsocial, dictatorial and communistic legislation, and contrary to the common good of the laboring men and women of the United States, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this un-American right to work bill be exposed as denying the right of the laboring men and women to be represented by organizations of their own choosing for their own economic welfare, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates assembled at this convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution, and call upon the United States Congress to enact legislation that will outlaw these so-called State Right to Work Laws that are destructive to the freedom of our Nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TIMES-MIRROR COMPANY

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The Times-Mirror Company, publishers of the non-union Los Angeles Times and Los Angeles Mirror, have viciously opposed the American Federation of Labor and all organized labor for more than 70 years, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor spearheaded activities against the anti-union Times-Mirror Company as early as 1891 when Samuel Gompers visited the city of Los Angeles to assist the American Federation of Labor unions in this area, and

WHEREAS, Throughout the years the Times-Mirror Company has acted as the keystone of labor-hating forces in an attempt to destroy trade unionism not only in Los Angeles but throughout the State of California and the Congress of United States, and

WHEREAS, Through its anti-labor activities the Times-Mirror Company has developed into a giant monopoly with vast holdings in real estate, banking, hotel, railroads, cattle ranches, mining, aircraft manufacture, retail stores, food markets, and numerous other industries in addition to commercial printing and newspaper publishing, and

WHEREAS, In the field of politics the Times-Mirror Company is attempting to control municipal, state and national legislatures, especially in an endeavor to bring about restrictive legislation designed to destroy all of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, For the past two years the Los Angeles Central Labor Council and the Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council have entered into a vigorous and comprehensive program to influence trade union members to refuse to patronize the Los Angeles Times or the Los Angeles Mirror, and

WHEREAS, This program for the first time in many years has achieved notable success and offers a promise of complete victory for organized labor against the anti-labor policies and practices of the Times-Mirror Company, and

WHEREAS, In order to bring the program to its ultimate goal it is necessary to have the full support and cooperation of every national and international union and their local unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the City of Los Angeles does hereby denounce the Times-Mirror Company and its newspapers, the Los Angeles Times and the Los Angeles Mirror, as enemies of all working men and women, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the program of the American Federation of Labor unions in Los Angeles against the Times-Mirror Company and call upon all affiliated unions to provide every possible cooperation and assistance, both moral and financial, to the Los Angeles Central Labor Council and the Los Angeles Allied Printing Trades Council.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES SALARIES

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, Employees of the Federal Government are entitled to a good day's pay for a good day's work without any regard to postal rates, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, oppose the principle of tying together the salaries of Field Service Postal Employees and Postal Rate Increases.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

FEDERAL TAX EXEMPTION OF MUNICIPAL BONDS

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Some southern communities have lured northern manufacturers to the South by offering them the use of manufacturing plants rent free, and

WHEREAS, Such property is often acquired through the issuance of Federal tax-free municipal bonds which in effect makes every taxpayer in the United States a subsidizer of the unfair manufacturer who uses such premises rent free, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles, California, go on record instructing the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to cause to be drafted and introduced in Congress suitable legislation to remove the Federal tax exemption of municipal bonds which have been issued by any community which has lured manufacturers to move to its boundaries through the means of a subsidy, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to give its full support to legislation such as bills HR 4083, HR 4127 and HR 6123, introduced in this session of Congress and which also seek to curb the existing evil heretofore referred to.

Referred to Committe on Legislation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 47—By Delegates of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

RESOLVED, That this 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled

in Los Angeles, California, pledges its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employes' Council of the American Federation of Labor and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislative program for that purpose:

(a) Support the enactment of legislation to provide for recognition of organizations of postal and federal employees and collective bargaining between agencies and A. F. of L. unions representing the federal employees.

(b) Whenever the Federal Government requires employees to wear a special uniform or to furnish Fidelity or Indemnity bonds, such uniforms and bonds should be paid for by the Federal Government.

(c) Enactment of legislation that will transfer from the C.P.C. Service under the Federal Employees Classification Act 1949, to Wage Boards those employees in the Building Trades, and other Craft Mechanics who are employed in maintenance of Public Buildings.

(d) Enactment of legislation or regulations that will provide for in-service-training-programs within the Classified Civil Service where such training programs do not violate the principle of recognized crafts apprentice programs and the General Policy of promotions from within that service with seniority being the determining factor, all other conditions being equal.

(e) Favor the removal from the Government service of any known member of the Communist Party or other subversive groups detrimental to the democratic form of government.

(f) Endorse and vigorously support the revision of the Classification Act of 1949 for Federal classified employees to reflect equitable application of modern classification principles with equal voice granted to A. F. of L. unions in determining grade levels.

(g) Support amendments to the Whitten Rider granting permanent status to apprentices indentured prior to enactment of Whitten Rider and the elimination of temporary employees of the Field Service of the Post Office Department.

(h) Actively support legislation to grant all employees of the United States Government 26 days' annual leave—15 sick leave annually, to be cumulative.

(i) Urge Postmaster General to instruct Post Office inspectors to discontinue their assumed management functions of the postal service and return to the original duties of the prevention of depredations in the mail.

(j) Support the enactment of Hagen-Rhodes bills H.R. 3893 and H.R. 4082 relating to automotive equipment for special delivery messengers.

(k) Enactment of legislation to provide equitable over-time pay for federal employees.

(l) Support legislation to establish a thirty-five hour work week in Government service.

(m) Extension of the principles of the Employees' Compensation Appeals Board with provision for the Board to hold hearings in geographical centers.

(n) Urge the enactment of legislation to remove multiple taxation.

(o) Support legislation to exempt retirement annuities from Federal income tax.

(p) Amendments to Civil Service Employees Retirement Act to give greater benefits and protection to those now retired and to those that will retire in the future.

(q) Establishment of seniority principles among all United States government employees.

(r) Support legislation providing time credits to postal transportation clerks assigned to runs in which the average speed of trains exceeds 42 miles per hour, and increasing travel allowance for postal transportation clerks to $9.00 per day.

(s) Enactment of legislation to prevent the use of military personnel in Federal Government positions which by their nature could effectively be filled by civilian employees.

(t) Enactment of legislation to provide additional compensation to classified employees for temporary hazardous duties.

(u) Oppose any contemplated merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Social Security Act.

(v) Vigorously oppose the establishment of one Central Wage Board and support amendments to the present Wage Boards looking to the establishment of a system that would bring about true collective bargaining between the various agencies of Government and the Unions representing the employees therein.

(w) Enactment of legislation or an executive order that would establish a Safety Program throughout the Federal Government in keeping with the principles as outlined in S.368 introduced by Senator Murray in the 83rd Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SALARY RECLASSIFICATION OF FIELD SERVICES, POST OFFICE DEPT.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employes International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association

of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

WHEREAS, The Postmaster General has requested from Congress complete authority to reclassify positions and salaries of employees in the Postal Field Service, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, vigorously oppose granting the Postmaster General the authority to reclassify positions for employees of the Field Service of the Post Office Department, and insist that the final authority in any reclassification be placed in the Civil Service Commission.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

EFFECT OF PUBLIC LAW 841 ON CANAL ZONE EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 49 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Conditions of employment on the Canal Zone have grown progressively worse since July 1, 1951, especially as regards increases in costs of living substantially in excess of those prices caused by higher costs at the source of supply, and

WHEREAS, The reasons given for the removal of certain fringe benefits which have long been recognized as incentive to accept and remain in the employ of the Panama Canal are that their removal is required by Public Law 841, 81st Congress and other legislation, and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government are now being required to pay a substantial part of the costs of operating these agencies by way of imposition of excessive surcharges and marginal profits on goods sold to employees, and

WHEREAS, The management firm of Booz, Allen, and Hamilton after a comprehensive on-the-spot survey of conditions on the Canal Zone recommended certain changes extremely favorable to Federal employees on the Canal Zone, and

WHEREAS, Neither the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company nor the Congress has taken positive action to effectuate the Booz, Allen, and Hamilton recommendations, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert every effort and utilize all of its legislative facilities to the end that the Booz, Allen, and Hamilton recommendations are placed into effect at the earliest practicable date, and in no event later than July 1, 1955.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SUPERVISION OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD CO.

Resolution No. 50 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Director of the Bureau of the Budget recommended in his report to the President, printed in House Document No. 460, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, that responsibility for supervision of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company be transferred from the Secretary of the Army to the Secretary of Commerce, and

WHEREAS, The President disapproved that recommendation with the statement that "I desire to give further study to that recommendation, particularly in connection with plans to carry out the proposals of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government which are now under consideration," and

WHEREAS, We feel that the time has now come to give this question further consideration in the light of the present times and the events that have transpired since 1950, and

WHEREAS, The Canal Zone Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council feels that the interest of both the Government and the employees would be more effectively served by placing the Panama Canal enterprise under purely civilian control, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor make every effort to have the supervision of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government transferred from the Department of the Army to the Commerce Department or such other purely civilian department as may be deemed appropriate, and be it further

RESOLVED, That when such transfer of responsibility has been accomplished, a civilian of demonstrated outstanding ability as an administrator be appointed as Governor of the Canal Zone and President of the Panama Canal Company, and that men of such ability be appointed to the position in the future, without regard to political party or affiliation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 51 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Local No. 900 of the CIO (composed entirely of alien employees) is now and

has for several years past been making a strong and concerted effort to replace citizens of the United States by process of infiltration, and

WHEREAS, These efforts on the part of non-United States citizens have met with considerable success since 1951, and appear to be gaining momentum, apparently to appease the Republic of Panama, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal was conceived by American genius, constructed with American dollars, and has been operated thus far by American employees, except in the unskilled and menial positions, and

WHEREAS, Since the Government of the United States of America is still paying the bill of operating the Panama Canal, it is our opinion it should be operated by citizens of our country for and in the interest of our country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take positive and continuing steps to prohibit the employment of any person not a citizen of the United States in any position of a skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, or supervisory character, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all non-citizen employees now occupying such skilled, technical, clerical, administrative, or supervisory positions be removed therefrom at once and replaced by citizens of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The rates of tolls for ships transiting the Panama Canal were originally set in 1914, and

WHEREAS, Such tolls have not been changed since 1914, except by slight adjustment in 1938, resulting, in the main, in favor of shipping interests, and

WHEREAS, The costs of living, wages, materials, and the necessities of maintaining an ordinary American standard of living, and including greatly increased charges by the shippers for carrying ocean freight, and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal was constructed and is operated and maintained for one purpose only, that of transiting ships of all nations from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, or vice versa, and

WHEREAS, The members of this union feel that the product which the Panama Canal sells —tolls in this instance—should pay all costs of providing the service to the user, and

WHEREAS, Every employee of the United States on the Panama Canal Zone can logically be said to be employed for the operation, maintenance, sanitation, or protection of the Panama Canal and would not be employed were it not for the Waterway, and

WHEREAS, It is the consensus of employees on the Canal Zone that quarters for employees, commissaries, service centers, and other facilities designed to service employees and other authorized residents of the Canal Zone should not be required to pay all costs of their operation, including depreciation, and interest on the investment, but that such costs are a proper charge against the users of the Canal, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all costs of operating and maintaining the Panama Canal, including interest, depreciation, and general administrative expenses of employee housing, together with all other costs not normally required to be paid by Federal employees of other agencies, be borne entirely by tolls, thus relieving employees of the unjust costs which they are now being required to bear.

Refered to Committee on Legislation.

EMPLOYMENT IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 53 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Conditions of employment among employees of the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government have consistently deteriorated since July 1, 1951, and

WHEREAS, The most significant factor contributing to unsatisfactory conditions is the lowering of qualification standards resulting in a downward evaluation of salaries, and the replacement of U. S. Citizens with low paid aliens.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor bend every effort to obtain corrective action and oppose the efforts of the Panama Canal Company and Canal Zone Government to lower the employment standards of U. S. Citizens by "revaluation" of positions and the replacement of United States Citizens with low paid aliens.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

DELIVERY OF MAIL

Resolution No. 54 — By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Postal service continues to be substandard because of apparently lowered residential delivery objectives of the Post Office Department and because of the Postmaster General's curtailment order of April 17, 1950, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, advocates that there be instituted an adequate number of residential postal deliveries and particularly that earliest possible mail transmittal be accomplished through the full use of existing or available facilities for in-transit distribution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ORGANIZATION OF POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 55 — By Delegate Joseph McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is now no statutory provision for the recognition of unions of Federal employees, thus depriving such employees of a proper voice in conditions affecting their employment, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the provisions of HR 172, HR 644 and S 501 with modifications to provide for the promulgation of rules to institute recognized collective bargaining procedures within the various departments, bureaus and agencies in government on all matters concerning working conditions, safety, in-service training, granting of leave, promotions, demotions and reductions-in-force or in service, and upon other personnel matters which Congress had delegated to the agencies as being under their exclusive jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 56 — By Delegate Russell M. Stephens, American Federation of Technical Engineers.

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Los Angeles, California, pledge its support to the American Federation of Technical Engineers, and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislative program:

1. The enactment of legislation to increase the minimum wage to $1.25 per hour.
2. An increase in the allowable personal income tax exemption on monies received as retirement annuities.
3. Repeal of, or amendment favorable to labor, of the Labor Management Act of 1947, including elimination of the so-called professional's self-determination clause, and a clearer and more equitable definition of supervisory duties.
4. Amendment of National and State Labor Laws to provide for prevailing rates of pay for technical engineers, chemists, architects, and surveying employees employed on publicly financed projects.
5. Amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act to establish a standard thirty-five hour workweek.
6. Establishment of a thirty-five hour workweek, and seven-hour workday for Federal Government employees.
7. Amendment of the Federal employee's retirement act to allow optional retirement after thirty years of service regardless of age.
8. Establishment of a separate schedule within the Federal Employees Classification Act of 1949, as amended, for scientific and technical personnel.
9. A provision of law to entitle Federal classified employees to premium pay when engaged in temporary hazardous duties.
10. Legislation or administrative ruling to compensate Federal Government employees for all legal holidays falling on Saturday.
11. A further liberalization of the overtime pay provisions for classified Civil Service employees.
12. Amendment to the Federal Employees Retirement Act to allow employees who terminate their employment, the option of withdrawing deposits made to the fund, regardless of years of service.
13. Repeal of, or amendment, to the Hatch Act, in order that Federal employees may have the same rights and privileges that all other citizens have in the expression of their political beliefs and alliances, provided such expressions are not made during working hours of the employee or upon Federal property.
14. Oppose any merger of the Civil Service Retirement fund with any other fund or retirement system, unless approved by the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor.
15. Oppose any effort to reduce the amount of annual and sick leave available to Federal Government employees.
16. Oppose any effort to reduce present Government employees retirement benefits.
17. Oppose the use of military personnel in civilian Federal Government positions.
18. Enactment of legislation requiring recognition of bonafide unions by the Federal Agencies.
19. Immediate increase in inadequate salary of Federal classified employees.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

INCREASE RESIDENTIAL POSTAL DELIVERIES

Resolution No. 57 — By Delegate Joseph A. McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Postal service continues to be substandard because of apparently lowered residential delivery objectives of the Post Office Department and because of the Postmaster General's curtailment order of April 17, 1950, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor advocates that there be instituted an adequate number of residential postal deliveries and particularly that earliest possible mail transmittal be accomplished, wherever reasonably possible

through the full use of existing or available facilities for in-transit distribution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SUPPORT OF UNION LABEL

Resolution No. 58 — By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, S. H. Shawyer, the International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor over the years has attempted to establish complete participation of its membership's support of Union Labels, and

WHEREAS, The philosophy of this great Federation has been "In Unity there is Strength," and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, go on record as favoring the practice of supporting cities that submit the endorsement of their local Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor for approval of the hotel being organized in which the official functions of the American Federation of Labor are conducted.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor; Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor, and Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarity, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The current housing construction rate of about one million units a year must be doubled to make available livable homes to the nearly one-third of American families forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards for family living and to meet the additional needs of our rapidly expanding population, and

WHEREAS, A doubled rate of housing construction is essential to help maintain economic prosperity and full employment, and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming proportion of the additions to our housing supply must come from new construction and cannot be made available by haphazard paint-up and patch-up schemes such as the so-called "urban renewal" program sponsored by the Administration, and

WHEREAS, The requirements of low- and middle-income families who have the most desperate need for decent housing at rents and selling prices they can afford have been virtually ignored in government programs of financial assistance to private speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Housing Act of 1954, has tragically weakened the nation's housing program by:

1. Limiting low-rent public housing construction to a token 35,000 units for one year despite overwhelming evidence that only low-rent public housing can make available decent homes to low-income families at rents within their means.

2. Providing additional incentives to speculative builders to continue to concentrate on construction of high-priced houses while doing nothing to assist construction of moderate-priced homes that workers and other middle-income families can afford.

3. Taking only incomplete and largely ineffective measures to inject urgently needed safeguards in the programs of federal assistance to speculative builders and mortgage lending institutions despite the shocking evidence of widespread frauds in the mortgage insurance program administered by the Federal Housing Administration which have permitted unscrupulous builders and contractors with the connivance of FHA officials to despoil building trades workers, consumers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles, California, go on record as urging the Congress to enact a housing program which will make possible a double rate of residential contruction and will assure especially that the urgent needs of low- and middle-income families for decent housing accommodations within their means are met. This program should include:

1. Resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year.

2. An expanded urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas.

3. Increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods. These homes should meet adequate standards of space, construction and availability of community facilities. Priority for assistance under this program should be assigned to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.

4. Full protection of consumers in all housing programs involving federal financial assistance in any form including
   a. A strengthened mandatory builder's warranty against any structural defects that may develop within the first two years after completion of the house.
   b. A "lapsed payments" plan permitting home purchasers to postpone regular payments for a limited period when forced to do so by unemployment, illness, death in the family or other unpreventable causes.

c. Establishment of an advisory committee to the Housing and Home Finance Agency representing labor, homeowners, tenants and other consumer interests.

5. Requirements for payment of the prevailing wage to all workers engaged in construction under federally assisted housing programs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take action to secure introduction and enactment of this program early in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 60 — By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Arthur A. Elder, Selma M. Borchardt, Herrick S. Roth, Edward A. Irwin, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The current housing construction rate of about one million units a year must be doubled to make available livable homes to the nearly one-third of American families forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards for family living and to meet the additional needs of our rapidly expanding population, and

WHEREAS, A doubled rate of housing construction is essential to help maintain economic prosperity and full employment, and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming proportion of the additions to our housing supply must come from new construction and cannot be made available by haphazard paint-up and patch-up schemes such as the so-called "urban renewal" program sponsored by the Administration, and

WHEREAS, The requirements of low- and middle-income families who have the most desperate need for decent housing at rents and selling prices they can afford have been virtually ignored in government programs of financial assistance to private speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Housing Act of 1954, has tragically weakened the nation's housing program by:

1. Limiting low-rent public housing construction to a token 35,000 units for one year despite overwhelming evidence that only low-rent public housing can make available decent homes to low-income families at rents within their means.
2. Providing additional incentives to speculative builders to continue to concentrate on construction of high-priced houses while doing nothing to assist construction of moderate-priced homes that workers and other middle-income families can afford.
3. Taking only incomplete and largely ineffective measures to inject urgently needed safeguards in the programs of federal assistance to speculative builders and mortgage lending institutions despite the shocking evidence of widespread frauds in the mortgage insurance program administered by the Federal Housing Administration which have permitted unscrupulous builders and contractors with the connivance of FHA officials to despoil building trades workers, consumers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars, and

WHEREAS, Many boys and girls are attending school in old, dilapidated buildings, storerooms, and make-shift housing—some of which are fire hazards—making it impossible for either teacher or pupil to develop desirable ideals or appreciation for our great Democracy, necessary for good citizenship, and

WHEREAS, The financing of a building program falls largely on the local budget, which in many cases already has insufficient funds, and must therefore look to the Federal Government, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, go on record as urging the Congress to enact a housing program which will make possible a doubled rate of residential and school construction and will assure especially that the urgent needs of low and middle income families for decent housing accommodations within their means are met. This program should include:

1. Resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year.
2. An expanded urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas.
3. Increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods. These homes should meet adequate standards of space, construction and availability of community facilities. Priority for assistance under this program should be assigned to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.
4. Full protection of consumers in all housing programs involving federal assistance in any form including:
   a. A strengthened mandatory builder's warranty against any structural defects that may develop within the first two years after completion of the house.
   b. A "lapsed payments" plan permitting home purchasers to postpone regular payments for a limited period when forced to do so by unemployment, illness, death in the family or other unpreventable causes.
   c. Establishment of an advisory committee to the Housing and Home Finance Agency representing labor, homeowners, tenants and other consumer interests.

5. An adequate school building program with special consideration for aid to the seriously handicapped communities,

6. Requirements for payments of the prevailing wages to all workers engaged in construction under federally assisted housing programs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take action to secure introduction and enactment of this program early in the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

EXPANDED HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 61 — By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The current housing construction rate of about one million units a year must be doubled to make available livable homes to the nearly one-third of American families forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards for family living and to meet the additional needs of our rapidly expanding population, and

WHEREAS, A doubled rate of housing construction is essential to help maintain economic prosperity and full employment, and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming proportion of the additions to our housing supply must come from new construction and cannot be made available by haphazard paint-up and patch-up schemes such as the so-called "urban renewal" program sponsored by the Administration, and

WHEREAS, The requirements of low- and middle-income families who have the most desperate need for decent housing at rents and selling prices they can afford have been virtually ignored in government programs of financial assistance to private speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Housing Act of 1954, has tragically weakened the nation's housing program by:

1. Limiting low-rent public housing construction to a token 35,000 units for one year despite overwhelming evidence that only low-rent public housing can make available decent homes to low-income families at rents within their means.

2. Providing additional incentives to speculative builders to continue to concentrate on construction of high-priced houses while doing nothing to assist construction of moderate-priced homes that workers and other middle-income families can afford.

3. Taking only incomplete and largely ineffective measures to inject urgently needed safeguards in the programs of federal assistance to speculative builders and mortgage lending institutions despite the shocking evidence of widespread frauds in the mortgage insurance program administered by the Federal Housing Administration which have permitted unscrupulous builders and contractors with the connivance of FHA officials to despoil building trades workers, consumers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954, go on record as urging Congress to enact a Housing Program which will make possible a doubled rate of residential construction and will assure especially that the urgent needs of low- and middle-income families for decent housing accommodations within their means are met. This program should include:

1. Resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year.

2. An expanded urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas.

3. Increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods. These homes should meet adequate standards of space, construction and availability of community facilities. Priority for assistance under this program should be assigned to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.

4. Full protection of consumers in all housing programs involving federal financial assistance in any form including:

   a. A strengthened mandatory builder's warranty against any structural defects that may develop within the first two years after completion of the house.

   b. A "lapsed payments" plan permitting home purchasers to postpone regular payments for a limited period when forced to do so by unemployment, illness, death in the family or other unpreventable causes.

   c. Establishment of an advisory committee to the Housing and Home Finance Agency representing labor, homeowners, tenants and other consumer interests.

5. Requirement for payment of the prevailing wage to all workers engaged in construction under federally assisted housing programs, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take action to secure introduction and enactment of this program early on the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECISION AGAINST SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Resolution No. 62 — By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court declared, May 17, 1954, that segregated public schools are unconstitutional and its decision is now the law of the land, which imposes upon all good, loyal American citizens the moral obligation to help bring about desegregation, including administrative staffs, teachers and pupils, in the public schools in every community now plagued with this social evil, and

WHEREAS, This historic decision will have far-reaching definite and monumental significance in winning the confidence, faith and goodwill of the teeming millions of peoples of color all over the world in the profession and deed of our Democracy, and serve as an effective refutation to the propagranda of the "big lie" by the Kremlin about racial relations in our country, with a view to discrediting the United States in the councils of the world, and will, thereby, give strength, reality and integrity to the foreign policy of our country much more effectively than military might, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as applauding, endorsing and supporting the aforementioned Supreme Court decision and call upon the central bodies, state federations, international and national unions and federal locals to join hands with law-abiding government officials, business, church, fraternal, civic and professional groups and housewives, white and colored, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, in the local communities in the South in helping to bring about full and complete implementation of this decision, in the interest of a peaceful, orderly, methodical transition from the segregated public schools to the nonsegregated pattern of public schools, with the realization and conviction that if our youth, black and white, can fight together and die together on the battle fields in every war involving our country to preserve our American way of life, its national sovereignty and honor, they can, by the same token, go to the same school together and study together, which democratic procedure is certain to make and keep our country great; for well did President Eisenhower state in his message to the recent convention in Chicago of the American Federation of Teachers, that: "No task can be greater than the promotion of democracy in education, for democracy without education, free government cannot survive; without democracy, education loses its significance."

Referred to Committee on Education.

REPLACEMENT OF DILAPIDATED SCHOOL BOOKS

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The Federation of Mothers and Teachers Associations in various parts of our country have complained to the Boards of Education in regard to the torn, dilapidated, dog-eared school books issued to pupils, and

WHEREAS, Many books have been found to be falling apart, thereby creating for the pupils the unwarranted problems of having in their possession disintegrated books, often found to be germ-laden and therefore conducive to spreading contagious diseases, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention go on record to request the various Boards of Education throughout the country to immediately undertake steps to alleviate this deplorable situation by assuring the fathers and mothers of our country that their children will not become contaminated by the use of these unwholesome, disease-carrying books, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Boards of Education be requested to replace all torn, dilapidated, dog-eared school books with new books at the beginning of every school term, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor include in its legislative program, legislation that will provide appropriations for the replacement of school books annually, through the enactment of the Federal Aid to Education Bill.

Reference to Committee on Education.

INADEQUATE LIBRARY SERVICES

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The American Library Association has reported that the present library services are so inadequate that millions of Americans are completely without library facilities, and

WHEREAS, Because of the small per capita expenditures for the upkeep of libraries they have, in many instances, become outmoded, and lack the supply of sufficient, modern and up-to-date books, and

WHEREAS, Because of this unfortunate condition the reading standards of the average citizen have reached an all-time low, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring legislation that will provide the necessary money through the enactment of the Federal Aid to Education Bill and the Library Bill.

Referred to Committee on Education.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS, ETC.

Resolution No. 65 — By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Arthur A. Elder, Selma M. Borchardt, Herrick S. Roth, Edward A. Irwin, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The recent Supreme Court decisions outlawing the infamous "separate but equal" doctrine have reaffirmed our faith in the spiritual and moral attributes of our Constitution and have raised significantly our stature as a democratic force in the global conflict, and

WHEREAS, These decisions have substantiated in large measure the position of the American Federation of Teachers when they recognized the social and psychological implications of integration, the essential dignity of the individual and the trend of history toward desegregation, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers foresaw the important role that teachers must play in this human drama when it filed amicus curiae briefs in 1950, 1952 and 1953 before the Supreme Court against the "separate but equal" educational dogma; when it ruled "separate but equal" locals illegal within its own ranks; and when it integrated its own Washington, D. C., locals, and

WHEREAS, Teachers in a democratic society if they are truly dedicated to the ideals of the Hebrew-Christian ethics and the preservation of our heritage of freedom, cannot regard themselves simply as passive instruments of the law, but must take an active part in assuring that this decision will continue to be upheld and not subverted in any way, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the near future when the Supreme Court will hear arguments as to the most feasible procedure to follow in carrying out its decisions, that the American Federation of Labor join the American Federation of Teachers in furnishing facts that will aid desegregation without compromise of principle, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor nationally and through its affiliated bodies make it unmistakably clear that labor will insist on fair labor procedures so that no group of teachers or adminstrators will suffer.

Referred to Committee on Education.

7 HOUR DAY—5 DAY WEEK

Resolution No. 66 — By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, It is quite evident through the past four decades, that this great country cannot enjoy near full employment, short of costly human sacrifice caused by wars, and

WHEREAS, The constant increase of labor-saving devices being used, thereby increasing unemployment to a state where the entire economy is upset by the loss of purchasing power by the wage earners, and

WHEREAS, Labor through its organization is at a disadvantage in negotiating for the shorter work week, without long and costly conferences, and work stoppages, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention go on record in favor of a move to prevail upon the Congress of the United States of America to enact a work week of seven hours per day, five days per week, with a minimum rate of pay of $1.25 per hour, and a penalty for overtime in excess of seven hours in any one day.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

30 HOUR WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 67 — By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

WHEREAS, The National forty-hour work week has proved ineffective in eliminating the current problem of increasing unemployment throughout our country, and

WHEREAS, The reduction of hours below the National forty-hour week in industry through collective bargaining has met with strong and effective opposition in various sections of our country, and

WHEREAS, In order to curtail the current problem of unemployment it becomes necessary to reduce the work week in general and on a national scale, to provide job opportunities for a great number of our American people, and

WHEREAS, The present process of reducing the work week through collective bargaining is slow and ineffective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention go on record to favor the sponsoring of Federal legislation to establish the thirty-hour week in industry on a national scale, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention be instructed to promote this shorter work week legislation in their respective localities by writing to or contacting their Congressional Representatives and United States Senators urging them to actively support this legislation when it is presented to Congress.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

TERRITORY OF HAWAII ORGANIZING DRIVE

Resolution No. 68 — By Delegate Edward J. Kovack, Central Labor Council of Honolulu.

WHEREAS, The Territory of Hawaii is geographically isolated and is harassed by both anti-union employers and a powerful dual organization, and

WHEREAS, Anti-labor employers are operating in direct opposition to union principles

and have a notoriously open-shop general labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The dual organization, the communist-dominated ILWU, recently has thrown organizers into every craft and bonafide A. F. of L. jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, Certain affiliated locals of our largest internationals have recently suspended their charters, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. labor movement in Hawaii is in a state of defense against great odds, and

WHEREAS, This obligation is the problem of the whole A. F. of L., and more specifically a problem of all affected international unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as heading an over-all organizing drive, in conjunction with all interested international unions, in the Territory of Hawaii.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

A. F. OF L. REPRESENTATIVE FOR CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 69 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, Conditions of employment on the Canal Zone have grown progressively worse since July 1, 1951, especially as regards increases in costs of living substantially in excess of those prices caused by higher costs at the source of supply, and

WHEREAS, The reasons given for the removal of certain fringe benefits which have long been recognized as incentive to accept and remain in the employment of the Panama Canal are that their removal is required by Public Law 841, 81st Congress, and other legislation, and

WHEREAS, The employees of the Panama Canal Company and the Canal Zone Government are now being required to pay a substantial part of the cost of operating these agencies by way of imposition of excessive surcharges and marginal profits on goods sold to the employees, and

WHEREAS, The management firm of Booz, Allen, and Hamilton after a comprehensive on-the-spot survey of conditions on the Canal Zone recommended certain changes favorable to the employees, and

WHEREAS, Neither the Board of Directors of the Panama Canal Company nor the Congress has taken positive action to effectuate the recommendations of the Booz, Allen, and Hamilton report, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor furnish the services of a special representative for a minimum period of ten (10) working days yearly. These services to be rendered on the Isthmus of Panama, and that the representative be versed in the functional and administrative operations of Federal Agencies, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the representative shall mediate for the local unions affiliated with the Canal Zone Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council on the Isthmus of Panama, and if unable to do so, he shall place these cases before the A. F. L. for action, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the representative of the A. F. L. be sent to the Isthmus of Panama each and every calendar year at the request of the Central Labor Union of the Panama Canal Zone.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ORGANIZATION OF TECHNICAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 70 — By Delegate Russell M. Stephens, American Federation of Technical Engineers.

WHEREAS, Many years ago the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled granted to the American Federation of Technical Engineers, jurisdiction over the employees performing technical work, and

WHEREAS, Our Union (American Federation of Technical Engineers) has carried on an active effort throughout private industry and Civil Service to organize the men and women employed, who are performing technical engineering, architectural and surveying work, and has spent large sums of money in our effort to organize these workers, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of Industrial Organizations, through its activities has caused confusion in the attempt to organize these workers into dual organizations outside the American Federation of Labor, thereby seriously interfering with and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, such encroachment including the building and construction projects, and

WHEREAS, Employer-dominated professional societies, such as the American Society of Civil Engineers, have by their activities created Independent Unions of engineering employees, during the past years, and have been organizing and spending large sums of money in the formation of so-called independent groups titled "Committees on Employment Conditions of Professional Engineering Employees," thereby seriously interfering with and encroaching upon the recognized rights and jurisdiction of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, and

WHEREAS, Such American Society of Civil Engineers and other professional societies tell these professional engineering employees, that professional employees are exempt from the overtime provisions of the law, and, therefore, the correct professional attitude is for such employees to abide by the hours of work estab-

lished by the particular office in which he works or job on which he is engaged, thus, tearing down the overtime payment practice for architectural and technical engineering, surveying and other technical and chemical engineering employees, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is interested in organizing technical engineering, surveying and architectural employees, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in 1954, does hereby condemn these unwarranted efforts of the many parties outside of the American Federation of Labor in their interference with and obstruction of not only the organizing efforts of the American Federation of Technical Engineers, but in attempting to deprive the technical employees of economic benefits and security, and that the American Federation of Labor Convention, pledge its support to the American Federation of Technical Engineers in their effort to organize such technical engineering, architectural and surveying employees, and to resist the encroachment upon their jurisdiction by the American Society of Civil Engineers and other professional societies as well as by the Independent Unions, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to all International Unions, State Federations of Labor, all Central Bodies, all Federal Labor Organizations, and American Federation of Labor Organizing Staffs, for their information and guidance, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the 1954 American Federation of Labor Convention urge all its affiliated Local Unions, Labor Councils (Central Bodies, Metal Trades Councils, Building Trades Councils, Union Label Trades Councils), and American Federation of Labor Staff Organizers to cooperate in helping organize the technical engineering, surveying and architectural employees in all industries, including the chemical industries, and be it further

RESOLVED, That where possible, contacts be made with unorganized technical engineering, surveying, bacteriological, chemical and architectural key men in offices, plants, shops and job sites, through such other Unions or Councils which have collective bargaining agreements in the respective places of employment, and that such information be sent to the American Federation of Technical Engineers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

ORGANIZATION OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, White collar workers, employed in industry, commerce and government, now number in excess of 18 million in the United States, and

WHEREAS, This group is growing in size more rapidly than any other economic group in the nation's labor force, and

WHEREAS, Less than 2 million of this vast number are members of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, The political strength of this unorganized group of White Collar Workers has been dissipated and ineffective, and has at times turned against its, as well as Labor's, interest — principally because of the lack of communication and resultant misunderstanding of organized Labor's aims and objectives, and

WHEREAS, This failure of the White Collar worker to organize and to fully mobilize his political and economic strength has dropped him to the bottom rung of the economic ladder —his weekly salary is at least 22% less than that of his organized brother—a sorry situation which adversely affects the entire economy, and

WHEREAS, These facts alone should compel the organized labor movement to establish a vehicle for bringing the many benefits of unionism to the ranks of the White Collar workers and to utilize this force in the battle for economic justice and political well being, and

WHEREAS, This vast force—the last frontier for organization — constitutes a political, social and economic challenge to the American Labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in the City of Los Angeles, California, accept this challenge and take the following steps:

1. Authorizing the President of this Federation to appoint at the termination of this convention a committee to proceed to draw up and put into operation as soon as possible a plan of organization designed to unionize large numbers of White Collar workers in the shortest period of time, and
2. Calling the message of this resolution to the attention of all affiliated unions and their memberships as well as to all central labor bodies.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL EXISTING "RIGHT TO WORK" LEGISLATION AND PREVENT FURTHER ENACTMENT

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, So-called "right to work" laws now cover one-third of this nation, having been adopted in the following eighteen states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, N. Carolina, N. Dakota, S. Carolina, S. Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and

WHEREAS, Five other states — Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—have laws that restrict union security, and the legislatures in other states not yet affected have considered such legislation, and

WHEREAS, It is quite apparent that large national anti-labor groups are pushing a systematic program of attacking organized labor through the various state legislatures, and have already succeeded in crippling the effectiveness of the trade union movement in those states which have passed "right to work" laws, and

WHEREAS, "Right to work" laws have been properly branded as "right to scab" laws, because they prevent unions from negotiating any form of union security, guarantee the right of free riders to work in unionized shops, and ultimately break down union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The powerful anti-labor organizations that are spearheading this campaign in the state legislatures have taken on the trade union movement in those states where organized labor is weak, and these groups have already been so successful on the state level that they are virtually decimating the labor movement through these tactics and are succeeding in an insidious national plan to destroy organized labor by means of the state legislatures, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, launch a powerful counter-attack on these vicious "right to work" laws in the 17 states where they already exist, and a vigorous program that will head off the passage of such legislation in other states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to implement this resolution, the American Federation of Labor take the following action:

1. Establish immediately an A. F. of L. steering committee to study the existing legislation and keep abreast of efforts of various state legislatures to enact such legislation,

2. Establish a campaign fund to carry out the purposes of this resolution by contributions to the A. F. of L. by the various International unions, and

3. Utilize the funds so raised to launch a full scale campaign in each state to prevent enactment of such legislation, or to fight for its repeal by action of the respective Legislatures or by referendum vote of the people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PRESERVE INTACT OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND MONUMENTS

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument is a system of canyons in Utah and Colorado through which flow the Yampa and the Green Rivers, tributaries of the Colorado River, and

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument was first created in 1915. It then comprised 80 acres of land and was established to protect the interesting and scientifically important dinosaur bones that had previously been discovered in the area. In 1938 the Monument was enlarged to 200,000 acres to protect the magnificent canyons of the Lodore and Yampa and such spectacular natural features as Steamboat Rock at the confluence of the Green and Yampa Rivers, and

WHEREAS, In recent years, the Bureau of Reclamation has planned for a series of dams in the Upper Colorado Basin, including two, Split Mountain and Echo Park, which would lie within the boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument and which would inundate over one hundred miles of these beautiful river canyons, and

WHEREAS, The question of whether these dams shall be built within the borders of Dinosaur proportions and Congress must make the final decision on this important matter, and

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument is a unit of the national park system which by law of Congress must remain unimpaired for the enjoyment of this and future generations, and

WHEREAS, The construction of Echo Park and Split Mountain dams would abrogate this law and by its precedent jeopardize the existence of other units of the national park system such as Grand Canyon, Mammoth Caves, Kings Canyon and Glacier National Park, which also have river valleys with attractive dam sites, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, disapprove of the construction of Split Mountain and Echo Park dams in Dinosaur National Monument because suitable alternate sites are available, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor subscribe to the general principle that our national park system was created to preserve the scenic and geologic wonders of our country for the enjoyment of this and future generations, and therefore must be protected from uses and abuses which will ruin it for those who come after us, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to appropriate individuals and agencies.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

OPPOSE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WITH SOVIET UNION

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a movement now underway to sell the American people a program of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union and communist totalitarianism, and

WHEREAS, It is quite evident that those individuals, who espouse such peaceful coexistence, are the victims of a blindness caused by expediency, and

WHEREAS, History has repeated itself time and time again to prove beyond question that peaceful co-existence with totalitarian dictators and gangsters is the sure prescription for a slow but sure death of democracy and its democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS, The Soviet Union and its communist totalitarianism is a perfect example to illustrate the diabolical conspiracy to kill freedom wherever it exists in the world; for instance:

1. The dictators of the Soviet Union and their communist stooges in the United States have on several occasions publicly called for the violent overthrow of the United States Government and the establishment of a dictatorship by the so-called proletariat under the red flag.

2. The dictators of the Soviet Union and their communist stooges and puppets have, through aggressive acts, enslaved millions of people in other lands by denying basic freedoms and by subjecting opposition to brain washing and death.

3. The dictators of the Soviet Union and their fellow travelers call for peace, yet the Soviet Union's record since the end of World War II has been one of military build-up and armed aggression which forced the United States and the free world to rebuild their armed forces, and

WHEREAS, The declaration of that great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, to the effect that this nation could not continue half slave and half free might well be extended on a world basis today, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor knows by experience that there is no basis for compromise between free labor and the totalitarian dictators of the Soviet Union, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record as opposing any program of peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union based upon appeasement or compromise of the basic freedoms of mankind, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention call upon our government and the free nations of the world to take a firm enough position to convince the people of the world, including those behind the Iron Curtain, that there can be no compromise between freedom and slavery, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this position be drastic enough to bring the Soviet dictators and their puppet regimes to the full realization that they are forcing the free world to prepare for no other alternative than all-out war, unless they abandon their designs for world conquest and take conclusive action to restore freedom to the millions of people that have been enslaved.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMMEND SENATORS WHO FOUGHT ATOMIC POWER GIVE AWAY

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Cost and availability of power is a major factor in the economic health either of a region or nation, and

WHEREAS, Development of atomic power for peacetime uses is a great imponderable factor that will affect the economy of the entire American nation in future years, and

WHEREAS, The United States government has expended billions of dollars in development of atomic energy, the benefits of which will be felt in extension of atomic power for peaceful pursuits, and

WHEREAS, The program of the national administration to give away a monopoly on atomic power, which has been developed through the expenditure of billions in public funds, to a few chosen favorites, is the most flagrant give-away in the entire administration program to give away the public's wealth to private monopolists, and

WHEREAS, This dissipation of a public trust was fought by a handful of far-sighted liberals who used every means at their disposal on the floor of the Senate to thwart the atomic giveaway, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, commend those Senators who fought the give away of atomic power as true guardians of the public welfare.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR PUBLIC RELATIONS

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The enemies of organized labor, through their control of newspapers, radio, and television, have been able through the years to present to the public a wholly distorted point of view about the labor movement, and

WHEREAS, The true objectives of labor are to build a better community for all the people, and to that end organized labor utilizes all of its institutions for the improvement of conditions of life for all of the people, and

WHEREAS, If the general public were aware of all that is done for its welfare by labor, the labor movement would be able to function in a liberal atmosphere of active public friendliness, and

WHEREAS, It is essential for the continued growth and influence of organized labor for such an atmosphere to exist, and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in the City of Santa Barbara during the week of August 23-27, 1954, declared that "the development of a general program to win further public support to the cause of organized labor is one of the major items of business before the labor movement," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, endorse the declaration of the California State Federation of Labor, and instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to take appropriate action to broaden the A. F. of L. public relations program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RIGHT TO LIVE

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The so-called "right to work" laws enacted by several states are deliberately misnamed for the purpose of deceiving the people, degrading the employment standards of the workers and primarily as a device in opposition to organized labor in the attempt to discourage membership in trade unions, and

WHEREAS, The reactionary anti-union employers, aided and abetted by their servants in the political arena, are enabled by these laws to enslave and commit the workers to industrial servitude in denial of their constitutional rights to seek union security as the only means of protecting their economic conditions against exploitation by the enemies of labor, and

WHEREAS, These anti-union laws prevailing in the Southern states in fulfillment of their purpose have created additional handicaps in organizing the low-paid and over-worked textile workers, and threaten the existence of our established unions by legal and political treachery in complete violation of human rights and the fundamental principles of Americanism and justice; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 13th Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, hereby extends our appreciation to all those outside the labor movement who joined with us in exposing the social evil—the misnamed and deceitful "right to work" laws, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we pledge this Convention and the officers and members of our local unions to continue the struggle against these vicious laws, to intensify our efforts for the repeal of all anti-union legislation and to defeat the candidates for office who have supported, or are expected to support, the "special interests" in their attack on the working people, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all of our affiliated local unions affected by this legislation are hereby urged to work with the State Federations of Labor, and other agencies, in the movement to repeal the fake "right to work" laws, and that all possible publicity and informational mediums should be utilized in the exposition of the real intent of the legislation to defraud the working people and destroy the progress of labor in the years from 1932 to 1952, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution should be given all possible publicity and the United Textile Workers of America's delegation to the American Federation of Labor Convention, which convenes on September 20, 1954, are hereby empowered to submit this resolution to that body and make every effort to have the principles accepted and carried out in every State victimized by this anti-social and menacing legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

WALSH-HEALEY

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, After two years of consideration and public hearings, a group of employers in the textile industry have blocked the legal minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor for the woolen and worsted and cotton and rayon industries, and

WHEREAS, The prevailing minimums of eighty-seven cents in cotton and one dollar and five cents in wool have not been increased for more than five years (before the Korean War), even though living costs have reached an all time high during that period, and

WHEREAS, The increased minimums of one dollar in cotton and one dollar and twenty cents in wool, are now effective in Union mills but are denied to hundreds of thousands of unorganized textile workers by court action, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 13th Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America go on record approving the policy of the International Union in combatting the wage chisellers and authorizing the International Officers to continue the struggle until the victimized workers received their increased minimum wages, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United Textile Workers of America's delegation to the American Federation of Labor Convention, which convenes on Monday, September 20, 1954, is hereby authorized to bring this matter before that body for a positive decision and for the protection and benefit of the low wage and exploited workers of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TEXTILE UNEMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, Textile unemployment (total and part-time) has reached a stage of depression, with considerable hardship and misery for large numbers of textile workers in all divisions of the industry; and

WHEREAS, The Administration in Washington has failed to fulfill its promises for the protection of those deprived of their livelihood by shut-downs, runaway plants, layoffs and economic dislocations; and

WHEREAS, The refusal of the Administration to increase the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act has been a contributory factor in this deplorable situation, by the limitation of purchasing power and also in the repudiation of the pledge to amend the Taft-Hartley Law, which permits and encourages the runaway mills, anti-union legislation in the states, and exploitation of the workers by low wage employers who are violating all of the rules of fair competition in the drive for more profits and lower wages; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 13th Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America authorize the International Officers to continue their efforts and demands that the Administration take positive steps in support of the unemployed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all affiliated local unions appoint a committee to interview political candidates for office relative to their stand on

these issues, and also to determine whether or not they favor increased unemployment benefits of longer duration; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing the United Textile Workers of America at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which convenes on Monday, September 20, 1954, be instructed to place the facts concerning the depressed condition of the textile industry before the body and ask for the complete support of the entire labor movement in the struggle to secure economic justice for the unemployed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FEDERAL OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE AT 60 YEARS OF AGE

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The women of America have contributed their full share to family living and to the wealth of the nation, and

WHEREAS, Working women of America, have been burdened with a double work load by their contribution of labor to help keep the home fires burning and the raising of a family; by years of toil alongside machines and various other occupations, with each year of toil exacting its toll as they toil to maintain a decent standard of living for themselves and their loved ones, and

WHEREAS, Multitudes of women working in the textile industry have expressed a desire to retire under the Federal Old Age Survivors Insurance at 60 years of age; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The membership of the Linen Thread Workers Local Union No. 243, United Textile Workers of America, A. F. of L., are of the opinion that women being able to retire at 60 years of age under the Old Age Security Law would have a tendency to lessen the unemployment in the textile industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United Textile Workers of America go on record as a proponent for a bill to be placed before the Congress of these United States which would fix the age for females retiring under the Old Age Security Law at 60 years, and be it further

RESOLVED, That if this resolution is approved at the 13th Biennial Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, a similar resolution be presented to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor which convenes in Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954, for the approval and support of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FAIR AND FREE ENTERPRISE IN THE UNITED STATES TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The textile industry has for two hundred years been the pioneer and the frontier of the industrial revolution carrying the potential of salvation of the mass of humankind from misery and poverty by production of plenty for all, and

WHEREAS, This bright promise of the day that power production dawned with the advent of the spinning jinny in the England of two centuries ago, has in succeeding generations, been darkened by the constant capricious and arbitrary intervention of parliaments, princes, and state actions of all types in furtherance of almost every purpose except that of the welfare of the human beings that operate this industry whose whole human dignity is denied in the survival to our day of the very name of workers as mere "Hands," and

WHEREAS, This ruthless exploitation of the workers in the industry by employer and state alike through subsidized expansion in complete disregard of economic needs and systematic frustration, legally and illegally, of the minimum of industrial democracy furnished by freely organized trade unions of textile workers, still represents the darkest chapter of industrial relations in the United States, marring our traditions both of genuine free enterprise and democratic practice, and

WHEREAS, The unregulated and unchecked twin evils of community subsidy and crushing of union aspirations of the new workers, marking the artificially stimulated migration of the cotton textile industry from North to South in the 1920's, helped sicken this basic industry and undermine the health of American economic society in preparation for the Great Depression of 1929, and spread the contagion of overexpansion and low wages to shoe and other apparel industries, and

WHEREAS, In recent years there has emerged a new uneconomic and irresponsible drive to utilize the old and some newly appropriated powers of state governments to subsidize the complete erection and equipment of municipally owned and tax-free factories in previously agricultural areas for foot-loose manufacturers from established sections on one hand, and on the other, to raise bristling barriers to union organization through the misnamed and nefarious state "right to work" and similar savagely discriminatory laws, and

WHEREAS, The anti-union intent of these state subsidy laws is clearly revealed in fact that in the socialistic bell-wether state of Mississippi, the twenty-nine million dollars of tax payers' dollars pledged by these Soviet-type bond issues, has built ninety-two factories of which only two have been unionized, and both of these have been on the initiative of employer, in order to sell union label goods in northern markets, and

WHEREAS, The 1952 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, on motion of textile and other affiliated unions, did call for appropriate legislation to deprive these subsidized municipal industrial collectives of the shelter of Federal tax privileges for their bonds and other subsidy devices, and

WHEREAS, Such legislation did pass both House and Senate of the Second Session of the 83rd Congress, in different forms, and was treacherously slaughtered in Conference Committee by the old coalition of Dixiecrats and Manufacturers' Association Republicans, completely demonstrating the hypocrisy of their, and the present Administration's, campaign against "creeping socialism" by which they

mean to destroy government effort for general welfare while fully countenancing galloping collectivism for narrow sectional and class advantage, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this 1954 Convention of the United Textile Workers of America, that we extend our thanks and appreciation to the National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor, and its sub-committee on Migration and Subsidy of Industry, for their extraordinary efforts and urge renewal of their efforts in an 84th Congress purged and improved by action of the voters at this forthcoming November 2nd election, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this 1954 Convention of the United Textile Workers of America request the forthcoming Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, to recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor consider the convocation of a conference of labor, civic, business and regional organizations to co-ordinate a drive for national standards of Fair Trade and Free Enterprise through minimum and going wage rates, unemployment and workmen's compensation standards, repeal of the charter for chaotic state anti-labor acts contained in the Taft-Hartley Act, and general halting of the secession of states and whole regions from the civilized standards and the unified free national economy of the Continental United States which has made our Country the economic wonder and hope of the free world.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LABOR MEMORIAL AT THE CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 82 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The City of Hope National Medical Center which was founded forty-one years ago by members of the trade union movement has helped restore to normal life and usefulness thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement who have suffered from tuberculosis, cancer, leukemia, and heart ailments, and

WHEREAS, Its medical services, given without cost to our fellow trade unionists, demonstrate dramatically that through our joint efforts we can help our brothers and sisters in need to overcome the high financial barriers which often stand in the way of the average worker's ability to combat the ravages of catastrophic diseases, and

WHEREAS, A large number of international unions, local and state central bodies and their affiliates and members are giving their wholehearted support to the City of Hope's three-pronged program of medical service, research and technical training, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the trade union movement are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope, and its research and training programs help advance medical knowledge, so that doctors, technicians, and nurses are enabled to better serve their communities throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, It is fitting and proper that this convention of the American Federation of Labor commend and encourage the splendid efforts of our numerous affiliates, on behalf of the City of Hope National Medical Center; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, in September 1954, again call upon all affiliates to join in this great work of combatting catastrophic diseases through the facilities and services of the City of Hope; and urge furthermore that all affiliated unions, central bodies, and locals endorse a special campaign effort so that a memorial will be established on the grounds of the City of Hope National Medical Center, at Duarte, California, to the great leaders of the trade union movement whose vision and devotion is reflected in the high principles of service to humanity exemplified by the City of Hope.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR STRIKE ASSISTANCE

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union concluded last May a ten and one-half month strike against the Hat Corporation of America, at South Norwalk, Conn., and

WHEREAS, that strike, which was provoked by the Company's decision to move its operations out of South Norwalk, developed finally into a life-and-death struggle in which the Company sought to destroy the Union and leave 1,500 hatters helpless and defenseless, despite the fact that they had given 25, 30 and more years in service to the Company, and

WHEREAS, Expenditures approximating $2,000,000 were required during this strike to keep the strikers supplied with the economic aid needed by them and their families, and

WHEREAS, the Company's attempt to destroy the Union could not have been defeated without the moral and financial help of the labor movement generally, which responded generously and enthusiastically when called upon by the Hatters for such help, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, expresses its appreciation to George Meany, its president, who made the hatters' cause his own, rallied to the support of the hatters the aid of the Federation's affiliates, and initiated the conferences which finally resulted in the strike's settlement; to the Executive Council, which, at its meeting in Miami, Florida, in February, 1954, helped focus national attention on the strike by indicating publicly its readiness to help the striking hatters; to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Association of Machinists, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union, and the International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union, who by their loans and contributions made it possible for the hatters to continue their battle against a wealthy and powerful corporation and bring it to a successful conclusion; and to such other International Unions as were about to extend similar financial aid to the hatters when the settlement was reached.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A. F. L. - C. I. O. UNITY

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The reactionary forces which succeeded in regaining control of our Federal Government two years ago have made it increasingly clear that they are determined to weaken, if not destroy, the labor movement, to wipe out many of the social gains made during the New Deal and Fair Deal administrations, and to revive the fallacious economic doctrines which brought our country to the verge of destruction when these forces last controlled our Government, and

WHEREAS, The change which has taken place during the past two years in the National Labor Relations Board, which has now been stacked against labor and which is turning a law designed to protect workers in their right to organize into a union-busting weapon, is one of many evidences of a more general reactionary development which can do incalculable harm not only to the labor movement but to the country as a whole, and

WHEREAS, The reunification of the labor movement, which would bring 16,000,000 workers under one roof, would provide labor with the strongest weapon it can forge for the protection of its economic position and the advancement of its standard of living, and

WHEREAS, A major step in the direction of such unity was taken during the past year when, under the leadership of President Meany, the leaders of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations entered into a no-raiding pact, thus laying the basis for further cooperation between these two federations of labor in the future; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor expresses appreciation to the leadership of the American Federation of Labor for the progress which it has helped make towards a reunited labor movement and voices the hope that it will continue to work unceasingly for the achievement of organic unity between the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

HOUSING

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, William H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The current housing construction rates of about one million units a year must be doubled to make available livable homes to the nearly one-third of American families forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards for family living and to meet the additional needs of our rapidly expanding population, and

WHEREAS, A doubled rate of housing construction is essential to help maintain economic prosperity and full employment, and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming proportion of the additions to our housing supply must come from new construction and cannot be made available by haphazard paint-up and patch-up schemes such as the so-called "urban renewal" program sponsored by the Administration, and

WHEREAS, The requirements of low and middle-income families who have the most desperate need for decent housing at rents and selling prices they can afford have been virtually ignored in government programs of financial assistance to private speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Housing Act of 1954, has tragically weakened the nation's housing program by:

(1) Limiting low-rent public housing construction to a token 35,000 units for one year despite overwhelming evidence that only low-rent public housing can make available decent homes to low-income families at rents within their means.

(2) Providing additional incentives to speculative builders to concentrate on construction of high-priced houses while doing nothing to assist construction of moderate-priced homes that workers and other middle-income families can afford.

(3) Taking only incomplete and large ineffective measures to inject urgently needed safeguards in the program of federal assistance to speculative builders and mortgage lending institutions despite the shocking evidence of widespread frauds in the mortgage insurance program administered by the Federal Housing Administration which have permitted unscrupulous builders and contractors with the connivance of FHA officials to despoil building trades workers, consumers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, go on record urging the Congress to enact a housing program which will make possible a doubled rate of residential construction and will assure especially that the urgent needs of low and middle-income families for decent housing accommodations within their means are met.

This program should include:

(1) Resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year.

(2) An expanded urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas.

(3) Increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods. These homes should meet adequate standards of space, construction and availability of community facilities. Priority for assistance under this program should be assigned to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.

(4) Full protection of consumers in all housing program involving federal financial assistance in any form including:
   (a) A strengthened mandatory builder's warranty against any structural defects that may develop within the first two years after completion of the house.

(b) A "lapsed payments" plan permitting home purchasers to postpone regular payments for a limited period when forced to do so by unemployment, illness, death in the family or other unpreventable causes.
(c) Establishment of an advisory committee to the Housing and Home Finance Agency representing labor, home owners, tenants and other consumer interests.

(5) Requirement for payment of the prevailing wage to all workers engaged in construction under federally assisted housing programs.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

PROTECTION OF STAINED GLASS INDUSTRY AGAINST IMPORT COMPETITION

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

"WHEREAS, The production of stained glass has been developed in the United States by trained craftsmen who possess the highest skills, capable of meeting the most exacting artistic requirement in the production of church windows and with ample capacity to fill the demand for such windows in the country, and

WHEREAS, These craftsmen through their Union enjoy a level of wages in keeping with the exacting artistic standards of their occupation, and

WHEREAS, The growing volume of imported stained glass threatens both the high standards of living and workmanship of the domestic industry as well as the quality of work available to our craftsmen, through the advantage of lower costs resulting from the lower wages prevailing abroad, and

WHEREAS, The existing tariff rate is utterly without effect toward placing the imported product on a fair competitive level and hopes of obtaining relief through official governmental agencies are very remote, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, recommend to American Clergymen, church officials and architects that they patronize the domestic industry in keeping with fair competitive practices and to assure the maintenance of the established domestic stained glass industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention support fully the endeavor of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America to secure the necessary protection of their members in the stained glass industry against injury from unfair import competition."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

MANUFACTURE OF PAINT AND VARNISH AT MARE ISLAND

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

"WHEREAS, the manufacture of Paint, Varnish and Lacquer by the government at Mare Island or any other place within the United States is detrimental to the accepted practice and system of free enterprise fostered by our great Country, and

WHEREAS, Such manufacture can properly be done in any one of hundreds of private factories throughout the Country, and

WHEREAS, The California State Conference of Painters has gone on record as favoring the elimination of Paint, Varnish and Lacquer manufacture at Mare Island and other Governmental installations through the Country, and

WHEREAS, The Western Joint Council of Brush and Paint makers have gone on record as favoring the elimination of paint, varnish, and lacquer manufacture at Mare Island and other governmental installations throughout the Country, and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, go on record as favoring the elimination of paint, varnish and lacquer manufacture at Mare Island and other governmental installations throughout the Country."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

URGING REPEAL OF McCARRAN ACT

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The McCarran Act since its passage has created difficulties and hardships on millions of foreign-born; and its provisions have also created difficulties in issuing passports as well as admitting people from other countries into the United States, and

WHEREAS, The labor movement in the United States opposed this legislation and is on record against the McCarran Act; the Special Appointed Truman Committee to study this Act has unanimously recommended its repeal; President Eisenhower in his State of the Union Message recommended changes, and

WHEREAS, The Nineteenth Convention of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America went on record to urge Congress to repeal this Act and to urge all affiliated unions to go on record asking for the McCarran Act repeal, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, go on record to urge Congress to repeal the McCarran Act.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

ENDORSING NO-RAIDING PACT BETWEEN A. F. OF L. AND C. I. O.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky,

Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The attack of the reactionaries in the Administration and in Congress on our economic gains and our civil rights makes it imperative that unity be effected by all unions, and

WHEREAS, The results of the Taft-Hartley law is proving as forecast by the A. F. of L. to weaken and undermine the labor movement through the use of injunctions against labor and in that at least 100 million dollars has been taken out of trade union treasuries by the courts through the form of legal actions instituted by the employers, and

WHEREAS, The number of states passing the vicious "Right-to-Work" bills continues to grow, and

WHEREAS, These legislative attacks against labor are on the increase as the problem of unemployment and depression develop in the country, and

WHEREAS, The powerful enemies of labor use the division in the house of labor to push aside the legitimate demands of labor and to advance their own plans for a big business dictatorship behind a smoke screen of wild charges of Communism, Socialism and racketeering against the unions, and

WHEREAS, The Convention of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers wholeheartedly endorse the recently negotiated no-raiding pact between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. as a step toward the complete and powerful unity of all unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, endorse the objective of continued discussion and consultation of the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. and the Independent Unions to facilitate the progress of united labor action in behalf of this program of labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPREHENSIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Resolution No. 90 By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The current housing construction rate of about one million units a year must be doubled to make available livable homes to the nearly one-third of American families forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards for family living and to meet the additional needs of our rapidly expanding population, and

WHEREAS, A doubled rate of housing construction is essential to help maintain economic prosperity and full employment, and

WHEREAS, The overwhelming proportion of the additions to our housing supply must come from new construction and cannot be made available by haphazard paint-up and patch-up schemes, such as the so-called "urban renewal" program sponsored by the Administration, and

WHEREAS, The requirements of low and middle-income families who have the most desperate need for decent housing at rents and selling prices they can afford have been virtually ignored in government programs of financial assistance to private speculative builders, and

WHEREAS, Congress, in the Housing Act of 1954 has tragically weakened the nation's housing program by:

1. Limiting low-rent public housing construction to a token 35,000 units for one year, despite over-whelming evidence that only low-rent public housing can make available decent homes to low-income families at rents within their means.

2. Providing additional incentives to speculative builders to continue to concentrate on construction of high-priced houses, while doing nothing to assist construction of moderate-priced homes that workers and other middle-income families can afford.

3. Taking only incomplete and largely ineffective measures to inject urgently needed safeguards in the programs of federal assistance to speculative builders and mortgage-lending institutions, despite the shocking evidence of widespread frauds in the mortgage insurance program administered by the Federal Housing Administration which have permitted unscrupulous builders and contractors, with the connivance of FHA officials, to despoil building trades workers, consumers and the government of hundreds of millions of dollars, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record as urging the Congress to enact a housing program which will make possible a doubled rate of residential construction and will assure especially that the urgent needs of low—and middle-income families for decent housing accommodations within their means are met. This program should include:

1. Resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year.

2. An expanded urban redevelopment program providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clearance, replanning and rebuilding of metropolitan areas.

3. Increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods. These homes should meet adequate standards of space, construction, and availability of community facilities. Priority for assistance under this program should be assigned to genuine cooperative and non-profit housing.

4. Full protection of consumers in all housing programs involving federal financial assistance in any form, including:

a. A strengthened mandatory builder's warranty against any structural defects that may develop within the first two years after completion of the house.

b. A "lapsed payments" plan permitting home purchasers to postpone regular payments for a limited period when forced to do so by unemployment, illness, death in the family or other unpreventable causes.

c. Establishment of an advisory committee to the Housing and Home Finance Agency representing labor, homeowners, tenants and other consumer interests.

5. Requirement for payment of the prevailing wage to all workers engaged in construction under federally assisted housing programs.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION APPROPRIATIONS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The slum clearance and low rent housing program is intended to provide decent, safe and sanitary housing for low income families living in sub-standard housing, at rents they can afford to pay, and

WHEREAS, The Housing Act of 1949 provides that the federal government make annual contributions to local housing authorities to enable such authorities to provide housing for people of low income, and

WHEREAS, Congress in mid-June cut the appropriations for the operations of the Public Housing Administration during 1955 by about $5 million, and

WHEREAS, The Public Housing Administration has notified local housing authorities that operations costs must be cut by about 10 per cent, which means salary cuts and maintenance costs, which will encourage the employment of unqualified persons to administer the housing program and maintain the physical properties, and

WHEREAS, This type of policy will tend towards early deterioration of the physical properties and poor public relations, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to include in the comprehensive housing program of the A. F. of L. adequate language designed to correct this situation.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

UNION RECOGNITION FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 repealed the vicious "Gag Orders" previously issued by President Theodore Roosevelt, which prohibited postal employees from contacting their Congressmen for improved working conditions, and

WHEREAS, Over forty years have intervened during which no additional or specific recognition has ever been accorded postal unions, despite the tremendous development of organized labor in private industry, and

WHEREAS, Postal employees and their unions are still dependent upon the good graces of Post Office Department officials for certain privileges considered basic to other unions, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation which would: (1) grant union recognition for postal employees, (2) compel the Post Office Department to consult postal unions on all matters affecting working conditions, (3) provide for punitive action against supervisors who disregard the law, (4) establish an impartial board for the arbitration of disputes, and (5) secure all basic trade union rights other than the right to strike.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

REPEAL HATCH ACT

Resolution No. 93 — By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Bill of Rights should apply to all citizens of the United States without exception, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, record its opposition to the Hatch Act as oppressive and unjust in that it denies federal government employees their constitutional guarantees under the Bill of Rights, and be it further,

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation repealing this Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

SENIORITY BY LAW FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a great deal of leeway in employee assignment to preferred positions in the clerical force in the Postal Service, and

WHEREAS, Such assignment to job vacancies is often at the discretion of the head of the division or postmaster, and

WHEREAS, All postmasters do not choose to recognize seniority agreements, but arbitrarily assign employees to preferred, choice assignments because of favoritism, relationship or other factors, and

WHEREAS, Many senior employees are thus denied assignment to positions of a preferred nature, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record in support of seniority by law for postal employees, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to support legislation accomplishing this purpose.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Ralph B. Williams, Tom Quinn, Arthur Harriman and F. B. Marble, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Post Office Clerks in Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, August 23-28, 1954, adopted a Major Legislative Program calling for

1. Just and adequate salary increases;

2. Promotions based on merit and fitness as demonstrated by examination;

3. Recognition of employee organizations

through legislation establishing a modern system of Personnel Management Relations;

4. Job Security through (a) elimination of obnoxious work standards, (b) elimination of temporary employees, (c) elimination of contract postal stations, (d) opposition to any reclassification program which would downgrade and degrade employees in the field postal service;

5. Liberalized Retirement;

6. Preservation of Seniority rights;

7. Removal of restrictions on Political activity; and

WHEREAS, This program is in harmony with the programs of the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor and of the American Federation of Labor itself, now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, September 20-25, 1954, does hereby endorse and pledge its assistance to the enactment of the aforementioned program.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

MONOPOLIES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

WHEREAS, The extension of the monopolies in the textile industry poses a threat to the welfare of the workers, and more seriously so when the monopoly is a notorious non-union low-wage corporation, and

WHEREAS, A case in point is the absorption of the Goodall-Sanford Mills in Sanford, Maine, and the Pacific Mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts, by the Burlington Mills chain of North Carolina; thereby creating an atmosphere of anxious uncertainty in the ranks of our union membership and their families in New England and at the same time bringing protests from the rank-and-file shareholders and being the subject of investigation by the New York Stock Exchange, and

WHEREAS, This development once more proves the urgent necessity of organizing the Southern workers as the only means of protecting the interests of the textile workers in both the North and South and preventing exploitation with lower labor standards as a result of these monopolies, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct the incoming Executive Council to formulate a plan of action in support of our membership in New England by all means available in view of the circumstances, including a concentration of our organizing facilities in the South to the areas affected by the mergers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, convening in Los Angeles, California, next month, be instructed to place this situation before the delegation to that Convention with a request that we secure the services of the American Federation of Labor organizers, and the support of all other friendly agencies in the South, for a concerted and permanent drive to unionize the Burlington Mills.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

URGING CAMPAIGN FOR RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF SIX-HOUR DAY AT PRESENT FORTY-HOUR WEEK WAGE RATE

Resolution No. 97—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, William H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, The Chicago membership within the jurisdiction of P.D.C. No. 14 (Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America), prior to the Second World War, established for a number of years the Six hour-day, Five-day-week as an important advance in the working conditions of the membership and as one of the means of coping with the problem of unemployment, and

WHEREAS, The nation's economy again is revealing signs of growing depression with more than four million at present unemployed and with millions more threatened with unemployment, according to the A. F. of L. estimate, and

WHEREAS, Those hardest hit now are in the farming areas, including the workers in the steel, auto and mining industries, but this may only be indicative of the plight confronting all industries, including the building trades industry, and

WHEREAS, Numerous International Unions and State Federations of Labor have endorsed the Six-hour-day, Five-day-week objective, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor enlist the support of the entire labor movement in a nationwide campaign for the establishment of the Six-hour-day Five-day-week, with wages based on the Forty-hour-week wage rate.

Referred to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

IBEW-BUILDING SERVICE-BAKERS VS. PAINTERS

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

WHEREAS, Thousands of Painters in the Greater New York area are members of Labor Unions such as Local Union No. 3 of the Electricians Local 32-b of the Building Service, the Bakers Union, etc., and

WHEREAS, These Painters in every instance do not receive the prevailing rate of wages of our Brotherhood in New York City which constitutes a serious threat to our wage scale, and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 73rd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, California, be instructed to take this matter up and call upon all affiliated Unions of the A. F. of L. to transfer the painters in their ranks to our Brotherhood where they rightfully belong.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates James A. Campbell, Henrietta E. Olding, I. W. Kirkpatrick, American Federation of Government Employees.

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Los Angeles, California, pledge its support to the affiliated organizations in the Government Employees' Council of the American Federation of Labor and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to support the following legislation for that purpose:

1. Immediate base pay increase for all Federal and District of Columbia employees to conform to rising living costs, wage rates in private industry, increased employee efficiency and productivity.

2. Enactment of employee-management relations legislation for Federal employee groups.

3. Hospital and medical insurance program for Federal employees with employee representation in administration of plan.

4. Establishment of independent boards of appeal with employee membership to make binding decisions on all adverse personnel actions.

5. Overtime compensation for all hours worked in excess of eight in any work day; elimination of compensatory time; time and one-half for all Saturday work; double time for Sunday work; establishment of a thirty-two hour week in any calendar week containing a holiday; retention of present overtime benefits where they exceed minimum outlined above.

6. Optional retirement at full annuity regardless of age after thirty years of service; a more liberal determination of hazardous occupations for retirement purposes; increasing elements in retirement formulas in computing amount of annuity.

7. Development of Government-wide promotion standards; promotion from within agency wherever practicable; recognition of seniority in this and other personnel actions; employee representation in competitive promotion process.

8. Prompt issuance of realistic classification standards and revision of classification laws to insure sound application to all affected positions.

9. Union representation on area and departmental wage boards.

10. Restoration of 26 days' annual leave and 15 days' sick leave for all Federal employees with right to accumulate up to 60 days' annual leave.

11. Increase travel allowance to $15.00 per day for employees in travel status and 12 cents per mile for official use of privately-owned automobiles.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 100—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The policy of the Federal Government, as enunciated by the Wagner Labor Relations Act, is clearly in support of collective bargaining by representatives of your own choice, and

WHEREAS, The Taft-Hartley Act does not revoke this principle, and

WHEREAS, Elections amongst employees have shown that they favor collective bargaining and the fact that labor has 20,000,000 enrolled members bears witness to their desires, and

WHEREAS, The National Administration has created an atmosphere of doubt as to this policy by packing the National Labor Relations Board with representatives who have a past record of hostility to labor, and

WHEREAS, Elements in the various States who would like to carry us back to mid-Victorian days in labor relations have drafted so-called "Right to Work Laws," and

WHEREAS, They should be called "Right to Scab Laws," therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record as opposing this type of legislation as punitive and undesirable.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PROHIBITING MILITARY PERSONNEL REPLACING CIVILIAN WORKMEN

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The use of enlisted military personnel on work regularly performed by craftsmen of all branches of labor has created an untenable situation, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has promised in speeches before International Conventions of organized labor (and was so quoted by Admiral Holderness at the International Convention of the Metal Trades Department at St. Louis) that military personnel will not be used to replace civilian personnel, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department is assigning more and more work to sailors under the guise of training and the civilian work force is being reduced at military establishments all over the country, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a law be passed in Congress prohibiting overhaul and repair work being done by military personnel in Government establishments while the United States Bureau of Employment Security reports critical employment conditions in any labor area, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution, upon approval of the delegates to this 73rd annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, be presented to the International Conventions of the Metal Trades Department and all affiliated International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

WHEREAS, The Social Security Act was designed to provide an insured worker a measure of economic security upon retirement, and

WHEREAS, A worker who retires at 65 must adjust to a lower standard of living made more acute if his spouse is living, and

WHEREAS, The Act anticipated this problem by providing an additional monthly payment of one-half his pension when his spouse reaches 65, and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board has recommended that the Act be amended to provide coverage for the spouse of an insured worker at age 60, and

WHEREAS, Sound underwriters have testified that this can be undertaken with Safety, and

WHEREAS, Statistics show conclusively that a man's spouse is generally two to five years younger than he, and

WHEREAS, If the spouse became eligible at 60, it would then provide a retiring worker an increase of 50 per cent above his pension which would allow him to enjoy a better standard of living, and

WHEREAS, This is a desirable objective, be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this Convention endorse the proposal and recommend that this resolution be submitted to the Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, Many working men are forced to retire because of illness before they have reached the age of 65 and are ineligible to Social Security pension benefits, and

WHEREAS, Statistics show that the average working man lives only a few years beyond the present retirement age, and

WHEREAS, Most working men, because of the limited old age benefits find it necessary to wait until their wives become eligible before they make application for Social Security benefits, and

WHEREAS, There is a bill in the House of Representatives, H. R. 1922, which humanizes the Social Security provisions and makes benefits eligible at the age 60 for men and 55 for women, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorses H. R. 1922 and urges local unions to canvass their Congressmen and candidates for Congress seeking support for passage of this bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, So-called "right to work" laws now cover one-third of this nation, having been adopted in the following 16 states:

Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, No. Carolina, No. Dakota, So. Carolina, So. Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and

WHEREAS, Five other states—Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—have laws that restrict union security, and the legislatures in other states not yet affected have considered such legislation, and

WHEREAS, It is quite apparent that large national anti-labor groups are pushing a systematic program of attacking organized labor through the various state legislatures, and have already succeeded in crippling the effectiveness of the trade union movement in those states which have already passed "right to work" laws, and

WHEREAS, "Right to work" laws have been properly branded as "right to scab" laws, because they prevent unions from negotiating any form of union security, guarantee the right of free riders to work in unionized shops, and ultimately break down union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The powerful anti-labor outfits that are spearheading this campaign in the state legislatures have taken on the trade union movement in those states where organized labor is weak, and these groups have already been so successful on the state level that they are virtually decimating the labor movement through these tactics and are succeeding in an insidious national plan to destroy organized labor by means of the state legislatures, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Convention in Los Angeles, call for the launching of a powerful counter-attack on these vicious "right to work" laws in the 16 states where they already exist, and for a vigorous program that will head off the passage of such infamous legislation in other states, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to implement such a program we call for the adoption of the following procedures:

1. Set up at once a national American Federation of Labor steering committee to study the existing legislation and keep abreast of efforts to institute such legislation in the various state legislatures;

2. Establish a campaign fund to carry out the purposes of this resolution by means of contributions to the American Federation of Labor by the various International Unions, it being suggested and proposed that the basis of this contribution could be 10c per member from each of the International Unions;

3. Utilize the funds so raised to fight for repeal of all "right to work" legislation and to launch a full scale publicity campaign in each state toward the end of accomplishing such repeal, either through referendum votes of the people or by legislative activities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ORDINANCE PROHIBITING DOOR-TO-DOOR SELLING

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C.

Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, More than 20 years ago the first "Green River" Ordinance, which prohibits door-to-door selling, thereby striking a serious blow at the heart of the free enterprise system was adopted in Green River, Wyo., and

WHEREAS, Widespread prohibition of door-to-door selling jeopardizes not only the livelihood of thousands of printing trades workers, but hundreds of thousands of other workers, and

WHEREAS, This Ordinance will have a harmful effect on this nation's seven and one-half billion dollar direct-selling industry, and

WHEREAS, So long as the United States has existed, selling at the door has been a fundamental part of the development and preservation of our way of economic life, and

WHEREAS, Many similar restrictive ordinances are being introduced throughout the nation under the guise of licensed ordinances to control peddlers, and

WHEREAS, This law or similar restrictive types of ordinances which have been adopted by several hundred communities, constitutes a threat to the nation's economy, and

WHEREAS, Scores of communities have stopped, defeated or tabled the "Green River" Ordinance and the Courts of 18 states have condemned this measure as unconstitutional and unduly restrictive to trade, and

WHEREAS, This un-American type ordinance has been condemned by many church leaders of all denominations, newspapers, civic organizations, industry and labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, The "Green River" Ordinance, since it is primarily aimed at the house-to-house soliciting or selling of magazines, newspapers, encyclopedias, etc., strikes at the very foundation of the freedom of the press, by subjecting it to license and censorship, and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of such ordinances, is also an impossibility, due to the enormity of the field which must be policed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as condemning the "Green River" type ordinance or any similar type ordinance which hampers, restricts or prohibits house-to-house selling, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its officers to use every means at their command to urge all subordinate unions to oppose this Ordinance wherever it is introduced in their cities or towns.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LLPE SUPPORT

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The rights of organized labor have been dangerously curtailed by legislation passed by Congress and the legislatures of most of the states, and

WHEREAS, The living standards of the working people of this country are under constant attack by taxes, both hidden and open, and

WHEREAS, The "special interests" are represented in Congress and the state and local governments far out of proportion to their numerical size, and

WHEREAS, Labor's League for Political Education has as its purpose the defense and advancement of labor's interests on the political front, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention recognizes that the primary task of LLPE should be the endorsing and/or designating of candidates for Congress and state legislatures on a pro-labor platform, and the building up of ward and precinct organizations in every part of the country utilizing every union member, and enlisting the aid of friends of labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention calls upon all members of the American Federation of Labor to participate in LLPE activity on a year 'round basis in their chapels, their communities, and in cooperation with other unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

WHEREAS, The critical unemployment areas are on the increase throughout the land constituting a threat to the security and welfare of our Union, and

WHEREAS, The tremendous rise in the cost of living has cut decisively into our standard of living, and

WHEREAS, New processes of printing are threatening to shrink the work force in many of our jurisdictions, and

WHEREAS, There is a great need for the labor movement to boldly meet this threat, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse a program for a shorter work week on a national scale.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

PERMANENT A. F. OF L. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The development of atomic energy to date has brought to the American people and to the world new responsibilities; and

WHEREAS, The future development of atomic energy is important to the members of the trade union movement, both as workers, producers, consumers, and citizens; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that both national security and public interest in the development of this energy is kept uppermost; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as being in favor of the creation of a permanent committee on atomic energy of not less than five members, and that either the President of the American Federation of Labor, or a member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., serve as chairman, and that the purpose of this committee being to keep abreast of developments of atomic energy, to the end that the membership of the A. F. of L. may be kept fully advised.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

APPRENTICESHIP

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship, being one of the most important Government agencies rendering service to our labor movement has again curtailed its activities by closing 31 of its field offices, and

WHEREAS, Appropriations to this Bureau have been greatly reduced, and

WHEREAS, This curtailment will decrease the efficiency of our potential skilled mechanics of our great labor movement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a strong protest be registered by the American Federation of Labor with the Department of Labor and the members of the Senate and Congress with regard to the reduction of appropriations and the closing of its field offices.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SHIPBUILDING

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Nearly 100 per cent of all Government shipbuilding contracts are let to yards in the East, South, Great Lakes ports and Europe, while at the same time California skilled shipyard workers are unemployed and unable to properly care for their families, and

WHEREAS, California ports are noted for their vast supply of skilled manpower, ideal weather conditions, and shipyard management, noted for their ability to build the type of vessel that will remain in service and properly do the job, and

WHEREAS, Sufficient Government shipbuilding should be allotted to California ports to maintain work opportunities for the thousands of skilled shipyard journeymen available to the area, and

WHEREAS, Our Government has spent $237,000,000.00 (237 million) for the construction of small vessels in European shipyards while our United States, and particularly California shipbuilding industry, is in a distressed condition, and

WHEREAS, These small vessels should have been built in the United States and then given to the foreign countries under NATO. This was done in some instances and hence could have been done in all instances, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Los Angeles, California, repudiate the actions of our present administration, and the off-shore procurement program that has been instrumental in sabotaging the shipbuilding industry in the United States, and particularly in California. We recommend all possible support to a united program protesting foreign shipbuilding, and a program that will aid shipbuilding in the United States, and that will allot to California ports her proportionate share of such shipbuilding, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention in Los Angeles, California use every means at their command to secure the full support of the A. F. of L. in a program protesting foreign shipbuilding, and a program that will aid shipbuilding in the United States, and that will allot to California ports her proportionate share of such shipbuilding.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

RIGHT TO WORK

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There has been a succession of state laws designed to control trade unions and affect their membership by prescribing conditions under which workers may be employed, and

WHEREAS, The so-called "right to work" laws are being used to implement on a state level the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, and if permitted to increase and remain in effect, will result in different laws governing labor in all of the respective states, and

WHEREAS, These laws have been, and are being, used to destroy the effectiveness of trade unions, and there will be an increase of confusion on the part of the trade union membership of each state to resist their enactment wherever they be proposed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as advocating the repeal of such laws in each state where they have been enacted, and increased opposition to their adoption in every state, and that cooperative action be taken by the trade union movement in the resistance to the passage of such laws, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution, also that the A. F. of L. call upon each affiliated International Union to contribute of its finances and all resources at their disposal in the combatting of the state "right to work" laws.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The problems and needs of our 38,000,000 handicapped citizens, including the blind, partially sighted, deaf, hard of hearing, amputees, arthritics, cardiacs, cerebral palsied, diabetics, epileptics, victims of muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, osteomyelitis, poliomyelitis, rheumatism, congenital defects

and deformities and other injuries and diseases constitute one of our Nation's gravest problems, and

WHEREAS, Organized Labor initiated, and has consistently fought for programs to advance the welfare of all workers, and 34 years ago the American Federation of Labor was chiefly responsible for establishing the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation program, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, an organization composed primarily of physically handicapped people, with national headquarters at 1370 National Press Bldg., Washington 4, D.C., for the past 14 years has spearheaded all activities beneficial to handicapped, and has had official endorsement of Organized Labor, and has many eminent leaders of labor amongst its National Officers, and

WHEREAS, Said Federation's program includes establishment of a Federal Agency for Handicapped, and other measures which have been approved by all labor groups, and

WHEREAS, The 83d Congress, 2d Session, enacted a bill to expand the Federal-State Vocational Rehabilitation program, and the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped with close cooperation from its Labor allies, succeeded in amending this bill in major particulars, so that the entire program, roughly, will be expanded to more than three times its present scope, and

WHEREAS, To enable the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped to set up informational services, so that all Labor Organizations may know of benefits to their members, and to families of their members, as well as to carry on other phases of its overall program, will require approximately $250,000 for its annual budget, and urgently needs immediate financial assistance, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, Los Angeles, California, does hereby endorse the program of the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, particularly its bills to establish a Federal Agency for Handicapped, Tax Exemptions for Handicapped and Those Who Cannot Support Themselves, and such other measures as may develop, which are approved by official American Federation of Labor representatives ere introduction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention calls upon its constituent Labor bodies to lend legislative support, and, if possible, to make substantial contributions, financially, to AFPH; and that copies of this Resolution be sent to the press, all Members of the Executive Council, A. F. of L., and to all organizations and individuals at interest.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

COMPENSATION FOR LOSS OF HEARING CAUSED BY INDUSTRIAL HAZARDS

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, There are untold thousands of workers in industry ranging from the drop forge and boiler shops to the textile mills and lumber mills who are suffering from permanent damage to one of their most valued possessions, namely, their hearing, with little or no chance of recovery and little or no chance of compensation under existing Workmen's Compensation Laws, and

WHEREAS, Because of the lack of necessity for compensation payments, industry pays little heed to the situation and takes no steps to abate hearing damaging noise in the factories and mills so that the list of persons with permanent, partial and total hearing loss grows tremendously, and

WHEREAS, Loss of this important member of the senses subjects the person to greater danger to life and limb, deprives him of many of the enjoyments of social and family life and creates for him much embarrassment in his daily associations, and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers has conducted wide studies in this matter and has taken official action at its last Convention to vigorously promote legislative enactment in all States to provide corrective and compensatory measures, realizing full well that the cost of compensation will compel employers to institute noise abatement programs and engineering processes that will conserve the hearing of millions of workers, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled take official cognizance of this serious situation, by instituting a national movement of corrective and compensatory legislation and by taking such steps as may be deemed expedient to compel noise abatement programs in industry, and be it further

RESOLVED, that copies of this Resolution be supplied to all State Federations of Labor and International Unions with the urge that these Organizations exert their utmost influence to bring about accomplishment of the purposes of this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SAFETY

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The fifteen thousand deaths and two million occupational injuries suffered by workers each year is a matter of vital concern not only to workers and their families but also to the national economy, and

WHEREAS, Every effort should be made to conserve our human resources by curbing the great toll of unnecessary accidents and thereby eliminating suffering and costs, and

WHEREAS, Active participation by unions in safety programs and in joint labor-management safety committees has demonstrated its effectiveness in reducing the accident toll, and

WHEREAS, The Bureau of Labor Standards through the organization of the President's Conference on Occupational Safety and through its safety training programs and its special industry drives has given much needed leadership to the accident prevention movement, and

WHEREAS, The services of the Bureau to the States, to the unions and management must be greatly extended to secure maximum results; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon the Congress of the United States to appropriate sufficient funds to the Bureau of Labor Standards to expand its safety activities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the President to continue his Conference on Occupational Safety to stimulate accident prevention efforts, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as recommending to all affiliated unions that they establish safety programs, that they provide for labor-management safety committees in all future contracts with employers and that they urge their respective locals to actively support safety programs in their workplaces and communities.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, Unemployment is no respector of State boundaries but is a national problem, requiring vigorous Federal action for an effective remedy, with equal consideration for the needs and interests of all American workers, and

WHEREAS, The maintenance of a strong and adequate system of unemployment insurance, as the first line of defense against economic depression, is the proper responsibility of the Federal Government, and

WHEREAS, Under the control of State Governments, the unemployment insurance system is being administered in such a way that the experience rating tax interests of corporations are given primary consideration, at the expense of jobless workers and their families, and

WHEREAS, As a result insurance benefits have fallen far behind living costs and wage scales and, through the introduction of unfair disqualification devices, are being unjustly and arbitrarily denied to increasing numbers of workers who lose their jobs through no fault or choice of their own, and

WHEREAS, Many State administrators, through their lobbying organization, have allied themselves with the representations of large employing interests in order to defeat remedial legislation and to promote legislation destructive of the Federal role in the administration of the employment security system, and

WHEREAS, The unemployment insurance system has become so enfeebled as to raise serious questions as to its ability to withstand a prolonged siege of unemployment, and

WHEREAS, Empty, unenforceable appeals —such as were contained in the Secretary of Labor's letter to State Governors—have been ignored or rejected, and have conspicuously failed to bring about any significant improvement in our unemployment insurance laws, now therefore be it,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, declare its support for the establishment of a unified national system of unemployment insurance, administered by the U. S. Department of Labor, and be it further

RESOLVED, That, pending the establishment of such a system, the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge the adoption by the Congress of legislation establishing minimum national standards to govern the level and duration of unemployment insurance benefits and eligibility for benefits, and an improved system of financing, as proposed in a bill (H.R. 9430) introduced under the joint sponsorship of more than 80 members of the House and Senate in the last session of the 83rd Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

ENLISTED PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Dept., A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The use of enlisted military personnel on work regularly performed by craftsmen of all branches of labor has created an untenable situation, and

WHEREAS, The Secretary of the Navy has promised in speeches before International conventions of organized labor (and was so quoted by Admiral Holderness at the International convention of the Metal Trades Department at St. Louis, Mo.), that military personnel will not be used to replace civilian personnel, and

WHEREAS, The Navy Department is assigning more and more work to sailors under the guise of training and the civilian work force is being reduced at military establishments all over the country, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a law be passed in Congress prohibiting overhaul and repair work being done by military personnel in Government establishments while the United States Bureau of Employment Security reports critical employment conditions in any labor area, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled approve of this resolution, and the proper steps be taken to correct this situation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

APPRENTICE TRAINING APPROPRIATIONS

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

WHEREAS, The Department of Defense is among the largest employers of skilled artisans, and

WHEREAS, The apprentice program as now conducted will not meet the needs in many activities, either because of the absence of training programs, or the lack of foresight as to the number of artisans required in certain trades and crafts, and

WHEREAS, Some activities are affected by reductions in force more than others, and apprentices who are trained at great expense to the taxpayers are discharged upon graduation, and

WHEREAS, The cost of training these apprentices reflects on the overall appropriation of the individual activities, and in many cases causes reduction in either the training program or reflects in the production by caus-

ing a reduction in force of other employees, and

WHEREAS, The Department of Defense should, as a security measure, and as an economic necessity to help conserve the taxpayers' investment in the training of apprentices, strive to retain this valuable source of trained artisans in Government employment where the benefits of their training can be utilized, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention adopt this resolution, and through its Legislative Committee strive to have Congress allow a separate appropriation for apprentice training, and separate personnel ceilings be set for training instructors and apprentices, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Department of Defense cause to have created a program where apprentices will be offered employment in other activities if conditions in their training activity prohibit their retention, and if employment is not available within the Department of Defense, that the Department strive to find employment for these graduates in outside industries having Government contracts.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

CHARTER METAL MINING, SMELTING AND REFINERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, There are at the present time three unions, either representing or attempting to organize employees in the metal mining, smelting and refining industry, and

WHEREAS, These employees, organized in American Federation of Labor unions are not represented officially by a central organization, but are members of Federal Labor Unions, and

WHEREAS, It is believed that it would be to the interest of employees in the smelting, metal mining and refining industry, members of American Federation of Labor unions, to be organized into either an International Union, or a mining, smelting and refining council, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as supporting the issuance of a charter by the American Federation of Labor of metal miners, smeltermen and refinermen's council, similar to those councils instituted for the Sugar Workers and Aluminum Workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That any charter issued in the Metal Mining industry, must be so limited that the interests of the established craft unions shall at all times be recognized and protected, and with the further understanding that the term "refining" as called for in this resolution is to refer only to metal refining.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION-INDUSTRIES SHOW

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, AFL.

WHEREAS, The Union-Industries Show, sponsored and produced by the A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department, is organized labor's finest example of the harmonious relations that exist between our A. F. of L. unions and their "fair" employers, and

WHEREAS, This annual exhibition furnishes graphic proof of the many benefits which these harmonious relations bring to employer and employee as well as to the general public, and

WHEREAS, These Union-Industries Shows have continued each year to grow in size and quality and have received more and more favorable public acclaim, and

WHEREAS, Participation in this all-union display of A. F. of L. craftsmanship and service is limited to A. F. of L. national and international unions and to the employers whom they invite, and

WHEREAS, Benefits which accrue from participation in this annual exhibition are enjoyed by all A. F. of L. members, their families and friends, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be encouraged to make every effort to take part in each of these shows, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged to invite their "fair" employers to participate in these exhibitions.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

AFFILIATION OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS WITH UNION LABEL COUNCILS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, Many Federal Labor Unions, directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, produce products that are identified by the official A. F. of L. Union Label or by emblems of their own design approved by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department has many times had the pleasure of cooperating with these A. F. of L. Federal Labor Unions in advising them concerning the best methods for the promotion of these particular union labels, and

WHEREAS, These A. F. of L. Federal Labor Unions can best bring about the success of their efforts to promote these particular union labels as well as those of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by affiliating with Union Label Councils chartered by the A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge each Federal Labor Union chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with and become a part of the Union Label Council in its respective area.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department, throughout each year, conducts continuing campaigns designed to organize the efforts of all A. F. of L. members and their families and friends in helping bring about a greater demand for Union Label products and for Union services, and

WHEREAS, The promotional campaigns of this Department each year reach a peak in the observance and celebration of Union Label Week, and

WHEREAS, This period has year by year gained more national recognition and produced greater results at the local level, and

WHEREAS, This year's Union Label Week celebration, September 6-12, was officially proclaimed by governors and mayors throughout the land and was by far a more successful Union Label Week than any previously scheduled, and

WHEREAS, The 46th annual convention of the A. F. of L. Union Label and Service Trades Department officially set aside the period of September 5 through 11 as Union Label Week for 1955, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, also designate the period September 5 through 11 as Union Label Week for 1955 and call on all its affiliated organizations to lend their cooperation and support to this observance.

Referred to the Committee on Labels.

AFFILIATION WITH UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The primary purpose of the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor is to organize the buying power of all AFL members through the creation of a greater demand for products bearing the Union Label and for labor performed by union workers, and

WHEREAS, Other objectives of this Department include that of educating members of trade unions, their families and the general public upon the economic, social and moral uplift furthered by the trade union movement and to bring about a more universal prosperity for all, and

WHEREAS, This Department throughout the years continued to grow and to expand a program which is directed toward the effective and successful accomplishments of these objectives, and

WHEREAS, The outstanding progress which this Department has realized in its field of endeavor has been brought out through the efforts of the national and international unions affiliated with the Department, and

WHEREAS, Only fifty-nine of the one hundred and ten national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are affiliated with this Department, and

WHEREAS, All members of all national and international unions as well as the thousands of unorganized workers in this land of ours reap the fine benefits brought about by the effective promotion of the Union Label, and

WHEREAS, the officers and leaders of every A. F. L. national and international union fully realize the importance of concerted and united effort in all organizing activities—whether it be the organizing of men or of dollars, and

WHEREAS, In convention assembled, the national and international unions affiliated with the Union Label and Service Trades Department have extended a hearty and urgent invitation to those unaffiliated national and international unions to become a part of the Department and to lend their full cooperation and support to its programs and activities, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urge that all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor affiliate with the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The world yearns for FREEDOM: FREEDOM with HONOR, and

WHEREAS, The partition of Ireland continues to constitute a danger to world freedom, by obstructing the essential unity of the western free democracies, and

WHEREAS, Any demand for the ending of partition in Germany, Korea, or elsewhere seems hypocritical while we ignore the unjust partition of a friendly nation by one of our allies, and

WHEREAS, There is undeniable proof that people are subjected to house search without warrant, arrest without charge, imprisonment without trial, and that the loyal citizens of a free republic are penalized for displaying the tricolor of Ireland, the emblem of their Republic, or speaking their native Irish language, as well as being denied public housing facilities and gainful employment, and

WHEREAS, The economic, cultural, social and national development of the Irish Nation is stalemated by this unjust partition which isolates a small but strategically and traditionally important nation (where Communism is unknown and whose integrity and fortitude are unquestioned), thus forcing that nation to be neutral, and

WHEREAS, Great Britain continues to give aid and comfort to Communist aggression by continuing the same kind of aggression in six of the thirty-two counties of Partitioned Ireland, and

WHEREAS, Because of its strategic location and the proven merit of its people, a free and united Irish nation could play a part in the family of Western nations out of all proportion to its size or population, be it hereby

RESOLVED, That we request the President of the United States of America, the Secretary of State, our Congress, and Senate to demand that Great Britain withdraw ALL of her forces including her armed garrisons from Northeast Ireland, so that the Republic of Ireland shall consist of the whole island of Ireland, unless a free plebiscite of the Irish people decide otherwise, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we direct our delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention of 1954 to again seek the support of the American Federation of Labor and to ask our representatives in the International Labor Office and the United Nations to seek a permanent solution to the Partition of Ireland.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TO AMEND THE HOBBS ACT

Resolution No. 124—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffman, R. Alvin Albarino, George Bucher, Reed J. Stoney, and Tony Remshardt, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The legislative history of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1951, popularly known as the "Hobbs Act," shows conclusively that the Act was intended by Congress to curtail and render more difficult the activities of predatory criminal gangs, of the Kelly and Dillinger types, and

WHEREAS, that legislative history further shows that Congress did not intend that the Act should be used to hamper, interfere with or restrain in any way legitimate activities of labor unions, and their officers and agents directed toward proper, union objectives, and

WHEREAS, notwithstanding such legislative history and intent, union officers and members have been indicted and/or convicted under the Hobbs Act for engaging in activities which had always been considered as being in furtherance of proper union aims and objectives, and

WHEREAS, a glaring example of the misinterpretation of the purposes of said Act is United States v. Kemble, 198 F. 2d 889, in which one Aaron Kemble, business agent for Teamsters Local 676 of Camden, New Jersey, was indicted, prosecuted and convicted under said Act, because, in the exercise of his duties as such business agent, he sought to induce the employment by a trucking concern of a competent union helper to do the unloading of said truck, and in so doing uttered a threat to the driver and someone let air out of his tires, and

WHEREAS, in said prosecution, the Government conceded that no inference could be drawn that either the union or Kemble was interested in "protection money" from the trucking concern, but took the position, concurred in by the majority of the Court, that even though the purposes of Kemble were to secure work for members of his union, he would still be guilty under the Hobbs Act if the demand was accompanied by any violence or threats, and

WHEREAS, In the majority opinion issued in the Kemble case, it is inferred that in proper cases there might be a violation of the Hobbs Act if coercion is involved in the normal demand for wages as compensation for services desired by or valuable to the employer; for example, a strike for higher wages, and

WHEREAS, In a dissenting opinion issued in the Kemble case, Judge McLaughlin pointed out that the prosecution arose from a reputable union's genuine attempt to organize a trucking corporation, and that the sole purpose of Kemble was to procure work for capable union men, whereas the Hobbs Act was directed at blackmail and racketeering, and he further held that if violence occurred in connection with legitimate union activities, such violence or other misconduct should be left to state supervision, and

WHEREAS, In a separate dissenting opinion issued in the same case, Judge Staley pointed out that if the majority opinion were sound, a union and its officers and members, who struck in violation of a no-strike clause or who were engaged in a strike and picketing for any unlawful purpose, could be indicted, prosecuted and convicted under the Hobbs Act because any strike constitutes the use of force to obtain property of another, and

WHEREAS, such construction of the Hobbs Act as was made by the majority court in the Kemble case encourages indictments and prosecutions of union officers, engaged in the pursuit of what have long been considered as proper union objectives, so that if such prosecutions and indictments are unchecked, it will probably result in officers and members of labor unions being reluctant to engage in any strikes or picketing where interstate commerce is involved, because of the possibility that the purpose thereof may be declared to be unlawful and because violence might ensue as tempers flare, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention declare that it deplores the interpretation of the Hobbs Act which has been made by our courts in cases such as the Kemble case, and calls upon Congress to so amend the Hobbs Act as to remove any possibility that officers or members may be indicted, and/or convicted under said Act for activities directed at what have traditionally been considered as proper union objectives, and that if violence, threats, coercion or intimidation occur in connection with attempts to carry out said proper union objectives, that regulation and prosecution therefor be left to the states under existing state statutes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ON ENDORSEMENT OF MEMORIAL FOR 1953 REVOLT OF BERLIN BUILDING WORKERS AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, R. Alvin Albarino, George Bucher, Reed Stoney and Tony Remshardt, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The June 17, 1953, revolt of the German Workers of the East Zone of Germany and Eastern Europe against Communist tyranny, was led off by the revolt of our German fellow-workers of the building trades in East Berlin, and

WHEREAS, This revolt was unique in the annals of the struggle for trade union rights and general human liberties because it was first an open demonstration of bare-handed workers against the armed forces of modern totalitarian tyranny, and

WHEREAS, The date of this revolt gives the entire free trade union movement of the world a common anniversary to honor and observe, and

WHEREAS, A group of churchmen and private citizens known as the Foundation for Religious Action has on its own motion secured action of the Town Council of Berlin, New Hampshire, to set aside a town site for a memorial to the revolt of the Berlin German workers and has undertaken to raise funds for such memorial by private subscription, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends that the Executive Council should investigate the desirability and the possibility of recommending to the generosity of our affiliated organizations, the support of this Berlin Workers' International Memorial project of the Foundation for Religious Action, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention highly commend the action of the President of this Federation in marking the first Anniversary of the Berlin Revolt, this June 17, 1954, with an international radio broadcast to the Free World and recommend that this and other suitable observance by the American Federation of Labor be continued as long as the Communist tyranny in East Germany and Eastern Europe continues.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

URGING A MOBILIZATION OF LABOR FORCES FOR THE COMING CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, Two years of Republican rule in Washington have demonstrated that the forces of reaction which that party represents, and from whose ranks have been drawn the men now in charge of virtually every branch of our Government, are pursuing the same philosophy of government which brought our nation to the brink of economic disaster prior to the New Deal, and

WHEREAS, The present administration has been guilty of many crimes of omission and commission, among which may be cited its failure to redeem various promises made during the Presidential campaign two years ago and particularly the promise to remove the union-busting provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act; its give-away of natural resources valued at many billions of dollars; its refusal to accord the lower income groups of our population a proportionate share of the benefits of its tax reduction legislation; the adoption of economic policies which have already resulted in a loss of millions of jobs and reduced employment and earnings for millions of other workers; the refusal to enact even a limited housing program for the benefit of the low income groups; and the stacking of government agencies, including the National Labor Relations Board, with persons who are opposed to the laws they are charged to execute, and

WHEREAS, There is a grave danger that the nation will be faced with a major economic catastrophe unless government of, by and for big business is brought to an end and the control of our destinies is turned back to representatives who are committed to the doctrine that there can be no prosperity for the nation as a whole unless there is full employment and a high standard of living for the masses of our people, and that it is the responsibility and function of Government to lay the basis for such prosperity and higher standards of living by enacting appropriate labor and social legislation, and

WHEREAS, The Congressional elections this November will give the electorate the first opportunity they have had since 1952 to recapture some of the ground which has been lost and to return our Government to its people, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor, calls upon all of its affiliates to take extraordinary measures to mobilize their many millions of members for effective political action, which should include the registration of many millions of workers who in the past have lost their vote because they failed to register; the raising of funds that will enable Labor's League for Political Education to assist candidates for the United States Senate, the House of Representatives, and other elective offices who are committed to the support of labor's objectives; and the strengthening of the machinery which Labor's League for Political Education has created in order that labor may exert the political influence commensurate with its economic strength.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

ON THE MIGRATION OF INDUSTRY TO LOW-WAGE AREAS

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Navaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

WHEREAS, The migration of industry from the North, which migration has grown steadily during recent years, converting many once flourishing cities into ghost towns, leaving many hundreds of thousands of workers unemployed and bringing grave hardships to their families, has been due primarily to a desire on the part of the employers to operate under non-union conditions, pay low wages, and otherwise enjoy the right to exploit the workers, and

WHEREAS, The competitive advantage which the newly-established industrial low-wage areas enjoy by virtue of their lower labor costs and their unrestricted right to dictate terms and conditions of employment not only ruins the lives and homes of the workers in the cities and towns from which the industries have fled but also makes it impossible for employers committed to the maintenance of decent wage standards and the preservation of enlightened collective bargaining to observe the standards they have established and sooner or later compels them to resort to either an abandonment of those standards, a liquidation of their businesses, or a similar removal of their plants to low-wage areas, and

WHEREAS, The inevitable effect of this migration of industry, unless halted, will be to endanger our entire economy, for it cannot survive and prosper unless the nation as a whole has a purchasing power greatly in ex-

cess of what is possible when millions of people are left without jobs and millions of others are compelled to work for wages which were set as a minimum but which in many localities have actually become a maximum, and

WHEREAS, The migration of industry, and the injury which it has brought to our nation, are the result not only of policies pursued by communities which are engaged in a concerted effort to entice industries into their localities, regardless of the effect which it may have on our economy as a whole, but also of policies sponsored and encouraged by our Federal Government, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it call upon the Congress of the United States to adopt a program which will halt the migration of industry to low-wage and non-union areas by enacting a series of measures which would:

1. Amend the Taft-Hartley Act by eliminating the provision which now permits states to prohibit union shop contracts, under which provision sixteen states have already enacted so-called "right-to-work" laws which assure employers settling in those states that they will be able to operate under non-union conditions,

2. Increase the national wage minimum from 75c an hour to $1.25 an hour in order to reduce the wage differential between various areas, and eliminate the 1952 Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act which has impeded the efforts of workers to secure higher wage minima where Government contracts are involved, and

3. Restrict the issuance of tax exempt securities such as are now being used by numerous communities for the purpose of financing the erection of low-cost industrial properties as an inducement to industries to settle in those communities.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' SALARIES

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates representing organizations in the Government Employees Council.

WHEREAS, The salaries of employees of the Federal Government have historically lagged behind the cost of living, reducing such employees to a state of want in many instances, and

WHEREAS, The last increase granted to these faithful employees in July of 1951 was not then commensurate with their demonstrated needs, which tends further to aggravate their present unfortunate situation, and

WHEREAS, The Eighty-Third Congress, after protracted consideration in the closing days of the second session, passed and sent to the White House a bill, H. R. 7774, providing an extremely modest though totally inadequate salary increase for these employees, only to have such bill given a pocket veto by the President of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The reasons given for the action of The President in withholding his approval present concrete evidence that the President was deliberately misinformed and ill-advised on this subject by those in whom he placed confidence, and

WHEREAS, The evidence is conclusive that the present national administration deliberately and with full knowledge of the certain results of its actions, stalled, delayed, procrastinated, and in other manners impeded and encumbered salary legislation in an effort to prevent, forestall or delay its enactment, and

WHEREAS, Despite all the pious pronouncements concerning the devotion and dedication to merit principles allegedly espoused by the present administration, the actions of its administrators have consistently been directly in opposition to those basic requirements of a sound civil service system such as adequate salaries, and a recognition of the dignity of those employed by our Federal Government, and

WHEREAS, In the recent effort to enact necessary salary legislation these politically appointed administrators have on all possible occasions used every parliamentary device, every ruse, every trick, to erect barriers and smokescreens to confuse and befuddle not only the employees but the Congess and the American people as well, by dragging into the salary question such extraneous matters as postal rates and postal reclassification, as well as minor so-called "fringe benefits," such as insurance and hospitalization, all of which employees could readily purchase for themselves if they were properly compensated, and

WHEREAS, The failure to approve the modest bill passed by the second session of the Eighty-Third Congress has forestalled the efforts of the overwhelming majority of the members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States to provide a greatly needed and well justified salary increase for postal and Federal employees, and

WHEREAS, No question of postal rates or taxes can be germane to the question of a proper salary for the employees of our Federal Government, now, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Los Angeles, California, September 20-25, 1954, that we pledge a continuation of our efforts in behalf of just and equitable treatment for Postal and Federal employees and that we hereby instruct the Executive Council to support the efforts of the Government Employees Council and the affiliated organizations of postal and other Government employees to obtain an adequate and permanent salary increase in an amount to be determined by them, on the basis of the demonstrated needs of such employees including recognition of the employees' acknowledged increased productivity and without consideration of extraneous matters which are not germane to the salary question, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the members of the 84th Congress which will convene on January 5, 1955, to make this matter an early order of business to the end that justice will not longer be denied these loyal and faithful servants of our nation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

TO AMEND FEDERAL EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT ACT

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates from Organizations in Government Employees Council.

WHEREAS, The Federal Retirement System is long overdue for liberalization and modifi-

cation to keep abreast of the times, therefore be it

RESOLVED That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Los Angeles, California, vigorously support legislation to amend the Federal Employee Retirement Act, to allow optional retirement after thirty years of service regardless of age. Also to amend the Federal Employee Retirement Act in the computing of annuities, and use the formula as provided for in Public Law 303 of the 83rd Congress, that computes the annuities of members of the Congress and employees in the Legislative Branch.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

PROTESTING UNAUTHORIZED USE OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION IN DISMISSAL OF TEACHERS

Resolution No. 130—By Delegate Denver Trades and Labor Assembly.

WHEREAS, The strengthening of democracy in education is fundamental to the sound functioning of our free Public School System, and

WHEREAS, Continued insecurity of teachers, both as to their academic and economic rights, weakens rather than fosters the teaching of democratic ideals and the practice of democracy in school administration, and

WHEREAS, During the past year, in particular, teachers have been dismissed by local Boards of Education on the basis of allegations, hearsay, and anonymous charges without being permitted the right to have a hearing or to face their accusers, even when the so-called charges had no bearing on their teaching in the classroom; and

WHEREAS, The Chairman of the National Governor's Conference, Governor Dan Thornton of Colorado, has passed on allegations about the political activity of teachers in his own state and has indicated that Governors in all states have sought, through the Conference, information from confidential files of agencies under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The many sub-standard teachers employed in our Public Schools are the result of this continuing attack against basic constitutional rights of all citizens—the right to have due process of law followed in determining the guilt or innocence of teachers anonymously accused of disloyal or other activities (including in many instances the right to join and form unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.);

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly, in regular meeting assembled on this 8th day of September, 1954, do respectfully urge the delegates to the Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor to protest the unauthorized use of confidential information under the jurisdiction of the Attorney General of the United States for the purpose of dismissing teachers without charges or hearings; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly do seek the full support of the American Federation of Labor and its officers in all States to provide for teachers the rights of receiving charges, having hearings, and answering to and questioning those who accuse said teachers of their respective fitness to seek and teach the truths in the classrooms of the Public Schools of our nation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. Rohrberg, Jas. Meehan, Jos. Clarke, Jas. Knoud, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

WHEREAS, The necessity for various changes in the Social Security Law have been recognized, and

WHEREAS, These changes can be made without seriously hurting the national economy, are practical and if enacted as law would benefit millions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record as recommending the following ten changes in the law:

1. Increase the benefits.
2. Raise moderately the Social Security Tax to pay for the benefits.
3. Let retired workers earn as much as they can or wish while still receiving benefits.
4. Provide some medical benefits.
5. Have a man's monthly check more clearly reflect the amount he has paid in Social Security.
6. Gear the pensions to a cost of living commodity dollar.
7. Revise the payments once every two years to take inflation or deflation into account.
8. Eliminate the Social Security Tax on a worker's earnings after the age of sixty-five.
9. Make the time of retirement flexible since many can not work to the age of sixty-five.
10. Put Social Security more nearly on a pay as you go basis leaving the present fund for emergency.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

FOR FREEDOM OF ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES

Resolution No. 132—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Julius Hochman, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, The ideals and the interests of the democratic and peace-loving peoples demand the extension of national independence, human rights, and economic and social progress without regard to color, creed, or continent, and

WHEREAS, Peoples of the colonial areas in every part of the globe should be in the ranks of the democracies, and

WHEREAS, The Moscow-Peiping agressionists have been making fanatical efforts to distort and control (in the interest of Communist imperialist world domination) the

legitimate and progressive aspirations of the various peoples now seeking full national freedom, and

WHEREAS, It is the traditional policy of our country to assist all peoples seeking freedom from every form of colonial domination and to champion the cause of national independence, be it

RESOLVED, By the Convention of the American Federation of Labor to commend the A. F. of L. Executive Council for its consistent and vigorous policy of encouraging and aiding all democratic national independence movements, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention urges the government of the United States to desist from rendering the slightest direct or indirect support to any government in its efforts to delay or deny full national freedom to colonial people under its rule and instead to bring to bear its fullest moral and material pressure on all countries now possessing colonies in Asia, Africa, or the Western Hemisphere for assuring these areas national freedom within a specified period of time.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

CHANGE OF CONVENTION DATES

The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor presently requires that the convention meet annually at 10 a.m. on the third Monday in September. It is our judgment that the work of the convention would be facilitated, and greater convenience to those participating in this work will be accomplished, if the convening date of the convention were changed from the third Monday in September to the third Thursday in September, beginning in the year 1955. We, therefore, recommend that this convention amend Article III, Section 1 of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor by deleting from the first sentence thereof the word "Monday" and substituting therefor the word "Thursday." This change will result in the convening of the next convention and each succeeding convention thereafter on the third Thursday in September.

Referred to Committee on Law.

REVISE THE McCARRAN-WALTER IMMIGRATION ACT

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Julius Hochman, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman.

WHEREAS, It is becoming increasingly evident that the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law, which Congress approved over President Truman's veto without sufficient study, is, in several of its provisions, discriminatory against individuals on account of their national origin, and

WHEREAS, The restrictions imposed against former members of totalitarian organizations, who since have become opponents of all dictatorship and are now for democracy, are detrimental to the interests of a free country like America, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor appeal to the President of the United States to act energetically to honor the pledges made during the 1952 election campaign for the elimination of the discriminatory clauses of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act by revising the present unsound and unjust quota system, by reestablishing equality for all citizens, both native and naturalized, before the law, and exempting from deportation and prosecution former members of totalitarian organizations who have proved, either as residents or citizens of the United States, that they have become valuable fighters for freedom and against all kinds of dictatorship.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION—EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

The Executive Council, in its report to the 1953 Convention, reported its action on the request of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America for an extension of jurisdiction over licensed engine-room personnel on self-propelled vessels; this extension of jurisdiction not to include engineers on floating equipment such as hydraulic dredges, pile drivers, sand suckers or any other floating equipment which is not self-propelling and which is within the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers.

As a result of the action by the 1953 Convention, this request for extended jurisdiction by the Masters, Mates and Pilots was referred back to the Executive Council until the question of jurisdiction could be further clarified. Such request for clarification was made by the officers of the Seafarers International Union.

As a result of conferences held with the officers of the Masters, Mates and Pilots and the Seafarers International Union, we wish to report that the Masters, Mates and Pilots have withdrawn their request for the extension of jurisdiction over this group of workers. The Executive Council has, therefore, granted the request of the Seafarers International Union for extension of jurisdiction covering all licensed engine-room personnel on board American-flag vessels that are self-propelled. This would not include jurisdiction over engineers on floating equipment such as hydraulic dredges, pile drivers, sand suckers or any other floating equipment which is not self-propelling and which is within the jurisdiction of the International Union of Operating Engineers, A. F. L.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council's Report.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Resolution No. 134—By Delegates Geo. M. Harrison, Phil Ziegler, J. H. Sylvester, Lyle McKinney, S. J. Rosborough, Floyd Rickets, R. V. Rachford, C. A. Post; Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

WHEREAS, The Railroad Retirement Board was created by the Congress of the United States with the full support of both major political parties for the purpose of administering a retirement and unemployment system for the benefit of hundreds of thousands of railroad workers and their dependents, and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States legislated that the Board employ and maintain all personnel under the merit system of Civil Service laws and rules, and

WHEREAS, The Railroad Retirement Board acts as an administrative trustee of funds derived from contributions levied upon railroad labor and industry for the sole benefit of railroad working men and their dependents, and

WHEREAS, The importance of the honest, faithful, expert and non-political administration of the railroad retirement and unemployment funds now amounting to billions of dollars and affecting the well being and security of a large segment of American laboring men and women and their dependents transcends the narrow welfare of any political party, and

WHEREAS, the Railroad Retirement Board has operated efficiently under the protection of the merit system of Civil Service, which has acted as a guarantee to railroad workers and their families that their funds would be adequately safeguarded and properly administered without regard to political fortunes, and

WHEREAS, On September 9, 1954, at the instigation of its recently appointed Chairman and over the vigorous opposition of the Railroad Labor Member, the Board voted to recommend to the Civil Service Commission that ten key administrative positions be removed from the protection of the merit system of Civil Service and be classified as positions to which persons can be appointed or removed without regard to requirements of the merit system of Civil Service, and

WHEREAS, the Labor Member of the Board has opposed this action on the ground that it would not only violate the intendment of Congress of the United States in enacting the railroad retirement and unemployment legislation but also because of the danger of the introduction of partisan political administration of trust funds belonging to hundreds of thousands of railroad laboring men and women,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that this Convention strongly condemn the proposal to remove such key administrative positions from the protection of the merit system of Civil Service and vigorously urges that the interests of railroad laboring men and women and their families not be subordinated to partisan political interests in the administration and functioning of this agency which has been created for the purpose of protecting and safeguarding their security and welfare, and that the Civil Service Commission reject such unwarranted proposal of the Chairman and Industry Member of the Board; and

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be transmitted forthwith to the President of the United States, the Chairman of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committees of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, the Chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service Committees of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives, and the Chairman and associate members of the United States Civil Service Commission.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Seventy-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1954

Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 21, 1954

Report of

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 21, 1954

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock A.M., by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be delivered by Rabbi Bernard Harrison of Temple Emanuel.

INVOCATION
Rabbi Bernard Harrison, Temple Emanuel, Los Angeles

Dear God and Father, who by Thine own divine action of creation did sanctify and ennoble the labor of all men, we invoke Thy blessing upon these delegates of the American Federation of Labor and the purpose for which they have assembled.

Dedicated to the safeguarding and the advancement of the needs and rights of all labor, Thy children have met to take council with each other, to uphold the dignity of their calling, the security of their livelihood and the welfare of their brothers and loved ones.

May remembrance of Thee make humble and worthy those who have been elected to serve Thee. Uphold their hands; be Thou an ever constant presence in their counsel, inspiring them in their deliberations, that with Thy vision and forebearance they may guide the destiny of their unions wisely and well so that the welfare of all may be maintained and preserved.

As a mighty source of spirit of liberty in our land, may all Americans continue to find in this great Federation a bulwark for the continued enhancement of the freedom and equality of all peoples here and all over the world.

Bless this Federation and its workers in all their endeavors. May they always rejoice in the reward of their labors well done and find gladness of heart in even stronger and advancing service.

May it be Thy will, oh God, that they grow in unity and become an ever enriching blessing to our people and our nation.

Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for the reading of messages and announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

Indianapolis, Indiana

September 20, 1954
George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor
Ambassador Hotel
Los Angeles, California

Greetings and warmest wishes to all of you. May this the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor be most successful. My thoughts and prayers are always with you.

DANIEL J. TOBIN

AFL Convention, Ambassador.

We free trade unionists in exile send you our warmest fraternal greetings on occasion of your Convention. The AFL and Brother Irving Brown always extended us a hand of labor solidarity, brought hope and courage to the millions enslaved workers behind iron curtain. Long live free labor and international labor solidarity.

Executive Committee International Center of Free Trade Unionists in Exile.

AFL Convention:

GSEE Administration addresses fraternal greetings to brother delegates AFL Convention, wishing them full success. On behalf of Greek workers we express our gratitude to AFL members and leadership for their assistance to Greece, its workers and its labor movement. Shall never forget particular interest President Meany and effective assistance given Greek labor movement by eminent AFL Representative Irving Brown during present difficult circumstances. Thanking for AFL precious support to Greek labor efforts for Cyprus people self determination. Urgently request you continue moral assistance for recognition Cypriots' rights.

FOTIS MAKRIS G.S.E.E.

Secretary Treasurer Schnitzler,
A. F. of L. Convention,
Ambassador Hotel
Los Angeles

Greetings to the officers and delegates assembled for annual convention in Los Angeles. Local 31 affiliated with the International Hand Bag, Luggage, Belts and Novelty Workers Union offers thanks for your assistance in persuading the Secretary of the Air Force and Army to put a stop to the use of armed forces personnel acting as strike breakers at the Koch Luggage Plant in Corte Madera. Your assistance enabled our President Brother Ossip Walinsky to immediately get the employees and union together and after 15 weeks on strike contracts now signed retaining union shop and conditions plus 5 cents increase. Thanks also to President Meany and Brother Bert Seidman for valuable assistance and a job well done.

CHARLES BRUNO,
Leather and Novelty Workers Local
31, San Francisco.

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL
ORGANIZATIONS
718 Jackson Place, N.W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

September 17, 1954

Mr. George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Ambassador
Los Angeles, California

Dear Brother Meany:

On the occasion of the annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I take this opportunity to convey to you and to all the delegates the fraternal best wishes of the officers and members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The ratification of the No-Raiding Agreement during the past year by our two organizations and by a substantial majority of our affiliates represents, in the opinion of the CIO, a heartening trend toward the elimination of friction within the American labor movement.

I feel certain that the No-Raiding Agreement which has gotten off to a most successful start, will in the future prove to be a document and a method of outstanding significance not only to labor but to the entire public.

On the foundation of this agreement, I hope that the representatives of our two organizations may strengthen the bonds of fraternal friendship and set the foundation for future unity of the American trade union movement.

With best personal regards, I am

Sincerely and fraternally
(signed) WALTER P. REUTHER
Walter P. Reuther
President

INTRODUCTION OF WIVES OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT MEANY: Yesterday afternoon I presented to you and introduced to you the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and the Dominion of Canada. Just so that these gentlemen won't feel that they are all important, I want to let you know that I am now going to introduce the important section of our fraternal delegation, the wives of two of these gentlemen.

I would like now to present Mrs. Arthur Tiffin, wife of the fraternal delegate from Great Britain, to the Convention.

In order to emphasize the fact that we have organizations across the seas, I am going to present Mrs. Tiffin with a beautiful Hawaiian lei from our friends in Hawaii.

. . . At this time Mrs. Tiffin arose, acknowledged the applause of the delegates and received the Hawaiian lei from President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I now want to introduce to you Mrs. Vern Metheral, the wife of our fraternal delegate from the Dominion of Canada.

. . . Mrs. Metheral stood, acknowledged the applause of the delegates and received a Hawaiian lei from President Meany.

ADDITIONAL COMMITTEE APPOINTMENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: In reading the names of delegates serving on various committees, I omitted the reading of the name of Abe Spradling of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America as a member of the Resolutions Committee.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now at this time I wish to present to you one of our fraternal delegates. As you know, we have had a fraternal relationship with the British Trades Union Congress since 1895. However, there is an older fraternal relationship right here on this continent, the fraternal relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which goes back to the very days of the formation of the American Federation of Labor. In fact, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada predates the American Federation of Labor by some ten or twelve years.

So it is with a great deal of pleasure that we welcome to our Convention a representative of the labor movement of our neighbor to the North. It is with pleasure I present to you the representative of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the President of the Trades and Labor Council of Regina, Saskatchewan, Brother Verne R. Metheral.

VERN R. METHERAL
President of the Regina Trades and Labor Council

Brother George Meany, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Delegates:

It is a very great honor and privilege for me to address your great convention. I am indeed proud to have been elected to bring you

the warm fraternal greetings of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Only a few weeks ago nearly seven hundred delegates from all parts of Canada met in my home city of Regina, Saskatchewan, in the 69th Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The delegates elected me to carry their fraternal greetings to you assembled here. I am most happy to do so today, and to say how much we in the organized labor movement in Canada within the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada treasure the warm fraternal relations which have endured so long between ourselves and our brothers and sisters of the American Federation of Labor.

Our Congress convention was a very significant one. President Percy R. Bengough, who has held this top position for twelve years, announced earlier this year that he would not be a candidate for this office. One of the most important tasks, therefore, of this year's convention was the selection of a new president.

Percy Bengough is well known to your President and Officers and to many others assembled here. You will, I am sure, agree with me that with his half century of experience in the labor movement, his proven abilities as a leader, and his many successes scored for the affiliated membership as President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Percy Bengough's presidential shoes would be very difficult to fill.

I believe the delegates chose wisely and well when on the first ballot they elected Claude Jodoin as President of our Congress. President-elect Jodoin is a native of Montreal, Quebec, and is equally fluent in both the French and English languages. He has had wide experience in civic, provincial, national and international affairs as well as a fine record of service in our Canadian labor movement.

Claude Jodoin is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union and is Manager of the Montreal Joint Board of the Dressmakers' Unions of the ILGWU. He is President of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council. He has served as a Vice-President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada since 1949.

Our new President who will take over his official duties in Ottawa on November 1st has served organized labor in Canada in the councils of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the International Labor Organization. In recent years he has been in regular attendance at the General Conferences of the ILO as our Workers' Delegate and is a member of the Governing Body of the ILO.

He was a member of the Quebec Legislature representing a working class constituency of Montreal. He is now and has been for some years a member of the Montreal City Council.

Claude Jodoin believes in a united Canada. Our nation is a land of minorities. No majority exists in Canada except as a coalition of minorities. Organized labor as represented by our Congress does not believe that these minorities should be forced into one common mold, but at the same time we are desirous that minority characteristics should not be grounds for discrimination. Our President-elect has given leadership in this field as Chairman of the Standing Committee on Racial Discrimination of the Congress and as a result of the work of this committee Canada is the first nation to enact and enforce a Fair Employment Practices law.

From this recital you can see that our Canadian members in affiliation to the Congress appeared to be fully justified in choosing Claude Jodoin as their new President. You will be interested to learn, I am sure, that on November 5th in Ottawa our Congress will honor retiring President Percy R. Bengough with a farewell banquet. Very shortly thereafter, our new President will present in company with the Executive Council of the Congress and an associated delegation of International and National union officers our annual submission to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet of our requests for legislative changes.

One of the most pressing problems which we are facing in Canada today is unemployment. I heard some mention of it yesterday here. With the slackening of the pace of our post-war economy and the removal of some of the energy from our recent industrial expansion drive, unemployment has returned to our midst in substantial proportions. Last winter and spring our unemployed total reached more than half a million or about ten per cent of our labor force. Some observers this year suggest that the total will go even higher this winter.

One of the serious factors in this situation in Canada is seasonal unemployment. The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada through its representations and membership on the National Advisory Commission on Manpower has been able to encourage our Federal Government to take steps towards reducing seasonal unemployment, but a great deal more remains to be done in this field before this wastage of manpower and production can be eliminated from our economy.

At this point I might say that Brother Percy Bengough during his presidential address pointed out that the wastage of manpower during the past winter and spring season ran to approximately eight million man hours per day, a tremendous loss in the productive power of our Canadian economy.

Year round full employment is the firm policy of our Congress. We will continue to press upon all levels of government throughout Canada the need for maintaining full employment as the only satisfactory way in which to produce and sustain a high and rising standard of living. Last winter our Congress alerted our Government to this problem and presented detailed recommendations for action to eliminate unemployment and for financial assistance to those who were or may become unemployed and their families.

Unemployment Insurance in Canada is handled on a national basis with equal contributions from employer and employee supplemented by a further contribution from the Federal Treasury including the payment of all administrative expenses. Changes in the rate of contributions or benefit payments can only be made through amendment of the Unemployment Insurance Act by the Parliament of Canada.

Our Congress has been stressing the urgency of amendments to this Act early this Fall when Parliament reconvenes. What we want are changes which will establish higher categories of benefit payments in order that the benefits will match more closely the current wage levels, longer benefit payment periods in order that those who become unemployed can be assured of income from this source during an extended period of lay-off. This is of great importance to our membership since this year the lay-offs began earlier than usual and the return to work movement this spring was also delayed.

Another improvement and extension in this Act which our Congress has been urgently seeking is the payment of unemployment benefits to insured workers who become unemployed because of illness. Our Act already provides for the continuance of benefit payments to unemployed workers who become ill while receiving benefits. What we now want is that this provision be amended to provide the benefits to those who are laid off because they are sick.

This is not, Mr. President, health or hospitalization insurance. This is merely an extension of unemployment insurance. Our Congress has been pressing for a nation-wide scheme of health insurance to cover every Canadian citizen. To date we have not been able to obtain this most important advance in our social law. Many public and private plans are operating in this field in Canada, but they fail to serve the purpose in that they are too selective. Only two provinces, my own and British Columbia, have province-wide public plans, and even these cover only hospitalization.

I might divert here just for a moment to say that in my own community I would judge approximately twenty to twenty-five thousand people have protection from medical disaster. However, those of us who are employed with employers, where we have the check-off which covers medical services, are a small percentage of the people of Canada, and I personally, though I have not paid a doctor bill in fifteen years, do ask for my fellow men that they have complete hospital and medical protection. That, Brothers and Sisters, is our hope in Canada in this field.

The delegates attending our recent Congress convention were most emphatic in their desire that the Executive Council press strongly for the inauguration of a nation-wide public scheme of health insurance. In making further insistent efforts for the establishment of health insurance in Canada, I am sure our Congress will meet with the same opposition from the Medical Association as we have in the past.

I will not make any allusions to the situation in the United States of America. You can draw your own inference. However, it is to be expected that such opposition will serve only to stimulate the efforts of our Congress towards this very worthy goal.

Health insurance is the only remaining major gap in our social security system. Old Age Pensions are now paid to all Canadians of seventy and over as of right. Old Age Assistance is provided where necessary to Canadians between sixty-five and seventy. This is done on a joint basis as between the federal authority and the provinces. Family Allowances are paid to all families with one or more children on a sliding scale dependent upon the number and the age of the children up to 16 years and after that, if the child is maintained in school.

We are not entirely satisfied with all of these measures of social security, and, in particular, we want the age limits for Old Age Pensions reduced from seventy to sixty-five for men and sixty for women; and we want the monthly payments increased from forty to seventy-five dollars per month. We want Old Age Assistance extended to cover where necessary all persons in these age groups. We want the Allowances which are now provided to Mothers and Widows increased and our federal government to take responsibility in this field. And, as I have indicated previously, we want our Unemployment Insurance extended, its benefits brought into line with current wage levels and the benefit periods expanded. In this connection we would like to see more employed workers covered by the Act. The target of The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has always been and still is the complete coverage of all workers under the provisions of the Unemployment Insurance Act.

These problems and others are matters which have to be dealt with by our Government and Parliament and it is the work of Congress to urge that appropriate action be taken on them. At the same time our own Parliament of Labor—The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada—has its own problems with which it must deal.

One of these problems which has been given a very high priority in recent years in our Congress is Communism and the followers of this alien ideology. In dealing with this problem our conventions have consistently laid it down that "No organization officered or controlled by Communists or members of the Labor Progressive Party, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions, shall be allowed representation or recognition in this Congress or any organization chartered by it."

Following out this constitutional provision, our conventions have refused to seat known Communists or Communist sympathizers. Our Executive Council has suspended organizations known to be controlled or officered by "Communists or members of the Labor Progressive Party or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions," and these actions of our Executive Council have been approved by our annual Congress conventions.

Our convention dealt with just such a suspension this year: the Executive Council suspended the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union last year because of its Communist leadership. Our convention this year upheld the action of the Executive Council. This action by our convention completes our housecleaning job insofar as this problem is concerned, at least to the extent that the Congress itself can go.

I would like you to note that the constitutional power I referred to a moment ago is limited to refusal of "representation or recognition in this Congress or any organization chartered by it." This constitutional power does not extend to organizations which are affiliated. Unfortunately there are such people within our affiliated organizations which we as a Congress cannot get at.

The people I refer to are "Communists or members of the Labor Progressive Party, or persons espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions," and, as such, they are well known to the leaders of our autonomous affiliates.

As I have said, the Congress has now completed its housecleaning in regard to Communism. It has gone as far as it can go. The rest of the job must be left in the hands of those who alone have the power to do it. A lot of you men and women here are older in the trade union movement than I am and a lot of you know where the solution lies. I hope that during the next year we will succeed in cleaning up those organizations to which I have referred, without mentioning any names.

Our Congress has been as forthright and consistent in handling its other internal problems, and as a result our Congress is a healthy body growing in strength and influence.

Right here might I just for a moment say that our recent convention in Regina was attended by 622 delegates. We had over 1200

guests and visitors, wives of delegates, and the press and radio at our convention in that city. If you think I didn't have a headache as general chairman of the local Convention Committee you have another guess coming. I would also like to say that at no time in the history of our nation have the eyes of Canada been focused so clearly and distinctly upon the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the American Federation of Labor affiliates in our nation as they were three weeks ago.

I might say I was disappointed when I came here. At our convention we had at least 30 press men along the front during the course of our convention. We had at least a dozen radio men there. The coverage in our local papers amounted to something like 37,000 words. I intended to bring that with me, but I would have had to pack another brief case.

I think, in diverting here from my message, I am telling you something which you already know in this nation, that the eyes of America are upon the American Federation of Labor.

I just want to complement what you already know by saying the eyes of Canada today are upon the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and its affiliates in the American Federation of Labor.

It was reported to our convention that our affiliated membership is approximately six hundred thousand. This represents a notable increase in our affiliated membership in recent years. It also means that new organizations have been added to our Congress over and above the major group of international unions in the building, metal and printing trades; in transportation and the service trades. Among these additional organizations are many such as my own—the Saskatchewan Civil Service Association.

Because I am a member of a provincial government employee's union, the Saskatchewan Civil Service Association, I wish to bring special greetings to our brothers and sisters in unions of state employees. My native province of Saskatchewan, which is adjacent to Montana and North Dakota, boasts the proud and unique distinction of being the only place in the entire British Commonwealth of Nations, where the Crown is required by law to bargain collectively and enter into signed agreements with its employees.

Furthermore, I might say I am a member of the Negotiating Committee and have been in negotiations approximately ten days before I came down. I have with me our presentations to the government. I have one of six confidential copies with me because I didn't have a key in my office to lock it and be assured it wouldn't be available to other people. But when I return from here I shall resume negotiating our next contract with Her Majesty, the Queen, and the Province of Saskatchewan. This has been going on with marked success, to the satisfaction of the government and its employees, since 1945 and I might add to the profound discomfiture of those who believe that government employees should not enjoy the basic democratic rights of non-governmental workers.

At a recent meeting in Regina on August 30th and September 1st of representatives of 37,000 provincial government employees, a resolution was passed urging acceptance by the nine other provincial governments of the right afforded Saskatchewan government employees, to bargain collectively, to enjoy signed agreements, to conciliate and arbitrate disputes.

In this endeavor they are strongly supported by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. I would express the sincere hope that a parallel effort will go forward in every state in your great union supplementing the persistent efforts government employees in Canada are putting forward toward this end.

I would like to divert for just a moment here. I have before me a letter as follows:

> Dear Mr. Metheral:
>
> It has come to my attention that you will be addressing the American Federation of Labor at Los Angeles on September 21st. On this occasion would you be so kind as to extend our fellow Trade Unionists in the United States greetings from the people and the government of Saskatchewan and a cordial invitation to visit our province in 1955 when we will celebrate our Golden Jubilee?
>
> Throughout '55, it is our intention to have a number of outstanding events which we think will be of interest to the people of the United States of America. Almost every season of the year there will be celebrations going on in various communities throughout the province. However, July and August will be months when celebrations will reach a peak, and we will be delighted to have visitors from across the border join with us in celebrating our 50th birthday and paying tribute to the pioneers, many of whom came from the United States of America, to help lay the foundations of our great province.
>
> I can assure all visitors of a very warm welcome and a taste of good western hospitality. We are planning to make '55 a year to be remembered by all and we invite our good friends and neighbors from across the border to come and join themselves with us.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> E. T. DOUGLAS.

In the last twelve years great changes have been wrought in our Congress, in our economy and in the position of Canada itself in the great world company of freedom loving nations. With organized labor's archenemy, the Nazism of Hitler Germany, brought to its knees in abject surrender only nine years ago, we along with the free peoples of the western world have had to contend with another force —Communism and the militant dictatorship of Soviet Russia. This new threat we have met with vigor and resolve.

The defence of the free peoples of North America rests in the hands of your nation and mine. Perhaps we are inclined to forget that one of the basic and strongest reasons for our continued international friendship and joint activities in many fields, including defense, is the strong international trade union movement affiliated to your Federation and our Congress.

The defense of the entire free world rests to a large extent upon the efforts which we of North America can and will make, each in his own way and to the extent of his own capacity, in the common cause of humanity. Perhaps, too, in this connection we are inclined to forget that Canada is not just a North American nation but also a substantial member of a great company of nations known as the Commonwealth. The strengthening of every member of the Commonwealth and the maintenance of the strongest bonds within the Commonwealth is of the utmost importance to the peace of the world. At the same time we in Canada have often been told that we are

the bridge between the two great pillars of the western world and the two great cradles of freedom and democracy. We have been told this so often that we are beginning to believe it. Perhaps, we should since we are your closest neighbor and as such are in the best position to appreciate your point of view and to understand your problems; and at the same time through close association with our friendly family of nations within the Commonwealth we are in a position to interpret these things to others. Assuming this to be true, it is obviously important that this bridge be strong, and adequate to carry the load.

In recent months, I have noticed a growing interest on the part of the people of the United States in Canadians and Canadian affairs. In your daily, weekly and monthly press there seems to have appeared a much larger number of articles dealing with what is going on in Canada. Large numbers of your people have been visiting our land, some in search of a pleasant holiday, others in search of new business and industrial opportunities. Many of these people have asked questions about Canada and Canadians. Because some of those questions make our Canadian people wonder just how little is known about Canada abroad, it seemed to me only fair and reasonable that I place a few facts on record here today.

Canada is a big country stretching from Atlantic to Pacific and from your northern border to the North Pole and throughout this entire area operations of one sort or another including industrial, mining, agricultural and defence are in progress. Canada is still one of the great producing areas of cereal grains; yet, only about fifteen per cent of our population is engaged in productive agriculture.

Since World War II, our population has grown substantially. Over one million immigrants have come to our shores in these latter years. Our total population is now well over fifteen million. Measured in terms of your giant population and industrial enterprises we may be considered as small, but Canada is no infant. We are at the very least a robust and promising adolescent.

Canada is a free country formulating its own policies and making its own laws. Canada is not, as some seem still to believe, a colony of Britain—with all apologies to my friends here.

The rapid growth of Canada industrially and in population in the last decade has provided us with a substantial measure of prosperity which has been reflected in higher incomes, improved methods, greater social security, more homes and increased skills, but it has also brought with it certain economic and social problems. Changing methods of production and the increasing work force have made our economy a little less elastic than it was; a small change in conditions and the weather or a modest slackening in our industrial and commercial pace and thousands find themselves out of a job. This happened last winter and spring when almost overnight we found ourselves with about ten per cent of the work force unemployed.

No one can doubt for one moment that we should have an even larger population if we are to make the best use of our natural resources and provide ourselves with an adequate home market for our own production. Yet we cannot continue to absorb large numbers of immigrants when those already in Canada are unable to find work and their services are not in demand.

It stands to reason then that our Congress must continue to press our Federal Government for measures which are designed to maintain full production and employment. Only in this way can we hope to develop our country and stimulate a higher standard of living while at the same time shouldering our fair share of responsibilities in the free world. These are after all the broad aims of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and we mean to pursue them with courage, with vigor and with consistency.

We in our Congress are very much pleased to be associated in the international labor movement with our brothers and sisters of the American Federation of Labor. We are convinced that our close relationships through these associations form a very substantial and enduring part of the successful friendly relations which have existed for 140 years between our two great neighbor nations. We in Canada want this to continue.

We are always happy to welcome the fraternal delegate from the American Federation of Labor to our Congress conventions, and I wish to say how much I have appreciated the warm welcome you have accorded me here and the friendly gestures you have made in seeking to make our stay here a pleasant and happy one.

On behalf of the Officers and affiliated members of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada I extend to you warm fraternal greetings and may your convention be most successful and fruitful.

I thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to express to Brother Metheral on behalf of the Convention and all those in attendance our sincere appreciation of his very fine address here this morning, and also to assure him that the American Federation of Labor and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada are going forward together on this continent in complete and full cooperation in the carrying out of the aims and ideals of the trade union movement.

At this time I wish to introduce to you a speaker whom I am quite sure you will all hear with a great deal of interest. The American Federation of Labor has always been a staunch supporter and a firm advocate of the work of the International Labor Organization. In fact, we take a great deal of pride in this organization. We feel that the creation of this wonderful international association of nations —and that is exactly what it is, an association of sovereign states—one organization that lived from the end of the First World War right on through to the start of the Second World War and right on up to today, the one effective international organization of nations that has made a real contribution to the welfare of workers all over the world.

I would like to take a moment to just refresh the memory of delegates as to the circumstances connected with the creation of the International Labor Organization. In the City of Philadelphia in September of 1914, just about six weeks after the start of World War I, Samuel Gompers took the very unusual and unprecedented step of introducing a resolution in a convention of the American Federation of Labor over his own signature. Remember the war then was six weeks old, and keep in mind the tremendous grasp that Samuel Gompers had on world affairs and the tremendous foresight that he had shown all during his life. After six weeks of war he was looking forward to what could happen and might happen when the day came, as it inevitably does in warfare, where there is a gathering around a peace table. He asked the convention of the

American Federation of Labor to go on record recommending that when that gathering around the peace table finally came to fruition the peace treaty contain a section calling for the establishment of an organization devoted to raising the economic standards of workers all over the world.

His theory was quite simple. He knew that wars were started mainly because of human weakness, displayed by human greed. He knew of the diverse economic conditions throughout the world under which some nations had a great deal and the peoples of other nations very little, which created a feeling of jealousy and covetousness that contributed to the start of warfare, under which all suffered, and none suffered so much as those who labor.

So he called for the establishment of some sort of an international organization under the peace treaty that would devote its attention to the economic plight of workers all over the world.

At the conclusion of World War I Samuel Gompers led a delegation of representatives of the American trade unions to Versailles, France. William Green, John Frey, and a few of the other old-timers were in that delegation, and they succeeded in having written into the terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty a charter calling for the establishment of just such an organization as Samuel Gompers had envisaged back in September 1914. That organization came to be known as the International Labor Organization.

It had its birth following the Versailles Treaty in Washington in 1920 at the meeting in which Samuel Gompers played a very leading part. So we feel we have a real interest in the work of the International Labor Organization. This morning I am going to introduce to you a representative of that Organization, a gentleman who has been Director-General, the guiding force of that Organization, since 1948. I have worked with him in these very difficult days of the cold war between advocates of human slavery and stateism against those who believe in human dignity and freedom. He has had a very difficult task.

Under the charter of this Organization any nation that accepts its constitution can hold membership. It is now a branch or adjunct to the United Nations. It is a supporting or coordinating organization, and of course, in the ILO through these years there have been several nations that have gone in behind the Iron Curtain.

Here in the last few months the Soviet Union has exercised its right as a member of the United Nations and accepted the constitution of the ILO. Of course, we all know that they accept that constitution with tongue in cheek and are going to use the ILO if they possibly can as a sounding board for their world-wide propaganda.

Under these conditions the Director-General has had many, many difficulties. I can testify from personal contact with him that he has been giving everything he could to the cause that we believe in, the economic uplift of the underprivileged millions of the world, with the principle in mind, of course, that the only real way to give people an opportunity to raise their own economic standards is to give them the freedom that is necessary in order that they may join in a trade union such as we have here and which, of course, is only possible under a democratic form of government.

So it is with a good deal of pleasure that I present to you the former Assistant Secretary of Labor, former General Counsel of the National Labor Realtions Board, and now for the past six years the United States Representative of the ILO and the Director-General of that Organization since June 1948, Mr. David A. Morse.

DAVID A. MORSE
Director-General, International Labor Organization

President Meany, members of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor: I am very much moved by the wonderful statement of your president and, of course, grateful for his introduction. I am happy that I have been able to come from Geneva, Switzerland, the headquarters of our organization, to bring to this great Convention the greeting of the International Labor Organization. I feel at home here because, in addition to everything else, as I look through the convention hall and see the cards designating the various organizations which compose this great Federation, I see high officials of many organizations who have played and still are playing a very important role in the work of the International Labor Organization, and who are bringing to our work dynamism and effectiveness without which we could not possibly carry on to the extent which we do.

President Meany, I think it is a coincidence that as I stand before you today, we in the ILO are having our 35th Anniversary. This is the 35th year of the ILO. We are now the oldest International organization in existence. As I think of this co-existence I am reminded of what you said about Sam Gompers, who was the architect of this organization, and I can say to this convention that the bolts that Gompers riveted into the charter of this organization have kept it strong and growing in these 35 years, and you should be proud as an American to know that these principles upon which our tradition is based have been nourished and nurtured through these 35 years by William Green and now by your great President, George Meany, who gives us support without which we could not maintain the kind of effectiveness which we hold in the world.

I know you will forgive me if I mention the fact that, in addition to this, your International representative, Phil Delaney, who sits as a member of the governing body of the ILO, patiently, intelligently and competently brings in the councils the very best of the expression of the democratic process, both of this country and of the labor movement of this country.

Now, I think people have said to me, "You are the oldest International organization in existence, but as such haven't the arteries gotten a little hard? Isn't old age setting in a little bit?"

My answer to you is that it is not and that it is not going to. We are geared to the dynamics of the 20th century, and we are going to confront the issues which face us in that point of view.

We have had lots of problems, which your President referred to a while ago, just during this last year. We have had problems of program. We have had to close the circle of our operational and legislative work. We have gone into underdeveloped areas where we are attempting through technical assistance to raise the standards of living of the working people in those areas of the world, and we have had an accession to our organization in the membership of the new states of the USSR by Russia, and by the Ukraine.

People say, "What does the fact that you are now such a universal organization mean in terms of program of your organization?" I

say to this federation, as I will say to any federation in the world, that all it means is we are going to come to grips more effectively and we are going to come to grips more vigorously with the basic issues with which we are confronted, namely, the individual dignity of the working man, his freedom throughout the world.

So, my friends, it is against this background that I would ask you to consider the few words that I have to say to you today. I am going to try to answer some of your questions in terms of the broad policy programs of this organization, of which the AFL is such a major factor, and I can't give this background without referring to the fact, my friends, that, after all, we all know that we do live in a world compounded of both hope and fear. The very symbol of our age, atomic energy, expresses both a future hope for universal abundance and a present fear of universal destruction. This uneasy balance, this tension between hope and fear, has complicated the course of international relations and has left its mark upon our efforts towards social progress. The advances of the last 35 years, the possibility of a better life for more and more people, are haunted by the specter of force and violence.

We are faced with the existence of forced labor, with violations of freedom of association. Just as we appear on the threshold of a new industrial revolution, just as there is held before us the possibility of a substantial increase in man's welfare, we are confronted with a challenge to the very principles upon which the whole edifice of social progress has been erected.

How well we meet the challenge will depend on the degree to which our principles are **universally** applied, on how well they are secured in the conscience of mankind in order to reinforce the foundation for the next stages of social progress.

We in the ILO are coming closer to grips with the forced labor problem. We are going ahead with our efforts to promote respect for freedom of association and trade union rights in all countries. We are entering a new phase of action designed to promote the practice of free cooperation for the mutual benefit of workers, employers and the people as a whole in the economic life of all countries. In all these efforts the ILO already has the backing of the AFL. If I may say so, we need your help to insure success, perhaps even more than ever before in the 35 years of our existence.

It was the American Federation of Labor which raised the forced labor issue before the United Nations. After considering carefully the best means of handling the question, the ILO, with the United Nations, appointed an independent committee of three internationally prominent persons, whose impartiality and objectivity could be relied upon, to investigate your and other charges concerning forced labor on the basis of the available evidence and information. The committee worked with complete detachment and deliberation, sifting and weighing the volumes of evidence, including the published laws of a number of countries. The committee's report was issued a year ago. It pointed to the existence of systems of forced labor as a means of political coercion in some parts of the world. It pointed to systems of forced labor for economic purposes.

There has now been time for full consideration of the implications of this inquiry.

The next step is up to the ILO.

When the ILO's Governing Body meets in Rome in about six weeks, it will have before it proposals which I have submitted, looking to a new international convention **to outlaw** forced labor practices.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, what does this mean, international convention to outlaw forced labor practice? This means that we are now passing from the stage of investigations and of resolutions to the stage of action. One of the points the Governing Body will have to consider, for example, is to ask the 69 Governments from every part of the world which are members of the ILO whether or not they would be prepared to accept an international convention on forced labor and to ratify it so as to make it binding upon themselves. This would give Governments an opportunity to take a clear stand before the world on the issue of forced labor.

The time is past when we can afford to indulge only in charges and countercharges. Those who are sincerely concerned with improving the condition of human beings deprived of freedom and dignity in the bestial and degrading circumstances of forced labor camps will be given an opportunity to prove their sincerity.

If we are to succeed, we shall need the firm support, there is no question, of the trade union movement throughout the world. But with this support we can be sure that the opinion of nations will sustain the attack until this inhuman scourge is effectively removed, and will need it.

Just as in the case of forced labor, the AFL took a strong stand to draw the attention of the world through the United Nations to the problem of violations of trade union rights. The ILO, in agreement with the United Nations, established the machinery for receiving and examining complaints, which are considered in the light of all the evidence which can be collected by a committee composed of outstanding representatives of Government, employers and workers.

To date, some 87 cases have been dealt with by this committee and about 25 others are still pending. A number of these cases have been dismissed. In others, the committee has made observations to the Governments which have resulted in certain improvements. In all cases the committee has been successful in reaching unanimity. This gives them the full authority of a truly impartial, objective, international body.

I can assure you that the committee's work exerts a real influence in increasing respect for trade union rights. This influence will grow as the procedure is improved, as we get more experience. The trade unions can do much to strengthen it through their consistent, responsible and courageous support for the ILO.

The ILO is no super-state. It has no power to impose its conclusions in these matters by force. Yet it has influence, which must not be underestimated, which is effective. It has the authority, independence and moral backing which, when used judiciously, will arouse the conscience of mankind. Only when this respect is firmly anchored in public opinion can the trade unions feel free from the threat of oppression.

Our aim is to see the principle of freedom of association accepted and applied as a matter of common justice in all countries. When Governments take part in the ILO's procedure for examining complaints of violation of trade union rights, they recognize and accept this aim. Not all countries have done so. That so many, however, have in itself goes a long way towards the universal recognition and applica-

tion of this principle. The very fact that the ILO has embarked upon this task has opened a radical new phase in the advance towards international recognition of basic human rights.

While we must act to defend our fellow men against violations of rights, we cannot afford to leave the matter there. We will never achieve our purposes by protective measures alone, at least in my opinion. As long as the democratic process is not firmly entrenched there will always be a latent threat that force and violence will destroy the peaceful pursuit of social progress.

You in the American Federation of Labor know from your history that the exercise of freedom in economic and social life is not something which can be bestowed on men by a beneficent, protecting authority. Freedom is something men learn to enjoy by their own efforts, through working together for common goals. Democracy cannot be based only upon the well-meant phrases of a Constitution or noble pronouncements from on high. It can grow in a lasting way only as men become accustomed to the democratic way of doing things that matter in their everyday lives, of settling problems through free and open discussion, of respect for the other man as a person, without regard to his position or power. Democracy is rooted in the heart, the conscience and the actions of all of us.

I have become more and more convinced that the ILO's work to abolish forced labor and to establish respect for freedom of association can be successful in the long run only if we push ahead with a vigorous practical program to promote free and democratic procedures for solving problems—in the labor field. The ILO, with the support of the trade unions, can do much to further such a program on a world-wide scale.

We must make it our aim to work ourselves out of a job in the forced labor and freedom of association fields, by promoting conditions in which these evils will not arise. As the independence of trade union organization and employer organization is strengthened and its geographic areas of existence and functioning widen, as the practice of free consultation, bargaining and agreement between organized workers and employers spreads throughout the world—as people learn to rely upon their own joint efforts to solve the problems of the workplace—the dangers of forced labor and of violations of trade union rights will diminish.

This is why the ILO is entering a new phase of action to *promote* good labor-management relations on a *world-wide basis*. A healthy system of labor-management relations is the everyday school of democracy. Progress here can have repercussions beyond the purely labor field. In the countries now entering upon industrial development the establishment of good labor-management relations can become a bulwark of political and economic democracy. And good labor-management relations are the foundation for sustained social progress.

America has a great contribution to make to the world through the ILO in this program. America has a wealth of experience in the growth of a strong and democratic labor movement and in the development of techniques of labor-management relations upon which we in the ILO can draw for the benefit of people in other countries. America has pioneered in the field of human relations, and it seems to me that any real and lasting progress in labor-management relations throughout the world must take the human aspect as its starting point.

I therefore appeal to you in the American labor movement to throw your support behind the ILO's program. Help us work to abolish forced labor! Help us establish respect for freedom of association and trade union rights! Help us promote a worldwide program of democratic labor-management relations! With this program strongly backed by the workers throughout the world, we will have the foundations upon which the social progress of our generation and of succeeding generations can be firmly based. Then we may go forward with confidence to build a better life for all in conditions of freedom.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that I express the feelings of all the delegates here when I say to Director Dave Morse that we appreciate sincerely his presence here this morning and his very fine address and also to assure him of the continued support of the American Federation of Labor for the work of the ILO.

I would like to point out in passing on the subject of forced labor—somehow or other I can't refrain from throwing roses on the record of the AFL when the opportunity presents itself—that all of the information that went to the United Nations and brought about the decisions to have the ILO investigate forced labor, and all of the information which went into the slave labor maps and went all over the world to show the actual locations of the slave labor camps within the Soviet Union—all of that information was supplied to the United Nations and the ILO by the American Federation of Labor.

We are very happy to have Mr. Morse with us and I hope he spends as much time as he can with us here during the week.

Now, at this time I want to present to you another speaker, a member of what is known in Washington as the "Little Cabinet." Of course, we have the Cabinet in Washington consisting of the secretaries of the various Cabinet ranks, and the people who are designated as belonging to the "Little Cabinet" are the undersecretaries and the assistant secretaries.

But before presenting this speaker, I wish to take this opportunity to say a few words to the Convention on something that I feel should be said. Yesterday, Secretary of Labor Mitchell addressed this Convention, and I like to feel that the American Federation of Labor is thoroughly familiar — the delegates and the Officers—with the ordinary rules of courtesy which have become part of the inheritance of this country and of civilized countries down through the years—the rule of courtesy that you treat a guest within your house with every consideration. I am convinced that we have always done that and we are always going to do it. Of course, there is another side to the coin that the guest is expected to have consideration for the host. You do not flip your cigar ashes on the floor when you are visiting friends as you do when you are at home. You do not throw lighted matches around carelessly. You do not bring any termites in and plant them in the foundation of your host's house.

However, you will recall at the conclusion of Secretary Mitchell's address that I mentioned to him that we would, during this Convention give an objective appraisal—not a biased appraisal, but an objective, fair appraisal of the work of the Administration on every phase of that work.

Mr. Mitchell had said that he could not understand criticism of the Administration which is all-encompassing and takes no note of intentions and accomplishments. Well, I am quite sure before we get through we will have something to say about both intentions and accomplishments.

He said he was disturbed when we criticized unfairly and that we criticize on the basis of a political tag, and he suggested that if the Administration—I presume he meant the Administration because a Cabinet officer, of course, always speaks with Administration approval—that if the Administration were as confident of our support when they do right, as they were confident of our criticism when they do wrong, that they could do a much more effective job for us.

Well, that could be construed as saying, "We will give you a little more if you behave yourselves"—but I don't suggest that is so.

Mr. Mitchell referred to the fact that he could not have much confidence in our criticism when we only give grudging praise to the Social Security accomplishments of the present Administration. Well, if Jim wrote what he read then he didn't know the things that we had said about Social Security. The day that President Eisenhower signed the Social Security Bill I issued this press statement and it received quite a bit of coverage, and I am quite sure the Press Bureau in the Labor Department must have clipped it, and put it on the Secretary's desk.

I am going to read it.

"The American Federation of Labor is deeply gratified by the new Social Security amendments which became effective with the President's signature. These amendments represent the accomplishment of a significant portion, if only a portion, of the program advocated by the American Federation of Labor for the improvement of Old Age and Survivor's Insurance system. They will substantially enhance the welfare and security of the millions of American families who look to the system for their protection against the loss of income as a result of old age or death of the wage earner.

"Perhaps the most gratifying aspect of this legislation lies in the fact that at long last the basic principles upon which your Old Age and Survivor's Insurance system is based appears to have finally won acceptance on the part of both of our two great political parties. To the extent that this proves to be true, this action should safeguard the system against future partisan attacks.

"We particularly welcome the increase in the wage base to $4,200.00. While this increase falls well short of the level to which the wage base should be raised, it does bring earnings, benefits and contributions into a sounder relationship and serve to reaffirm a principle which is fundamental to our American Social Insurance System—the principle of the wage incentive as an essential feature of the benefit structure.

"We also welcome the adoption of the so-called disability 'freeze' provision which for the first time affords some protection for the benefit rights of persons who lose their jobs as a result of total and permanent injury and we hope that this will help to prepare the way for action to provide and direct immediate benefits to the disabled.

"We note from the record of debate on this measure in the closing days of the 83rd Congress, the pledge by a number of its members that additional amendments designed to meet these and other remaining gaps and deficiencies will be introduced when the next Congress convenes."

Now, this statement was issued the day that the President signed the bill, and I feel that it adequately represents praise where praise is due, and certainly cannot be considered as withholding appraisal of something we feel is good for labor and for which the President can take a large share of the credit.

A few days later in the commercial of the American Federation of Labor radio program the announcer had this to say:

"The best news for American workers recently is the new Social Security improvement law. This law signed last week by the President, was the most constructive achievement of the 83rd Congress. It benefits, directly or indirectly, every man, woman and child in America. The American Federation of Labor believes in giving credit where credit is due. We have sharply criticized the record of Congress and this Administration. But we freely acknowledge that the new Social Security Law is the exception to the rule and constitutes a substantial step forward. It upholds the basic insurance principle of Social Security, broadens its coverage and raises benefits. Eventually, it is up to Congress to apply the same insurance principle to a new program to protect the American people from the ruinous economic effects of severe illness."

That went out on our radio program a few days after the President had signed the law, and I again submit that this is a record which indicates that we do appraise fairly and objectively and without regard for political label.

Now I want to present to you the Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a man who played a large part in bringing about the improvements in Social Security, which we feel are of tremendous importance. Of course, it seems to be in the nature of our work that we are never satisfied. After we get one improvement we look forward to another, and I hope that there will never be any change in that phase of our work. I hope we will never be satisfied.

I want to say that the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, who was with us last year in St. Louis, and whom we invited to come here today, has given us every cooperation. I am referring to Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby. The only reason that she could not come here in person was that she had to put in such a strenuous time at her job—and I say this sincerely—that she felt she was entitled to a little rest. However, we are very happy to say that she sent the very capable undersecretary, who worked with our people, with whom we had many, many long hours of consultation on this subject, and with whom we were finally successful in getting a bill that the Congress approved and that the President signed. We got a bill that the President accepted. In fact, I think if we had gotten everything the President wanted, we would have obtained a little more improvement in the Social Security system.

So I am very happy to make this acknowledgment of the good things done by the Administration, just as I will be happy to condemn the things that they have either failed to do or things that they have done which we feel are detrimental to our interests.

We welcome here this morning the Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, a man whom we have known for many years, and who did a splendid job in the Secretary of State's Office a few years back as Secretary in charge of Inter-American Affairs. We worked with him, have tremendous

confidence in him, and we know that he will continue to take the same sympathetic view of Social Security and the problems which call for the maintenance of a Social Security System as we do.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you the Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller.

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER
Undersecretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

President Meany, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The opportunity of addressing you at this your 73rd Convention is greatly appreciated, and I bring greetings to all of you from Secretary Hobby.

It is a particular pleasure for me to be here because of my many personal friends in your organization. I have known and worked with your President, George Meany, in labor matters and in civil and international affairs over a long period of years. I have great respect for his vision and ability, his keen understanding and devotion to the interest of the American worker.

During the war years when I was Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, his cooperation, as well as that of Dave Dubinsky and your late leaders, Bill Green and Bob Watt, was tremendously helpful in setting up many of the Latin American programs. Incidentally, it was during those years that I first came to appreciate that you of the A. F. of L. and leaders of the free trade union movement were real experts on Communism and that long before many who are the most vocal anti-Communists today took up the fight, you were battling Communism here and abroad. You knew then that anti-Communism is not enough. Positive action is of at least equal importance. You saw that higher living standards here at home and abroad were one of our strongest safeguards against attack from without and subversion from within. You saw that the larger the worker's stake in the democratic life—and the better his lot—the greater was his resistance to the pressure and false hopes of Communism.

We saw eye to eye on these matters.

The touchstone of all our efforts in the Western Hemisphere was an abiding concern for the welfare and dignity of the individual.

Recently as Undersecretary of Health, Education and Welfare I have come to know and respect many other officials of the A. F. of L. Throughout our common effort in reviewing and re-thinking the problems and needs of the people in the field of social security, I have been impressed by how closely akin are the objectives of President Eisenhower and the new Administration to those of the A. F. of L.

While sometimes we may have differed as to methods and procedure, we found ourselves in complete agreement as to our ultimate goals—the strengthening of the well-being and security, the freedom and human dignity of the individual American.

It must be a matter of great pride to the American Federation of Labor to look at the improvement of the lot of the working men and women of America since 1881. Certainly, you can look at that record with the knowledge that your organization played a major role in this social progress. From Samuel Gompers to George Meany—for 74 years—your leadership has been devoted and persevering. It is responsible, courageous leadership—such as yours—that gives our American democracy its vitality and strength.

During the years the A. F. of L. has been active, the worker's real level of living has been raised astoundingly—doubling every 40 years. Working conditions have been improved tremendously. The average work week in manufacturing has been reduced from about 65 hours in 1880 to almost 40 hours in 1953. During this era, too, there has been a broad leveling up of the lower end of the income scale.

Our economy, as well as our political institutions, has reflected the underlying concepts of democracy. To no small degree, this trend is forwarded by the effort of an enlightened organized labor movement.

But the American economy has done more than write its proud record of dynamic growth and increasingly equitable returns to the majority of citizens. The great productivity of the American economy has not only made possible a steadily rising standard of living for the individual American worker, but it has also made possible a progressive broadening of the essential social services—those services that communities must have to flourish and grow—education, public health, cultural and humanitarian programs of all types. In addition, through the instruments of labor and business, private philanthropy and government, we have been able, in increasing measure, to provide security for Americans where they are unable to provide for themselves.

Within the lifetime of many of you at this Convention, there was hovering over the workers of our Nation the specter of poverty and destitution due to unemployment, old age, or untimely death of a wage earner. It was not long ago when a worker who reached 65 years of age or more was released from industry; and if he had no savings he became the object of charity or had to live through the generosity of friends or relatives. And well can we remember the many widows with children whose hubsands may have been killed in industrial accidents in the factories, in the mines, or who died because of disease. Too often, such widows and children were thrown on the bounty of others.

Thank God, this situation is now disappearing in America. Labor and industry and the government have made great strides in meeting these problems. As a Nation, we created and are steadily improving a Social Security system which gives deserved recognition to the contributions which the workers of America make to the building of the Nation by making cash payments when family income stops due to unemployment, old age, or death.

In connection with these cash payments, it is impressive to note that the new amendments to the Social Security act, signed by President Eisenhower on September 1st, provide maximum monthly retirement benefits for a single worker of $108.50. That's the equivalent of the income on $32,500 worth of savings at 4%. If he is married, the benefit, under the new legislation, increases to $162.50 per month—equivalent to 4% income on $48,000 of savings. And to provide the $200 per month survivor's benefit that accrues to his widow with two dependent children under the recently increased benefit scale, it would take $60,000 of savings at the same rate of return.

It is no small achievement for a Nation to provide such broad protection to its working people. No Nation could make such a record,

let alone aspire to improve it, unless its economy were highly productive and essentially sound.

This Administration believes that nothing is more important to the well-being of the American worker than the maintenance of a growth economy in the United States. Only through the continuation of our economy's historic growth trend will it be possible for us to support expanding social service and security benefits in the future. Essential as these are, they are dwarfed by the direct benefits that a sound and expanding economy affords to workers through increased earnings. The record over the past twenty-five years shows that, despite tremendous increases in welfare payments of all types, the return to American workers in the form of higher real wages has been six times larger.

Equally a part of the Administration's economic policy is to see to it that the security provisions of American citizens, whether their individual savings or their Social Security benefits, are not stolen by the insidious thievery of inflation. Fixed return savings, whether public or private, cannot provide security for the future in the face of rapidly rising prices. Unless inflation is controlled, advances in Social Security benefit payments will be illusory.

Therefore, the Administration regards its fiscal and monetary policies, its tax program and credit operations, its flexible agricultural support program, its public works programs, and its measures to stimulate private initiative for increased production and preserve stable prices and high levels of employment as being of basic importance to social welfare and security. I sincerely believe that our record over the past twenty-one months, in preserving stable prices and in putting the economy back on a basis that assures the sound continuation of its historic growth, is worthy of your support.

Now let's go back to the Social Security amendments because I would like to review some of their highlights with you.

After President Eisenhower submitted his recommendations on Social Security to the Congress, your president, George Meany, said that the program assured working people that our Social Security system is safe in the hands of the new Administration. I think that events have borne that statement out; and I want you to know that there is no accomplishment of his Administration in which President Eisenhower takes greater pride and greater personal satisfaction than in the broadening and strengthening of our Social Security system.

The President was known and loved during the war by the troops because of his deep interest in the individual soldier. This concern for the individual he brought with him to the White House and it is evident in his special interest in all the affairs of the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

We are giving careful attention to your recommendations for further improvements in Social Security, and are counting on your continued help and counsel. The President does not regard the job as finished—and neither do we in the Department. The great job that was done this year certainly owes much to the cooperation and vision of the leaders of the A F of L, particularly George Meany and Nelson Cruikshank.

These 1954 amendments reflect this Administration's determination to banish the fear of poverty in old age. They reflect our desire that families be kept together when death takes the breadwinner from the home. They reflect our belief that an adequate Social Security program is essential to a sound economy. They reflect our conviction that previous injustices to disabled persons must be corrected. In short, they reflect our concern for the human problems of all our citizens.

Specifically, what does the new law do?

1. It extends old-age and survivors insurance to approximately five and one-half million farmers and farm workers. This was the largest group in our economy not eligible for a government retirement program.

2. For the first time the new law gives protection to self-employed professional engineers, architects, accountants, and funeral directors.

3. It extends coverage to most of the remaining domestic employees and to certain groups in the fishing industry who were previously excluded.

4. Approximately 3,500,000 employees of State and local governments, heretofore excluded from coverage because they are under a retirement system, may now—subject to a referendum—be brought under Social Security.

5. Under the new amendments, clergymen are now covered on an individual election basis.

As you of the American Federation of Labor well know, until now the Social Security program has been handicapped by its limited and incomplete coverage. In our country, where people move freely from farms to factories and from employment to self-employment, virtually universal coverage is essential to an effective Social Security program. From now on, just about everyone who earns his livelihood will be under Social Security.

6. And most important to the present beneficiaries — is the increase in benefits. Beginning with their September checks, which will be delivered early next month, the 6,600,000 people now on the rolls will get larger payments. Every aged retired beneficiary will receive a check that is at least $5.00 larger. Some will receive as much as $13.50 a month more. The total of monthly benefits paid will increase slightly more than 35 million dollars.

I think you might be interested to know of the extraordinary job which faced the workers in the Bureau of OASI in computing the individual payments to 6½ million people and making out the checks on the new basis. The operation was enough to stagger the imagination. However, they have done it and the checks will be delivered on time.

7. Beginning January 1, 1955, up to $4,200 a year in earnings will count toward Social Security benefits, instead of only $3,600. In other words, the maximum average monthly wage on which benefits are based has been raised from $300 to $350. This is an important step in preserving the basic concept of wage-related benefits.

8. The new law further provides a much more favorable basis for calculating the average wage. It allows each worker to drop out as many as 5 years of low earnings from the calculation of his average earnings. This cuts down the influence of extended periods of unemployment or illness which previously reduced the amount of a worker's benefit.

9. The new law is much more favorable than the old one in two additional ways:

It allows any beneficiary aged 72 or older to earn whatever he can without reducing his benefit. Previously this applied only to workers of 75 years or older.

It allows beneficiaries under 72 to earn up to $1,200 per year without any loss of benefits, and it abolishes the provision of the previous law which made benefits paid for any month contingent upon earnings for that month.

10. The new amendments remove a serious inequity of the old law relating to the disabled worker. Previously, the retirement rights and survivor rights of a worker who became permanently disabled were progressively whittled down as the years in which he was unable to work and had no earnings diluted the average annual earnings base upon which benefits are calculated. Now, a worker's wage record under Social Security can be frozen if he suffers a disability that lasts 6 months and is expected to continue indefinitely and his benefits are based on his previous earnings record.

In addition the new law provides for a referral of the worker to the State vocational rehabilitation center for immediate examination and services.

Experience has proved that the sooner a disabled person is given care and treatment, the better his chances are of ultimate rehabilitation and resumption of gainful employment. Many people are so emotionally upset following the sickness or accident causing their disability that they withdraw rather than reach out for the kind of help which advances in science have made possible. The result is that as time goes by they become increasingly "set" both psychologically and physically. Many thousands of workers who might have been brought back to self-supporting employment are permanently relegated to dependence on family and friends or are forced to accept public assistance for the rest of their lives.

I share the President's and Mrs. Hobby's deep concern for the disabled worker and the problem of providing for his rehabilitation. Although a State-Federal program in this field has been in existence for years, only about 55,000-60,000 disabled people a year are being restored to useful work through its services. This figure has to be seen in the perspective of a total of 250,000 people who are disabled annually who could be rehabilitated for gainful employment. In other words, only one out of five is now being rehabilitated.

To correct this tragic neglect, President Eisenhower recommended to Congress this year a program for a fourfold expansion of the vocational rehabilitation program within the next five years. His bill was passed unanimously by both Houses of Congress. Money for the Federal share of the first year's expansion has already been voted. This means that in four or five years, with the States' cooperation, we should be able to take care of almost all those who are currently being disabled and who can be rehabilitated.

What this will mean in terms of human values, the dignity of family life and the restoration of useful lives, no one knows better than you and those whom you represent. This rehabilitation program is one of the most inspiring humanitarian efforts ever undertaken by public agencies, and its expansion is, I believe, an accurate yardstick of the progress of our society.

As citizens, I know that you are genuinely concerned with all phases of our health, education and welfare activities. I can assure you that we intend to push forward with constructive improvements in the other programs, just as we have in the fields of OASI and vocational rehabilitation.

It is my understanding that this Convention is drafting a legislative program for presentation to the next Congress. High on that program will be a call for action to improve the Nation's schools and to meet the Nation's health needs. These two goals have my warm support, and I know that they have the support of the President and Mrs. Hobby.

We can never rest easy until every child in America has the opportunity to obtain an education which will enable him to make his maximum contribution to the community. And we should never be content until every family in America can obtain the best of medical care, no matter how serious or how prolonged the sickness which strikes it. When sickness takes a day's pay away from a worker and his family, it also takes a day's productivity away from the country. *Everybody* loses when *anybody* is ill.

We made a start on a constructive health program this year by taking certain significant steps.

First, was the amendment of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act to include four new categories. These will provide Federal matching funds for the construction of chronic disease hospitals, nursing homes, vocational rehabilitation facilities, and outpatient diagnostic and treatment centers for rural areas. It adds up to a 3-year, $182 million program. This is in addition to the funds for general hospital construction and recognizes the growing percentage of aged persons in our population and the resulting increase in chronic illness.

Our second step was expansion in the field of research. This involved the intensification of direct government research in cancer, heart disease, mental health, blindness, the neurological diseases, and many other ills, at the National Institute of Health Clinical Center in Bethesda, Maryland, and the opening this year of the new Taft Santitary Engineering Center in Cincinnati. The Cincinnati laboratory is devoted to research in the environmental and occupational health hazards which is of particular importance to every worker.

Third, the President recommended to Congress a bill designed to encourage the growth and improvement of voluntary health insurance.

I know that the A. F. of L. did not support the Administration on this proposal and that it was defeated in the last Congress. Frankly, I know that we will not agree overnight on what methods should be used to tackle this big problem. But I think we can agree, here and now, that we are both working toward the same goal—better health for the American people—and that we will work together in trying to reach this goal.

Neither of us wants socialized medicine, where the free play of individual initiative is stifled. Socialized medicine not only retards medical progress, but it lessens the quality of medical care. We have all seen the shortcomings of such systems. But somewhere between the extremes of "do everything" and "do nothing" is the middle way for which we must strive. I sincerely hope that we will have the continuing benefit of your help in working this out, just as we had your help in developing the recent advances in Social Security. I am not afraid of disagreements among men of good will. Neither is the President.

There is a close relation between health and education. A child cannot learn unless he is

healthy. But also a child cannot learn unless there are sufficient teachers and adequate classrooms. The Nation needs more classrooms and more teachers—and needs them now. Tomorrow and next year and the year after we will need even more. Each year the number of school children in America grows by one and a half million children. By 1960, we will have nine million more children of school age than we have today. We must make plans and take action now to meet this growing problem.

In order to deal with these problems within the traditionally sound framework of local responsibility for public education, the President recommended and the Congress authorized Federal funds for the holding of conferences on education in each of the 48 states. These will be followed by a national White House Conference on education in 1955. The Administration's aim is to make certain that the Federal role to meet the growing crisis in our educational system will reflect the true desires and needs of all the people.

I urge each of you to support actively the work of the conference on education in your own state. Do everything you can to make these conferences effective in the interests of the children of this country.

The work of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare—the programs I have discussed today—represent what might be called the human side of government—its concern for the well-being of its citizens as individuals. It is altogether fitting that this Nation—which has demonstrated an unprecedented capacity for material growth—should also demonstrate its spiritual growth through the scope and generosity of its humanitarian endeavors. These should grow as our ability to support them grows.

The measure of our effectiveness as a Nation, however, should be not only the amount of aid that is proferred, but, more important, the degree to which we can organize our affairs to minimize the need for such assistance. The prevention of disease may be less spectacular than its cure, but it is an infinitely more intelligent way to deal with the problem. The same may be said for the social problems that confront man in modern society.

The greatest security for us all rests in a Nation that is strong and ever increasing its economic strength. Such a Nation can provide basic services and emergency aid alike, and it can provide that most fortunate of all environments—one that promotes confident self reliance and reduces the need for catastrophic aid by reducing the number of catastrophies.

I believe that we are now approaching, for possibly the first time in our history, the attainment of a well-rounded inter-related program of social welfare—not a program of bits and pieces, but a program that serves the whole man. We are finally beginning to see man's needs, rights, obligations and aspirations, each in relation to the other. With this new vision, we should be better able to develop balanced programs of social progress that make sense for the country and for the individual American.

You in the A. F. of L. have always known that economic and social health are inseparable. You have been far-sighted in maintaining a continuing interest in the social programs of government alongside of your interests in economic progress. We who are charged with the administration of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare want your continuing counsel for our endeavors. We bespeak your help in maintaining the human touch that will allow us to develop our programs with understanding as well as wisdom.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that we all appreciate the very fine address of Nelson Rockefeller. Listening to him—and I listened very attentively to everything that he said—the thought came that the address he made sounded very much like the address that any labor representative who is well versed and interested in this subject would make. I am particularly grateful to him for the stand that he has taken on the very important subject of the education of America's children. I am quite sure from his remarks that he recognizes the fact that the education and welfare of the future citizens of this great nation is not just a local responsibility, it is a responsibility of the nation.

I can assure him that we will work with him toward the goals that he set forth here today, that we will give every cooperation to Mrs. Hobby and the Department that is set up for the purpose of applying government to the problems of ordinary citizens—as he very happily said, the human side of government. I also wish to say to you that one of the accomplishments of this Administration that I want to praise here and now is the establishment of a department of cabinet rank known as the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Those are all things which we are vitally interested in today, as we were from the day that the American Federation of Labor was founded. I appreciate his presence here and certainly feel that the delegates who are in attendance at this convention also appreciate his presence and remarks very much.

At this time I want to present Vice President Doherty for a statement to the Convention on a subject that is of tremendous importance to the employees of our Federal Government. We in Washington, our entire staff, our Government Employees Council, and the officers of our various unions have been concerned with this matter for many, many months. It is a subject upon which we cannot bring to you a report of success but which we can, I am quite sure, indicate to you the determination of these organizations and the American Federation of Labor to continue to work for the improvement of the conditions of the Federal employees. I now introduce to you at this time Vice President W. C. Doherty.

WILLIAM C. DOHERTY
President, National Association of Letter Carriers

MR. PRESIDENT: I should like to have the indulgence of the Chair and of the delegates to this great convention for a few brief minutes. My request is based on a matter of personal privilege for the organization I have the honor to represent—the National Association of Letter Carriers. Indeed, my request might well be in behalf of every federal employee union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Many delegates to this convention undoubtedly know the second session of the recent 83rd Congress approved a token pay raise of 5 per cent for all federal and postal workers. The measure was passed by the Congress in the closing hours of the very last day of the session.

President Eisenhower vetoed the Federal-Postal pay bill on Aug. 23. It was a "pocket veto" which is to say Congress was not given the opportunity to either override the veto or sustain the action of the President.

Perhaps that brief description is somewhat of an oversimplification of the history of the legislation. Actually, it took months and

months of strenuous, diligent application on the part of all Federal employee unions. There was a heavy toll on the treasuries of the organizations concerned. Is there little wonder that the veto was heartbreaking, frustrating and shocking to Federal and postal workers.

President Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and many, many affiliates of the AFL were right in the front lines during the 18 months this legislation was before Congress. Federal employees are sincerely grateful for that support. In their behalf, again, let me thank you.

Now as one who has been actively and intimately identified with the trade union movement most all of my adult life, I have gained one impression about the objectives of unionism which is fundamental in my thinking on the subject. Perhaps the origin can be traced back to my youth, when I walked a picket line in the 1919 strike against the Postal Telegraph Co.

Regardless of origin, I have always believed that the trade union movement, basically, is dedicated to the proposition that our combined efforts should constantly be devoted to the advancement of the standards of employment of all workers.

That does not mean just a few workers in selected industries. It means all workers in all industries.

It does not mean workers in some sections of the country, to the exclusion of other areas.

That conviction prompted the founding of this great Federation. Devotion to that principle, and day-to-day application of it has enabled the AFL to grow stronger and stronger. I know that each and every delegate to this convention shares my sentiments in this matter.

Unfortunately, however, there is one labor executive and I use that title advisedly—who apparently does not share our common philosophy. Perhaps he has been misquoted. I sincerely hope that he has been grossly misquoted.

The gentleman in question described the presidential veto to the federal pay raise as "Far sighted and courageous."

The same gentleman—by some tortuous reasoning process—praised the veto on the grounds that it stood for "responsible governmental wage structures." The gentleman was quoted in the public press as stating that President Eisenhower "acted wisely."

It is with extreme reluctance that I am obliged to identify this labor executive for the record to this convention.

The gentleman is Guy L. Brown, Grand Chief Engineer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Ironically enough, Mr. Guy L. Brown saw fit to praise the veto of our modest pay bill at a time when his own great organization announced that it was studying "a list of 100 proposed changes in working conditions and fringe benefits" for its own membership.

Mr. Guy L. Brown's description of the veto as "far sighted and courageous" was in extreme contrast to his description of the decision handed down by an arbitration board denying the locomotive engineers a 22½ per cent skilled differential wage increase.

Mr. Guy L. Brown was quoted as saying the President "acted wisely" in vetoing the Federal pay raise bill—remember it was a 5 percent increase. When the arbitration board denied the 22½ percent increase to the BLE —and I am sure it was a justified demand on their part—Mr. Guy L. Brown characterized the decision as "the most flagrant violation of moral justice I have witnessed in 40 years of railroading."

Perhaps I should admit that our economic sophistication is not equal to that possessed by Mr. Guy L. Brown. Perhaps Federal workers should have spurned the miserly 5 percent offered them and held out for the same 22½ percent demanded by Mr. Guy L. Brown.

The labor movement in this great nation has fought for years against arbitrary, uncontrolled and unilateral actions by management. The attainment and preservation of those objectives is the lodestone of this great Federation. One of the most potent and most successful weapons in the arsenal of Labor in this continuing fight is the strike weapon.

Federal employes do not have the precious right to withhold their skills and services. I know of no Federal worker who wants the right to strike against his government-employer. But in heaven's name, the very least, the absolute minimum we expect from our colleagues in private industry and trade is that they do not give aid and comfort to management when it shows what President Meany aptly described as a "shocking disregard for the welfare of Government workers." A Presidential pocket veto is nothing more than arbitrary action by management.

It is not my intention, nor do I expect this convention to take any official action on the unkind conduct of Mr. Guy L. Brown. I am confident he was not expressing the views of this convention. I doubt very much if he was even reflecting the sentiments of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. And I am positive he was not talking for the two million Federal workers who were denied a paltry few pennies as a result of the veto.

I am content to have the record of this convention show that Mr. Guy L. Brown's unkind and untimely utterances, in my opinion, were not in keeping with the spirit or letter of true free trade union ideals.

Before closing, may I assure all of your friends in the various railroad brotherhoods—and let me say parenthetically that Federal workers and the brotherhoods have many common bonds and mutual problems—that we will continue to stand together in pursuit of our common objectives. At this particular moment, there comes to my mind the current attempt to make "political plums" of ten key top jobs on the Railroad Retirement Board. Government workers know a little something about political raids, and the spoils system. They know from bitter experience the chaos that can only result from an attack on the merit system.

Therefore, we are on the side of the railroad brotherhoods in their fight to prevent this latest hatchet job on the merit system. We willlingly offer our cooperation whenever, wherever and however the brotherhoods care to use that help.

Our cooperation—the help of the Federal employes—will be given not because of Mr. Guy L. Brown—but in spite of him and his unkind, unjustified and deplorable defection.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Brother Doherty, for bringing this message to the attention of the Delegates.

. . . At this time announcements of committee meetings were made by the Chairmen of the various committees.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for a few announcements and then we will adjourn the morning session. Brother Schnitzler.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Three resolutions have been submitted to the Sub-Committee of the Executive Council that require the unanimous consent of the Convention. One is a resolution on the Quotas on Pottery Imports by the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters; a resolution on Plate Printers Seniority Rights, by the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers; and a resolution on Trade Union Unity in Italy, by a number of delegates to the Convention.

These require unanimous approval.

PRESIDENT MEANY: These resolutions require the unanimous approval of this Convention. Is there any objection to the introduction of these resolutions?

Hearing none, the resolutions are accepted and will be referred to the appropriate committee.

COMMITTEE SUBSTITUTIONS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Due to illness, Brother A. C. D'Andrea, Printing Pressmen, and Brother Leo E. George, Post Office Clerks, are not in attendance at this Convention. Both have been named to serve on Convention committees. Therefore, it is recommended that Pat Waldron will be named to the Committee on the Executive Council Report in the place of Brother D'Andrea, and Brother E. C. Hallbeck named as committee member on the Legislative Committee in the place of President Leo E. George.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the announcement in regard to the substitutions and the record will show that these names have been added to those committees.

Now that the hour of adjournment has been reached, we stand adjourned until 2:00 p.m.

. . . At 12:15 o'clock p.m. the Convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock p.m. this date.

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:10 o'clock P. M.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am now going to introduce to you the first of our fraternal delegates from Great Britain, and ask that you give him your full and complete attention. I am quite sure that he has a very interesting message to bring to us.

He is a member of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress. He is the general secretary of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen.

I am very happy to present Brother J. G. Baty, representing the British Trades Union Congress.

J. G. BATY
Fraternal Delegate
British Trades Union Congress

President Meany, officers of the AFL, sisters, brothers, and friends:

It is indeed a profound honor and a moving experience for me to be privileged to be present at this your 73rd Annual Convention, and to bring to you the fraternal greeting of the British T.U.C.

This is my first visit to your shores, and for personal reasons also I welcome this great moment: firstly, because I have looked forward to such an occasion since 1944, when my only son, who was in the renowned British Navy, made the supreme sacrifice at the early age of 18½ in our joint efforts to preserve the free and democratic way of life, shortly after leaving the U.S.A.

He was one of many, and I am today forcibly reminded of the paramount importance of keeping ever green the debt of gratitude we owe to those who gave their lives in order that we could meet together, as we are doing at this Convention, to freely discuss our problems, and fashion policy to meet the challenge of the times. I know, my friends, that in the AFL, as in the British TUC and other free countries we shall never let it be said that, due to our indifference, those who died or were maimed, made the sacrifice in vain.

Secondly, I am proud to be with you because of the many esteemed and cherished American friendships I have made over the years, particularly through the medium of the International Transport Workers' Federation.

Such international contacts are of immeasurable value, and the more we meet the more we learn; a feature which, I can assure you, is ever present in the minds of British Trade Unionists.

For my part I can say that my stay with you has been enjoyable, stimulating and interesting, and I express the profound hope that we shall always continue to foster the spirit of brotherhood in order to enable us to ensure breadth of vision and a complete understanding of the problems that beset us.

Just before leaving home a neighbor of mine knew I was coming and asked me to convey her and her husband's greetings to a relative of theirs. I have not had the opportunity of meeting the colleague in question, and perhaps some of your friends from Canada will take back through the medium of myself greetings from a relative to an officer of the A. F. of L. in Toronto, Brother J. O. Robertson. If there is anybody here I will give the relative's address. It gives me pleasure to bring it.

Turning now to my principal duty, it gives me great joy to convey to you the sincere fraternal greetings of your counterparts in Great Britain. To reach here in time, my good friend and co-delegate, Brother Jock Tiffin, and I left the 1954 T.U.C. shortly after it commenced in order to be with you. Like myself, Mr. Tiffin hails from across the border, and despite his Scottish name, I regret to say he landed here without the kilt. In order to do so, we traveled six thousand miles, and I can assure you that I don't regret one minute of the journey. However, I want to frankly confess, Mr. President, that as a locomotive man I was scared of the thought of traveling three nights and two days on the train from New York to Los Angeles. Eight hours on the rails was always long enough for me, but to my pleasant surprise the journey passed ever so quickly and it was indeed an inspiration and education to me. I enjoyed the variation of your countryside, but above all, Mr. President, might I pay tribute to the courtesy and kindess of the train personnel, which greatly impressed us. I would like them and you to know that I shall long remember my longest train journey with gratitude to all concerned.

It is worthy of mention on such an auspicious occasion that at the first Trade Union Congress held in Manchester 86 years ago, 118,000 Trade Unionists, organized in 34 Trade Socie-

ties, were represented by 34 delegates. In 1921, the affiliated membership was only 3,367,911, whereas at this year's Congress at Brighton 8,093,837 Trade Unionists, attached to 184 organizations were represented by 973 delegates.

The progress made since the inception of our organized movement in Great Britain gives us a natural emotion of pride and confidence, and it is our strong resolve to foster the spirit of friendship, human understanding, and international goodwill; hence, our continued interchange of fraternal delegates with you year after year.

May I here say, Brother George, how profoundly I appreciate the very kind references that you have made to the British T.U.C. in your address to the convention, and it will give me great pride, comfort and satisfaction to carry back with me such kindly greetings which were so sincerely mentioned.

The T.U.C. also takes pride in the fact that it has produced many great men. Time does not permit of reference to so many, and as an example, I will confine my remarks to a former highly-respected General Secretary of Brother Tiffin's Union, the late Brother Ernest Bevin.

In the most critical period in the history of my country, when the enemy was closely threatening our shores, Ernest Bevin accepted the onerous position of Minister of Labour and National Service. No Britisher, in my view, contributed more to the winning of the armed conflict.

It was his lot to organize and harness the British people to the war effort and it can be truthfully said that the right man was chosen for such an enormous task. Were it only on account of the success that attended his high vision and his unsurpassed efforts in that connection, the British Trade Union Movement will ever be proud; but, moreover, we cannot forget that in the post-war era he was in the forefront of the battle for peace. As British Foreign Secretary he showed courage and imagination, and, although abused and vilified, he carried on, but the strain unfortunately brought about his untimely death.

His passing was mourned by millions throughout the world, and the lovers of peace and freedom lost a true and worthy champion at a most inopportune time. We shall always cherish the memories of such great men and take pride in the knowledge that our worthy movement is capable of finding the right men for the heaviest of responsibilities in whatever circumstances we find ourselves.

We also recognize that your great country produced many similar people, and immediately comes to mind your worthy champion, the late Brother William Green, who was loved and respected by British Trade Unionists. He headed your movement for 28 years, and those who had the honor of meeting him will always salute his memory. It therefore behooves us, in all our deliberations to do all that is within us to emulate their spirit and devotion to the good cause.

The Trade Union Movement was brought to birth by men possessed of great courage. They unflinchingly bore the scars of battle, and from the tiny beginning we now find a highly organized movement, which, in my judgment, is the strongest bulwark of democracy.

It is therefore most gratifying to learn from time to time of the tremendous progress made by the Trade Unions in your country, and we express the fervent hope that you will continue to go from strength to strength. Moreover, we trust that your national center will always receive the loyal backing and support it so richly deserves.

I am fully conscious of the fact that fraternal delegates should not introduce controversial matters, an obligation I can assure you that I will fully respect and honor. But I do feel it incumbent upon me to make reference to the work and activities of the British T.U.C.

In these days of international tension it is fitting that I should mention our pride in being able to play such an important part in the work of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It was indeed a pleasant surprise to me to meet my very dear friend, Omer Becu, at your Convention.

We say with joy and confidence that the T.U.C. of ours has a long record of cooperation and selfless endeavor in the international sphere. Throughout the years we have strained every nerve and put forth our best endeavors in an effort to secure the establishment of a strong and powerful integrated Trade Union Movement based on our democratic and free ways of life.

We have, however, experienced many sorrowful disappointments during recent years, but it will be to the everlasting credit of national centers, who think as we do, that we faced our difficulties strongly resolved not to be diverted from our path. In point of fact, we are at this time proud to be working so closely together with trade unionists in so many countries with the object of hastening the day when freedom from want and freedom from fear will be the birthright of the peoples throughout the world.

It is, in our view, imperative for us to win the affection and respect of the peoples in the under-developed countries by using every means open to us to assist them to procure economic and social justice. It is on this basis that the destiny of mankind rests, and it is our confident belief that the free world, by its example, will give convincing proof of its ardent desire to make its full contribution to the attainment of lasting peace and the reinforcement of the dignity of men.

In this setting, President Meany, I deem it my duty to make some reference to German Rearmament in case some misunderstanding prevails. At our 1954 T.U.C. held quite recently there were several motions on the agenda. In the General Council's report on this very prominent topic there were certain changes that had taken place which compelled the General Council to submit an emergency resolution to the Congress. It might be worthwhile if I read the resolution, my friends. It is as follows:

GERMAN CONTRIBUTION TO WESTERN DEFENSE

This Congress regrets that the events of the past few days, culminating in the failure of France to ratify proposals for E.D.C., have held up progress in the development of effective Western defense.

Congress does not regard this unfortunate development as requiring any departure from the policy consistently pursued by the Trade Union Movement and repeatedly confirmed by decisive votes in Congress. In fact, it makes more imperative the need to continue to move in the direction which Congress has unswervingly followed.

Congress reiterates that its policy in defence of peace is based on the need for collective security through the United Na-

tions which provides for the organization of regional pacts for defence. N.A.T.O. is such a pact, and linked with it the E.D.C. proposals sought to provide for a German contribution in a co-ordinated plan solely for the purposes of collective security.

Congress therefore urges the speeding up of complete plans for effective Western defence which will enable Germany to bear its share and at the same time to give adequate assurance to the European nations and to all sections of German democracy that their contribution will be used to assist the United Nations to establish the framework of a general and lasting peace.

That was the General Council's resolution. It was adopted by just under a half million votes, and in my travels it has occurred to me a misconception is rampant. Therefore, my friends, I want to say to you today, please don't misunderstand that word whatsoever. The Communists will always support anything which opposes an attitude of mind such as the General Council have set out in this resolution.

You no doubt know that in the last war we faced havoc and destruction, and nowhere is there greater desire for peace, not on any basis, but on a sure basis, than in our country. I would ask you to picture the feelings and the viewpoints of those good women and those kiddies who knew what enemy action was night after night, and to accept from me the opposition was not Communistic. It was a sincere desire on the part of our people to see that if Germany was rearmed it was never on the same basis as hitherto prevailed. The General Council, therefore, Mr. President, acknowledged that German rearmament and control will be for the betterment of our country and all concerned, hence the submission of this resolution which again, I repeat, was adopted by the Congress.

On domestic issues our activities are wide and varied, and it is an acknowledged fact that the British T.U.C. has played its full part towards the establishment of the Welfare State. True it is that we were fortunate in having a sympathetic and understanding Government from 1945 to 1951, and during that period many fundamental changes, which we had advocated for more years than we care to remember, were brought about.

One of the most important was the "Social Insurance Scheme," which took care of many social problems such as State Pensions, children's allowances, and sick and unemployment benefits. Associated therewith was the "Industrial Injuries Act," which has meant so much to Trade Unions and workers in every industry.

As and when anomalies are revealed they receive the expert attention of the appropriate committee of the General Council of the T.U.C., and through this medium many important reforms have been effected which have proved invaluable to our people. I mention this in order to show that in addition to using our influence to bring about fundamental changes in legislation, we devote constant attention to amendments which, in our considered judgment, are essential in the interests and protection of those we are privileged to serve.

The Industrial Injuries Act had been preceded by the Workmen's Compensation and other Acts which were prejudicial to injured workmen, and the new legislation has not only spared the Trade Unions heavy legal costs, but has given much wider protection and greatly improved benefits to those who are injured during the course of their employment.

We are naturally proud of the many worthwhile changes that have been effected due to our influence; but our greatest joy is to have bestowed upon us such kind tributes from visitors to our country, particularly in respect of the improved health and happiness of our children.

We have regular meetings with the Minister of Labor in order to consider the best means to employ to ensure good human relationships at workshop level and throughout industry.

These meetings are also attended by representatives of Employers' organizations, and the recommendations that have from time to time been made have had beneficial results.

In the field of production much time and effort have been devoted; we recognize that it is a problem of paramount importance and one that means so much to the stabilization of the national economy, but fear of unemployment and dissatisfaction with wages standards and conditions of employment, together with the attitude of mind of many employers, have so far militated against the full realization of the objective we set out to achieve.

We are, President Meany, nevertheless grateful to you and your friends for affording the opportunity to teams to visit your country, and I can assure you that their reports proved of inestimable value.

The greatest concern of the T.U.C. in respect to domestic matters is the fiscal policy of the present British Government, since nothing has done more to undermine the standards of the workers.

We had for several years in the post-war period food subsidies and controls, which were designed to give fair shares, and to ensure that the cost of essential commodities would be kept at a reasonable economic level. During the period that this progressive policy was in being, industrial unrest was at a minimum, and there was ample evidence to show that our insolvency, due to the second world war, would be speedily and satisfactorily adjusted.

But, unfortunately, a change of Government reversed the trend of events, and their interference with food subsidies and their general fiscal policy have had serious repercussions to the detriment of the workers; so much so that a very heavy burden has been imposed on trade unions. In point of fact, at this time wages applications are the order of the day, and truth to tell, I was in the midst of important negotiations when I left home to share your esteemed company.

The General Council of the T.U.C. have naturally given profound expression to their views, but contacts with and submissions made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer have so far proved abortive. Our efforts will, however, not be relaxed in this regard, and every opportunity that offers will be used to procure a fair and square deal for our people.

On the 27th of last month a most momentous event in the history of the T.U.C. took place when Brother Jack Tanner, Chairman of our General Council, laid the foundation stone of our Memorial Building.

We are, I very much regret to say, one of the few national centers in the Free World without premises of our own, and at the 1944 T.U.C. it was decided to obtain premises worthy of our great Movement, but the work has been delayed due to Government restrictions made necessary by the havoc and damage caused by enemy action in the last war.

Our new home will be known as the Memorial Building and will be regarded as a permanent tribute to the many trade unionists who gave their lives as members of the armed forces or in pursuit of their civilian employment. When completed it will be used for the general activities of the T.U.C. and for educational purposes.

The ceremony on the 27th of August was attended by a large number of leaders of our trade unions, and we all look forward to the completion of the building which we anticipate will be within the next two years.

It will unquestionably give us tremendous happiness to welcome visiting trade unionists to our new headquarters, and we are confident that our Memorial Building will compare favourably with the best in our capital city.

I mention this because of our pleasure in greeting so many American friends, and I am confident that those of you who come to see us in the future will share our pride and confidence when you see our new headquarters.

I have deliberately mentioned a few of the salient features of the work of the British T.U.C. in order to show that in the economic, industrial and all other spheres of activity, we play a prominent part, and our contacts with Government Departments and Ministers of the State are frequent. We acknowledge that it is our obligation to safeguard the wellbeing of the people, and the progress made to date is testimony to our vigilance and honorable record of service.

We are fully conscious of the fact that our difficulties are identical (as must surely follow in democratic countries), and that we are possessed of the same aims and objectives.

Above all, we cherish the warm, friendly relationship that has for so long prevailed between the American Federation of Labor and the British T.U.C.; and we are of the confident belief that our brotherhood will be solidified and consolidated with the passage of time.

We are, my friends, indeed fortunate inasmuch as we speak the same language and can more readily understand each other. If the same facility prevailed in all quarters, I feel sure that the world would be healthier and a happier place to live in.

In again asking you to accept the sincere and warmest greetings of the British T.U.C., and their best wishes for the continued success of the American Federation of Labor, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude for the kind hospitality you have bestowed upon me.

I wish you to know that I will always remember my first visit to America, and cherish the many great friendships I have made during my stay with you.

Here it would be unfortunate if I mentioned names, but since we landed on your shores, the kindness shown to us could not be surpassed anywhere. Therefore I wish you to know that I will always remember my first visit to America and cherish the many great friendships I have made during my stay with you.

You can accept that we are with you in thoughts and spirit, and we are confident that, by our joint efforts, the Brotherhood of Man will be fostered and the day hastened when peace and happiness will reign supreme throughout the world.

In conclusion I express the earnest hope, President Meany and friends, that your deliberations will be crowned with success, and that the sun will shine for you, and that good health and happiness and the best of fortune will favor your officers and members for many years to come.

Having witnessed your enthusiasm and great devotion to the AFL, I know that the part that you will play in the future in domestic and international affairs will be as great as the contribution you have made to date. Our democratic way of life is the most valuable asset, and it will and must be maintained. It behooves us all, my friends, to be ever mindfull and conscious of the fact that only democrats can destroy democracy, and God forbid that they may ever be guilty of such an offense.

Therefore, I leave you feeling greatly enriched by my contact with you, and I am confident, my good friends, that above everything else we shall always remember that ours is a worthy business and that we will always endeavor to prove worthy of it.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Baty, for that most instructing and illuminating address. I can assure Brother Baty of the determination of the American Federation of Labor to maintain our traditional fraternal relationship with the British TUC. That relationship was put to the acid test, we might say, some eight or nine years ago. Despite a grave difference of opinion, we came through that period and maintained our relationship.

Yes, we speak the same language as the British TUC, the language of free men, the language of constructive trade unionism, and I personally feel that one of mankind's greatest hopes for continued peace and freedom lies in the close association of the United States of America and of Great Britain, and I am sure that the British TUC and the American Federation of Labor will do everything in their power to see that our two countries act together in any and all international problems which we face.

I want to congratulate the TUC through Brother Baty and Brother Tiffin on acquiring a home of their own after these many years of existence. I am quite sure the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, will in some way make a more tangible expression of our congratulations to the TUC upon the completion of their new home.

. . . At this time the official convention picture was taken.

MEETING OF DELEGATES REPRESENTING STATE FEDERATIONS OF LABOR AND CITY CENTRAL BODIES

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce that there will be a conference of all delegates representing State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies on Friday evening at 8:00 o'clock, in the East Gold Room in this hotel. This conference will be for the purpose of discussing various phases of state legislation, including unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, right-to-work laws, and will be attended by the staff representatives of the American Federation of Labor in these fields as well as the General Counsel for the American Federation of Labor, Mr. J. Albert Woll.

ESCORT COMMITTEE FOR AMERICAN LEGION COMMANDER

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to announce the appointment of an Escort Commit-

tee to escort the Commander of the American Legion, Mr. Seaborn Collins, to the Convention Hall tomorrow morning. The Escort Committee will consist of Vice President Dave Beck, Vice President James C. Petrillo and President Richard Gray of the Building Trades Department. That Committee will make arrangements to meet with the Commander of the Legion and escort him here to the hall tomorrow morning for an address.

At this time I want to present for an address an individual who I am sure will be listened to with great interest by this Convention. He is the Ambassador to the United States from Austria. He has had the opportunity of residing in the United States in his official capacity as Ambassador and has visited here several times in his capacity as Foreign Minister of Austria. He has distinguished himself as a democratic statesman in his country, fighting extremism of the right and of the left. He was called by a very prominent magazine in America as the man who said no to Stalin.

His country is an occupied country, occupied jointly by American, British, French and Soviet troops—a country that our nation has been trying to have restored to sovereignty through the negotiation of an Austrian peace treaty, which, as you all know, has been blocked from the very outset by the Soviet Union.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you for an address, Dr. Karl Gruber, Austrian Ambassador to the United States.

DR. KARL GRUBER
Austrian Ambassador to United States

Let me first express my gratitude for the kind invitation to your convention. I am very honored to have the opportunity to address your great organization and to talk to you about one of the burning problems of Europe. For many years my country, and I personally, have enjoyed the most pleasant relations with the American Federation of Labor and I have become a great admirer of your organization and its outstanding achievements in American public life. Trade unions have become a factor of stability in our modern industrial society and this is particularly so in your country and in mine. In Austria about 70% of all the employed are organized in the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions. Just as in the United States, Trade Unions have become one of the strongholds of democratic thought and an element of paramount importance in the political, economic, cultural and civic life of our nation.

Well-organized trade unions are not only one of the pre-conditions for industrial progress, but are also one of the strong pillars of a living democracy. I therefore think it is to your credit that you take such an ardent interest in world politics and especially in the foreign policy of your own country. Such an interest is a duty of a democratic organization and, as recent history demonstrates, is also an important element for the well-being of the workmen in this or any other country.

We know from experience that modern wars with all their terrible consequences are no longer limited to the front lines, but are reaching right into the homes and the workshops of the citizens. In peacetime vast sums have to be spent to safeguard the very existence of democratic states. I therefore think that the workers interest in international affairs is well justified. The maintenance of law and order in international life has become of prime importance for the welfare of the great masses in the world. Diplomacy and international relations are no longer the privileged occupation of a few, and great civic and professional organizations, such as your own, are called upon today to fulfill vital functions in international affairs and it is reassuring to see that Americans have realized their international obligations with intelligence, courage and determination.

The last war was fought to reinstate democracy in very important regions in middle Europe and other places in the world. But an analysis of the postwar picture shows clearly that this aim was reached only to a very limited extent. In wide regions of Eastern Europe one dictatorial rule has been replaced only by another; the grim regime of the Red dictatorship has taken over the countries to the east of Austria. In describing this state of affairs, we are already leading up to the present confused international situation. The sudden strokes of Red Communism in Europe have filled wide parts of the world with fear and alarm. Even after the progress in Europe of the aggressive doctrine has been, at least for the moment, halted as a result of counter measures taken by the free world, and I may say, especially by your country, this fear and alarm have not much receded. How can we explain this amazing state of mind, if we sum up the potential of the free world which still exceeds by far the potential of the Red dictatorship? The reason is a very simple one. Whereas the Eastern block concentrated its energy and every ounce of its resources on rearmament and concerted action, the free world thought it could afford the luxury of an emotional approach and of getting bogged down in legalistic quarrels. Austria is one of the victims of these circumstances.

As I flew from Washington to Los Angeles I happened to re-read a speech that I made in this city eight years ago, in 1946, when I first came to the United States as Foreign Minister of Austria. In spite of a greatly improved domestic situation, my description of Austria's international position in 1946 still holds true in 1954. It is a sorry testimony to the sterility of international statesmanship that we Austrians now just as then stand before the world pleading for what we firmly believe to be our right: namely for the restoration of full independence and sovereignty to our country. May I remind you, that Austria was not an ex-enemy country, but according to the Moscow Declaration of the Big Four Powers, the first victim of Nazi aggression. No one, and that includes the Soviets, claims today that the continued occupation of our country is justified in any way politically, economically or otherwise.

Within a few years after the end of the war we had been able to rebuild our country as a stronghold of democracy in Central Europe. Under the threat of aggressive Communism our people is united and since 1945 a Coalition Government, which has earned for itself the reputation of being among the most stable in Europe, is steering Austria through the difficult waters of the postwar period. In free and unfettered elections the Austrian workers, farmers and businessmen have continued to express themselves in favor of the coalition of between the conservative People's Party and the Labor Party, representing 80 per cent of the voters. The Communist party has been unable to poll more than 5 per cent even in the Soviet zone of occupation where the votes were cast in the shadow of the Red Army's bayonets.

Economically our people, supported by the generous aid from the United States, were able to accomplish what even optimists did not think possible in 1946. For the first time since the establishment of the Austrian Republic in 1918 our economic balance sheet shows a healthy surplus. Our industrial production is about 90 per cent higher today than before the war and our agricultural production has also surpassed the prewar level. Our currency, the Austrian schilling, has again become a hard currency and within the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, Austria has accumulated a sizeable surplus and is now a creditor rather than a debtor nation.

But these figures should not make you forget the enormous burden that the continued occupation puts on our economy. Through the Marshall Plan America has granted a billion dollars since the war to Austria. But an almost equal amount of potential revenue has been diverted from our country through the occupation. 300 important industrial enterprises, a major part of the Danube Shipping Corporation and, last but not least, all of our oil industry have been requisitioned and are administered as so-called German assets by the Soviet occupation authority.

But an even greater obstacle to the final consolidation of the situation in Austria is the political uncertainty in which our present status keeps the country. To obtain at last our Treaty of Independence the Austrian Government and the Western Powers were ready to make great sacrifices. To get foreign troops out of the country and thus remove that political uncertainty that was and is casting its shadow over our very existence as a nation, we were prepared to assume heavy financial burdens.

I shall not here repeat the sad story of the Austrian Treaty negotiations, where in almost 300 meetings in Paris, Vienna, London, Moscow and New York it proved to be impossible to obtain agreement from the Soviet Union to withdraw their troops together with the Western troops from Austria. In Paris in 1949 the Soviet representative gave assurances that all would be well if only we and the West would consent to some of their demands in the question of German assets. This we did, but to this very day we have not come much closer to the final settlement of the Austrian problem.

At the Berlin Conference finally the Soviet Delegation decided to lay the cards on the table. As the Western delegations and the Austrian Government announced their willingness to accept all former Russian proposals for the treaty text, Russia surprised the world with the statement that their new additional condition for the Austrian Treaty would be that their troops stay there indefinitely. They promised not to interfere any further in Austrian internal affairs, but this they had already promised under the Control Agreement as early as 1946. The Austrian Government and the Austrian people were unanimous in their rejection of such a preposterous proposal; they knew that genuine freedom will not be possible with the continued presence of the Red Army.

What now is the conclusion that we and our American friends can draw from the Soviet behavior towards the Austrian Treaty? Here you have a country that wants to be free and independent and a solemn pledge by the Big Four Powers, including the Soviet Union to restore this freedom and independence as far back as 1943. The question now is, is Russia ready to live up to her obligation, even after it became clear that Austria is not willing to enter the Communist camp. If they do so, then there might still be hope to go on with further negotiations and settle other important questions. If they do not agree on the relatively simple Austrian Treaty, where all the issues have been unanimously agreed upon long ago, then frankly I cannot see how we can expect Russia's cooperation on other much more complicated questions. Russia talks much of her need for security and one would certainly not turn aside such a consideration. Russia has a right to security just as any other nation in the world. But Russia has no monopoly to security. Security must be general, it must exist for every nation. Security which only safeguards the Communist block and leaves all the other regions to their mercy cannot be in the interest of the free world.

It is much debated these days whether another conference with the Soviets would or would not be of advantage to the West. After the Geneva Conference which saw the consolidation of the Communist block in another important part of the world, it is small wonder that American public opinion does not favor such a new approach. It is generally feared in this country that another conference on Germany would only lead to agreed results if the West would be prepared to recognize the regime in Eastern Germany and thereby adding again and in a still more important place to the consolidation of the Communist block.

It would therefore, I think, be entirely in the interest of the United States to concentrate on finalizing the Austrian Treaty first. Europe has suffered tremendously in two world wars and the masses of people are constantly searching for solutions which would permit them to carry out the obligations of international life without the burden of rearmament and without the emotional tensions of the Cold War. Therefore it seems to be of utmost importance to demonstrate to the peoples of Europe whether there is a way to settle the questions by negotiations now or whether it will be possible to settle them only after a hard period of further strengthening the Western position. The issue, where you can clarify the real intentions of Soviet policy has long been the Austrian case. For this reason you should put this question again and again to Russia: what about Austria? If Russia should come to the conclusion that further progress in their relations in Europe will not be possible before the Austrian question is settled, the Soviets will think twice before they reject again a satisfactory settlement. And if they do, it should be very clear for everybody that more effective strength is required in carrying out peace objectives.

In closing my remarks, I would like to tell you how much we in Austria are appreciating your great interest in our country. There is in my country no such thing as anti-Americanism. Just a few weeks ago a high-ranking American returning from Vienna told me how happy he was to notice the friendly feeling between Austrians and Americans on both sides of the ocean. Enlightened Europeans know that only America is strong enough to outbalance in Europe the great power of the Soviet block and they regard American participation in world affairs as a paramount necessity in our age. Your country has come a long way since it refused to join the League of Nations after the First World War. We know that these basic issues are sometimes beclouded by misunderstandings and friction which is bound to arise between free nations. But there is much more goodwill towards

America and much more will to resist an aggressive doctrine in Europe than the often confusing undercurrents of European domestic affairs would make you believe. If I, in parting, may express before this great forum an ardent wish, shared by the overwhelming majority of Europeans, it is, that you should not let yourself be discouraged in your interest in Europe. American participation in European affairs exists by sheer historic and geographic necessity, it is not a passing phenomenon of postwar policy, but it springs from the common heritage of moral values and of practical facts and can only be disregarded at the peril of both your country and ours. We Austrians have been greatly heartened by your moral and material assistance and we count on continuing friendship with the United States as the only safe road to our freedom.

I know that your great organization always stood for international solidarity. We thank you for this. And so let me ask you to include Austria especially in your political considerations. Your active interest will be of greatest value in our strive for freedom and real peace.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: On your behalf I wish to thank Dr. Gruber for coming here to our Convention and delivering this very interesting and constructive address concerning the situation in his home country. I can assure him of the sympathetic attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the plight of the people of Austria, overrun by Hitler, overrun by one dictator, brought into a war without being asked their consent, and then, as the result of that war, becoming an occupied country and that occupation remaining for these many years because of the arbitrary attitude of another dictator.

I am very happy to have Dr. Gruber here and would like him very much to stay as long as he can at the Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I want to call on one whom we might say is a representative of one of our necessary evils, the representative of the legal profession, who does a very fine job. He is always ready to apply himself to any of the problems of our affiliates.

It gives me a good deal of pleasure to present to you the General Counsel of the American Federation of Labor, J. Albert Woll.

J. ALBERT WOLL,
General Counsel
American Federation of Labor

President Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler, members of the Executive Council, delegates and Friends: I hope, President Meany, that this is one necessary evil which, like the poor, you will always have with you.

The year that has passed since our last Convention might well be characterized as one of continued and unceasing assaults against the rights and the well-being of the American worker. The intensity of these attacks on both the State and national level has not diminished since we last met.

In the States, the forces of those who hate labor, still seek to destroy its strength and the unity that has created and nurtured it. Using every strategem known to them, including the hurling about of false and slanderous propaganda concerning labor organizations and those who lead them, and marching under appealing, but false, banners they have continued their bombardment of labor in the legislative field. Although repulsed in some states where they have sought to impose their will, they have made advances and gained objectives in others. Thus, for example, they were successful in having the states of South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana adopt so-called "Right to Work" Laws, thereby raising to seventeen the total number of states having such laws. In addition, Virginia's "Right to Work" law was tightened to the point of posing the possibility of imprisonment each time a union man, as such, may be hired.

The very title given to these so-called "Right to Work" laws furnishes emphatic proof that false propaganda and slogans—like that which accompanied the "open shop" cry of the nineteen twenties—plays a large part in the passage of these laws. These laws are not "right to work" laws, for they give no such right. Rather they are "Back to Peonage" laws, for they seek to destroy the bargaining strength that comes to a worker through his unity with other workers under the banner of a free and militant trade union and seek to reduce the worker to a condition where he must either toil like a peon, bereft of spirit and human dignity, under conditions unilaterally and arbitrarily set by the employer, or else not work at all.

The only right envisioned by these laws is a right to beg, for stripped of the strength of collective action, the individual worker, at a time of a surplus in the labor market, will be at the complete mercy of the employer and will have to beg for a job, beg for a living wage and beg for a modicum of security against sickness, accident and old age. Truly, to call these laws "Right to Work" laws is a tragic hoax and a callous deception.

Turning to courts of the various States, we find that the assaults against labor also continue with force and determination. Here, as in the legislative field, labor's assailants have met with success and with failure. Here, as in the legislative field, the struggle is intense, with labor meeting legal stratagem with legal stratagem. In this struggle, it has acquitted itself astoundingly well.

However, because of restrictive state anti-union laws and the tendency on the part of some state courts somehow to find illegality or violation of public policy in many of organized labor's customary objectives and activities, this past year has again witnessed the issuance of a number of court decrees, destructive of the rights and liberties labor has won through long years of toil and sacrifice. It is, of course, impossible here to enumerate or discuss each of these cases. Illustrative, however, is the case of Austin vs. Painters District Council decided by the Supreme Court of Michigan in June of this year. In this case, the Supreme Court of Michigan upheld a lower court injunction commanding members of a painters district council to stop their attempts to resist the use of a painting device which they regarded as both unhealthy and uneconomical and denying them the right even to discuss or bargain for various limitations on the use of this device.

In so upholding this lower court injunction, the Michigan Supreme Court acted without the benefit of statutory or common law on the subject and concluded, out of thin air, that the efforts of the painters union to mitigate the evil of unhealthy and labor displacing devices was an illegal labor objective contrary to public policy. This decision is astounding and foreboding. It is a graphic illustration of what can happen to labor under judicial determination of illegality of object and of public policy.

The past year has also witnessed a continuance, by some state courts, of the practice of invoking against labor, ancient common law concepts and old statutory enactments originally regarded as applicable to fields far removed from labor relations. The result has been to outlaw or restrict legitimate labor activities. Thus, this past year, old common law rules regarding the duty of common carriers to carry freight and merchandise have been invoked to command union members employed by common carriers to cross picket lines established at the premises of any customer of such common carrier engaged in a labor dispute. One such decision, involving a Teamsters local union and the American Tobacco Company is now before the Supreme Court of the United States on petition for certiorari.

Happily, however, since the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Garner case, there has been a noticeable decline in the practice of state courts to issue crippling injunctions against labor activities where such activities fall within the ambit of the Taft-Hartley Act. In this Garner case, which represents one of the most important victories that labor has won in the courts since the Taft-Hartley Act was passed, the Supreme Court held, in effect, that while the states retain their power to protect public safety and order, they have no right to regulate or interfere with labor conduct in interstate commerce when that conduct is already controlled by Federal law. As a result of this decision, the state courts, on the whole, have taken a hands-off policy in labor dispute cases that bring into play the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. When they do not, labor attorneys in the states have been quick to correct the error of their ways.

In reviewing the history of labor's fortunes in the state courts this past year, I believe it can be said that there has been a noticeable lessening not only in the number of state anti-union decisions, but in the extent of their adverse effects. As indicated, this can be attributed to a great degree to the Garner decision, but I believe it is also due, in a large measure, to the excellence of labor attorneys throughout the various states who have not only salvaged much out of many a deplorable legal situation in the courts but have, on many occasions, succeeded in securing favorable decisions against almost hopeless odds. I do not think I speak too optimistically when I say that it is beginning to appear that these legal representatives of labor are gradually bringing home to a number of state court judges the realization that labor does have many legal rights under the law and that these rights must be fully protected and zealously safeguarded in the courts of the land. I salute these attorneys for a job that is being well done and for the many successes they have won despite disheartening obstacles.

On the national scene, the picture is also one of heavy cannonading from all sides, designed to immobilize organized labor, destroy its unity and sap its ability to advance and promote the welfare of working men and women.

In the field of federal legislation, we have witnessed the melancholy sight of a solemn and sincere pledge remaining unfilled—a pledge to remove from the Taft-Hartley Act its union-busting provisions and to make this repressive and unjust law a fair one under which both management and labor might live and our nation's economy might advance and prosper. There has not only been a total failure to redeem this promise of fair treatment to labor, but, in addition, there have actually been attempts made by reactionary elements, including representatives of the present Administration, to amend the Taft-Hartley Act so as to further shackle and restrain the rights and liberties of the organized wage earners. These attempts were unsuccessful, but they serve to indicate a frame of mind and a determination of purpose. Labor needs no prophet to foretell the course of future events in Congress unless every lawful effort is exerted to see to it that the men and women who are chosen by the people to sit in that Congress next year, are divorced of an anti-labor bent of mind and completely freed of prejudice against the cause of labor.

With the election of such men and women to the next Congress, I am quite certain that a fair labor-management act will follow. I also hope and believe that other statutes designed to frustrate the legitimate aims and activities of labor, such as the Hobbs Act and the Lea Act will be repealed or substantially amended so that there will be an end to the specter of imprisonment that confronts every working man each time he engages in a tussle with his employer to better his economic lot. I am particularly concerned over the Hobbs Act, for since its enactment, there has been an increasing use of this Act and, with such use, there has come increasingly broader interpretations of the extent of its application, so that today it is no longer confined to the stated purpose for which it was enacted, which was to punish violence engaged in with the specific felonious intent of committing robbery and extortion in interstate commerce. As a result, there is reason to fear that the day may come when this act might be held applicable to a strike over wage increases which may be accompanied by a sporadic outburst of violence. This law, which can reach out and envelop not only the Teamsters, as quite commonly thought, but any organization or individual whose activities have an effect on interstate commerce, should be repealed or at least amended so as to make certain that it cannot make felons out of well intentioned and honest working men.

Turning now to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States this past year, I think it can be fairly said that labor has enjoyed some measure of success—at least more so than in recent years. The Court's decision in the group of 3 cases involving the Radio Officers Union, the Teamsters Union and the Gaynor News Company, finding unlawful encouragement of union membership, might be regarded as disappointing, although these decisions were not entirely unanticipated in view of the all-embracing nature of the broad Taft-Hartley restrictions against such encouragement.

Labor, however, can be rightly pleased with the Garner decision, which I have already mentioned, and the Supreme Court's subsequent decision in the Capital Services Case, implementing this Garner decision. In the Capital Services Case the Supreme Court held that attempts to enforce Taft-Hartley prohibitions by use of State court injunctions could, in turn, be enjoined by Federal District Courts. As already pointed out, these two decisions have served to curtail, in large measure, the past widespread practice of using the injunctive process of State Courts to impede and frustrate labor activities falling within the exclusive jurisdiction of Federal authority. However, following these two decisions the Supreme Court noted an exception to this denial of State authority to proceed where conduct falls within the scope of the Taft-Hartley Act. In the case of Construction Workers v.

Laburnum, decided on June 7 of this year, the union workers had engaged in certain conduct which constituted a violation of the Taft-Hartley Act. The company, however, instead of seeking relief from the Labor Board, filed a common law tort action for damages against the union in the State Court. Because the Federal Law did not provide any compensatory relief for such conduct, which would be tortious under State Law, the Supreme Court held that the suit could be maintained even though the conduct was made unlawful under Taft-Hartley. This Laburnum Case has very dangerous potentialities, as you can well imagine, and great care must be exercised if heavy damage suits in State Courts are to be avoided.

While on the whole, labor has not fared too badly in the Supreme Court this past year, it has taken a tremendous beating on another front. I refer to the decisions of the National Labor Relations Board since the appointment of its new Republican majority. In decision after decision, in most instances over the dissent of the Democratic appointees, the new Board has construed and applied the Taft-Hartley Act in a manner highly detrimental to labor. I mentioned earlier that at the last session of Congress, organized labor was obliged to fight off a number of vicious anti-labor amendments proposed by labor's enemies to "put teeth" into the Act. The new Republican majority, in a series of decisions, has in effect, acceded to a number of the very proposals which the labor baiters were unable to persuade Congress to adopt. Thus, those who oppose labor have been able to achieve by administrative decision what they had failed to achieve by legislative enactment.

This trend of Board decisions in the direction of ham-stringing labor ever more viciously constitutes perhaps the principal development in the field of labor law since I last reported to you in the 1953 Convention, and this development toward an anti-labor, pro-employer construction of what already is the worst piece of labor legislation ever enacted poses one of the major problems facing organized labor today.

Let me be more specific and illustrate by concrete example just what type of decisions the new Board has been coming out with and how these decisions correspond to the anti-labor proposals unsuccessfully made before the last Congress. A principal plea of employer interests has been for greater "states rights" in the law of labor relations. In a series of rulings the new Board has acceded to these requests by refusing, as a matter of administrative discretion, to exercise its admitted jurisdiction in large fields of industrial enterprise. Vast numbers of small employers, that is small in terms of the volume of raw materials received and products shipped in interstate commerce, have been excluded from the terms of the Act. This means that their employees—and their number may run into millions—no longer have available to them whatever protections Taft-Hartley Act provided against employer unfair labor practices. It is precisely this class of employee that is in greatest need of these protections. Even worse, refusal of the Board to exercise jurisdiction means that the unions involved may be thrust to the tender mercies of the anti-labor laws which are now on the statute books of some thirty-three states.

For years reactionary employer interests have been clamoring for what they call greater rights of employer free speech—by which they really mean greater license to discriminate against or discourage union activity. The new Board has now bowed to these demands in two important fields. Ever since the passage of the Wagner Act and even after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, prior labor boards have consistently held that employers have no right to question their employees concerning their union affiliation. In a recent decision, however, the three-man Republican majority has permitted such interrogation. To be sure the majority in that decision attempted to qualify this new employer right by saying it could not be used for purposes of coercion; but anyone at all familiar with the realities of industrial life, particularly in company-owned towns and in some southern communities knows, as did all previous boards and the United States Supreme Court, that the mere act of questioning a worker concerning union affiliation inevitably has coercive effects.

The other area of employer free speech in which the new Board has reversed long-standing precedent involves the so-called captive audience doctrine. Under this doctrine the Board had formerly held it to be the obligation of employers who lock in their employees prior to labor board elections for the purpose of delivering anti-labor harangues, to afford equal opportunity for union representatives to make reply. Under the new decisions, employers no longer have this obligation of permitting opportunity to reply but can deliver the most violent anti-union diatribes just before elections, with complete immunity, so long as there is no threat of discharge. The Board of course has stated several exceptions—mainly that no such captive audience speeches can be delivered in the 24 hours preceding the election and that captive audience speeches cannot be made at all if union representatives have no access whatsoever to the premises and the employer has in effect broad no-solicitation rules. But these are of relative unimportance, for the new allowable area of employer free speech permits the employer to wreck the most carefully planned and long-worked-out organizing campaign just before the time comes for an election.

In a very recent decision, the Board has in effect written a compulsory no-strike clause into every union contract. Here again we find one of the reactionary proposals for "strengthening" Taft-Hartley becoming law without the need for legislative action. Under previous rulings of the old Board employees covered by a union contract which did not have a no-strike clause were free to strike for changes or additions at any time during the life of the contract, provided only that they give the required 60 and 30-day notices. Under the new rule no strike can be engaged in before the end of the contract term or until a specific reopening date and the 60-day notice must correspond with or be later than the expiration or modification date specified in the contract. The penalty is freedom on the part of the employer to discharge all union members engaging in strikes. Thus, the Board has not only written a compulsory no-strike clause into every collective bargaining agreement but has in many cases lengthened the cooling off period of 60 days, presumably set by Congress. Thus the new Board has accomplished restrictions against striking which only the most rabid of the anti-labor partisans had hoped to achieve by legislative act.

I could go on for several hours enumerating Board decisions destructive of labor's rights. Let me conclude, however, by telling you of a very recent decision in the field of picketing which the dissenting minority characterized as a proscription of peaceful picketing never before attempted under the secondary boycott

provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. The case involved a Painters' Union in Augusta, Georgia, and the Board, in effect, held unlawful all peaceful picketing at a construction project where more than one contractor or employer was engaged in work—even though the picket signs clearly indicated that the dispute was only with one particular contractor on the job—unless the picketing union goes to the extent of requesting other crafts not to respect their picketing lines. A more outrageous example of outright disregard of one of labor's most honored traditions can hardly be found.

I do not think it is necessary to give any more examples to prove the point that the new Board constitutes one of the gravest threats which organized labor has had to face for many a year. If the present trend continues, there will be no need for further employer-inspired amendments "to put teeth" into Taft-Hartley—all will have been accomplished by administrative decision. This trend indicates that the need for substantial repeal or for numerous alleviating amendments is now greater than ever as likewise the need is great for public servants to administer this Act who do not appear to sneeze when management takes snuff.

And now, in concluding this report, may I express the hope that I have contributed something to your greater understanding of some of the legal problems that have beset us on all sides this past year and some that we must face in the months to come. Yes, indeed, it has been a bitter struggle but we have found our happiness in the successes we have enjoyed against most heavy odds. Fortunately, during these past 12 months we have not carried on alone this fight on the legal front. To the contrary—and I want to state this publicly—I wish to express my deepest and most heartfelt appreciation to the President of this great Federation of Labor for his always able and always generous aid and assistance. As he is an inspiration to the organized wage-earner of this land so has George Meany inspired us to go on and on and meet the attack with courage, with force and with dignity. This applies also to Bill Schnitzler, and yes, to the entire membership of the Executive Council who, at all times, manifested a real interest in our work and disclosed a complete understanding of the problems presented and the seriousness of their nature. Indeed, we are lucky to have played a part on a great team. A team that is strong and virile and confident—confident because of superb leadership and because of a cause that is good and just. Although the onslaughts that press against us are heavy and determined we will meet them and conquer them as similar onslaughts have been met and defeated in the past. Yes, this we will do, all of us, united and strong under the banner of this great, this militant, this ever-forward moving American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Mr. Woll, for your address here this afternoon.

The subjects mentioned by Mr. Woll, I am sure, will all be considered by the Convention in reporting on resolutions before us, and also on sections of the Executive Council report. It will go into what might be termed at the end of this Convention a comprehensive evaluation of the good things and the bad things that we see in the Administration in Washington, and I am sure that we will place the responsibility in each case where it belongs.

Now, at this time I would like to present for a short address a representative of the Israeli Federation of Labor, known as Histadrut. A great many in this room are familiar with the record of this organization, and also familiar with the fact that we have had close cooperation between the various segments of the American Federation of Labor and the Jewish movement in what is now Free Israel over a good many years.

In this nation, a very small nation, in a part of the world where there are a great many backward nations, we find a very interesting experiment in progress, an experiment where people from all over the world returning to the traditional homeland of the Jews are, through the democratic machinery of Israel, building a world for themselves, developing in that far-off land hydroelectric power and every sort of development that goes into modern industry. This is being done through hard work on the part of the people of Israel. The sparkplug, as it were, of that machinery is the Histadrut, the Jewish Federation of Labor.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you for a few remarks the American Representative of Histadrut, Brother Moshe Bitan.

MOSHE BITAN
American Representative of Histadrut

President Meany, Delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor: Thank you for the very kind words of introduction. I am glad to be here with you and to bring to this great Convention the greetings of five hundred thousand members of Histadrut, the Israeli Federation of Labor.

I would say indeed, of the people of Israel as a whole, I am impressed as much as my colleagues have been, with the achievements of the American trade union movement, and I am impressed by your manifestation of power which this Convention represents.

I should like you to also feel proud, as trade unionists, of the achievements of another movement far away from you, smaller in number, which plays in a very difficult part of the world, a very important role.

We established our Federation of Labor in 1921. We have organized in our country, 85 per cent of all the workers. I believe that, except for the Scandinavian countries, this may be the highest percentage of organized workers in the world. We are even prouder of the fact that most of our members—two-thirds, as a matter of fact, are new immigrants, newcomers that have arrived in our country only in recent years.

I believe that we have in our country in its present state a very similar occurrence to what happened in your country some 70 or 80 years ago when you also, out of numberless immigrants coming from various lands of the world, molded one nation. It is also true about Israel that we have to colonize and conquer new frontiers, just as you conquered your West, and I am now witnessing what happened to this West. We also have today to conquer ourselves the desert and try to bring civilization to that part of the world. I feel there are many similarities between our two countries.

But we are proudest of all of the achievements of the labor movement. We have 500,000 members in a country of a million and a half, in all occupations and all trades, a great, ramified movement with economic institutions and cultural activities. I believe it is true to say that it is the strongest single economic, political and social force within our state. Very little can happen today in Israel without

bearing the imprint of our Federation of Labor.

It is, therefore, no accident that this movement developed along democratic lines. This movement has cherished democracy and freedom since its inception. Therefore Communism never was, I believe, and never will be, a problem in Israel. Wherever you have a strong labor movement, wherever you have a dynamic labor movement that sees to it that its members receive their fair share and fair treatment, there is no place for Communism.

This does not mean that we have not been affected by the cold war. We established our independent status some six years ago. We have been aided in our independence to a very large extent by your great country, by the government of your country, indeed by the people of your country, and we are grateful, and we shall remain eternally grateful for that help. We are building our state as an island of democracy in an area which is known for its backwardness in the social and economic sense. It is an area of ignorance and poverty. In this area we are building today a modern state, a country that is led by the trade union movement, which is trying to translate into day-to-day political and economic facts the very same things that you talk about in this convention of yours. We are doing this in a part of the world where most of the people are still under feudal and semi-feudal rulers, where there is no real democracy, and we believe that this is the basic source of our trouble and the basic reason for the enmity of the rulers of the surrounding countries. We believe that we have no quarrel with the Arab people. We may one day have a quarrel; we may change the conditions for the present rulers of their countries.

In the last few months the people of Israel have been bewildered by an attempt or by a new theory which is being expounded by the western world that in order to protect this area against Communistic aggression, arms should be handed out to some of these Arab countries. We are bewildered by that not because we are unconcerned about aggression from outside the area but because we are afraid that these arms will not be used against external aggression, but will be used against us. We are bewildered by the fact that some sort of appeasement is taking place in our area, appeasement which these semi-feudal lords grow upon. Democracy is left aside.

I want to assure this convention that this does not change our devotion to democracy because our devotion to democracy, not only as a philosophical form but a system of living and a system of civilization, goes back several thousand years to the common heritage of all of us, namely, the Bible. And our political ideals of democracy are a translation of the great ideals of our prophets, which also are the basic source of Christian civilization.

But as a part of the free world we believe that the defense of the free world can only be served if the basic problem of the Middle East, its economic and social backwardness, will be tackled. We believe that you cannot solve the problems of that part of the world, not only the problems of Israel but the problems of the free world, unless you do something seriously to solve the problems of economic and social backwardness. We believe that the western world has to do something to stabilize this area so that it becomes a peaceful area because we know that nothing plays better into the hands of the Communists than discord inside an area. We believe that the present state of affairs, whereby the Arab countries and Israel cannot even be brought together to a bargaining table, if I may translate that into union terms, is itself a powerful weapon for Communism.

We believe that the western world has to do something serious and can do something serious to bring Israel and the Arab countries together to one bargaining table. We believe the defense of the area in a military sense cannot be done by excluding Israel because Israel has proved not only its military strength and that it has one of the most serious and most sizeable armies in this part of the world, but also because the people of Israel know that they are defending their freedom.

These are the problems which are worrying the people of Israel. I thought that because you are interested in foreign affairs and the question of the defense of the free world, and since you are not limited to matters of trade unionism in your convention that these remarks would be proper. I thought it appropriate to give you in a few words these feelings of the people of Israel, which are not only a contribution from our point of view but our contribution to the positions of western democracy in our part of the world.

I wish to express my thanks and gratitude for the fact that the American Federation of Labor has found it necessary during the last year to raise its voice on these issues along similar lines. You have discussed it here at the Councils of your Nations, because you understood this is a matter which concerns your own country and which concerns the role of leadership you play in this world.

I want to sum up by saying that I have enjoyed my stay in your country. I have spent about a year and a half over here, having been sent by the Executive Council of my Federation to this country in order to strengthen the existing fraternal contacts that have existed between our two movements. I will soon be going home and shall be replaced by a colleague of mine.

I wish to say that I have enjoyed the cooperation of the officers of your Federation of Labor and the cooperation of the Officers of many International unions. I wish also to say that I have learned a great deal about the American labor movement. I have also seen it my duty to explain to my people back home what is going on here in America because they are keenly interested in the development of your labor movement. Although we are not the same size. I believe we have very much in common. I believe that we are under different conditions trying to strive for the same basic ideals. I believe that your country, which is the oldest democracy in the world today, and I believe that my country as the youngest democracy, having been established only six years ago, have the same basic political beliefs, the same cultural heritages. I believe that our two labor movements should get to know each other better than they have in the past because, small or big, they can play an important role in solving some of the troubled problems of our world. We believe that working people, representatives of workers, sometimes might be able to contribute even more than governments can do.

Thank you for your attention and I wish you success in your deliberations.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Bitan.

I wish to ask you on behalf of this convention to convey to Histadrut, Israeli Federation of Labor, the sincere good wishes and fraternal greetings of the American Federation of Labor.

. . . At this time opportunity was given to

various Committee Chairmen to announce the time and location of their respective Committee meetings.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WILLIAM J. McSORLEY: Mr. Chairman, I would like to make a motion, and that motion is that the President of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion that Chairman McSorley has made. Is there any discussion on the motion? Is there any objection? If not, we will consider the motion carried.

The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Credentials Committee, Brother Elmer Meinz.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEINZ: In accordance with the request of President Joseph V. Moreschi of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' International Union, your Committee recommends the seating of Patrick Waldron with 463 votes, in place of A. C. D'Andrea, on the delegation representing that organization.

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the credential of Thomas H. Meehan, representing the Clark County, Nevada, Central Labor Council, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler, for some announcements.

RESOLUTIONS REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: Four resolutions have been submitted to the sub-committee of the Executive Council and will require the unanimous approval of the Convention.

The Allied Printing Trades Council had their meeting last night, and the affiliated unions are submitting two resolutions coming out of that meeting. One is a Tribute to Ottmar Mergenthaler; another protesting House of Representatives procedure; another resolution involving the Trade Union Courier, submitted by a number of delegates; and the fourth resolution, the Lanham Trade-Mark Act, submitted by Delegate Leheney of the Union Label and Service Trades Department.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of those titles of those resolutions and the introducers thereof. These resolutions require unanimous consent. Is there any objection to granting unanimous consent for the introduction of these resolutions? Hearing none, they will be accepted and referred to the appropriate committee.

The speaking program for this afternoon has been concluded, and while we have not yet reached the hour of adjournment, Brother Petrillo has moved that the rules be set aside and that we adjourn until 9:30 tomorrow morning. Is there any objection? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

. . . At 4:25 o'clock P. M. the convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock A. M., Wednesday, September 22, 1954.

. . . The following resolutions, having received the unanimous consent of the delegates to be considered, were referred to the appropriate Committees:

QUOTAS ON POTTERY IMPORTS

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Frank Hull, International Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

WHEREAS, The imports of pottery have deprived many of our members of jobs or placed them on shortened work-weeks, and

WHEREAS, Imports come from countries where wages are far below our own, ranging from a quarter to a tenth of the wages received by our members, and

WHEREAS, These lower wages result in lower rates and thus confer a great competitive advantage upon imports, and

WHEREAS, Wage costs represent from 60 to 70% of the cost of production because of the large amount of hand-work involved in pottery manufacturing, and

WHEREAS, Our membership faces economic disaster if the inroads of imported pottery upon the domestic market is not halted, and

WHEREAS, Competition varies greatly, depending upon the source of the imports, and

WHEREAS, The United States Tariff Commission found such a difference in cost of production between domestic and Japanese pottery that a duty of 249% would be required to equalize costs, and

WHEREAS, Such a rate of duty would have an appearance of exorbitance and would in fact be higher than necessary with respect to imports from other countries, thus rendering the tariff an improper instrumentality of regulating pottery imports, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor lend its support to the efforts of the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters to obtain through official Federal channels the imposition or reasonable import quotas on the imports of pottery, and be it further

RESOLVED, That such import quotas be based upon imports of recent years and the quantities reduced to a percentage of total domestic consumption, this percentage to represent the share of the market that may be supplied by imports in future years and thus insuring against the destruction of our market and the progressive deprivation of jobs to our membership, and finally, be it

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to members of the House Ways and Means Committee and of the Finance Committee of the Senate.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

PLATE PRINTERS SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Daniel J. Bradley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The ruling made by Secretary of Treasury, Mr. George Humphrey, on January 11th, 1954, that "future vacancies in Plate Printers positions at the Bureau of Engraving & Printing shall be filled by reinstating, according to their seniority, APPREN-

TICES," has caused serious injustice to be done journeymen plate printer members of this Federation, and,

WHEREAS, Since this order was issued 30 journeymen plate printer members of this Federation have been laid off at the Bureau and have no re-employment rights because of this order and,

WHEREAS, More journeymen may follow who will likewise have their re-employment rights seriously jeopardized by this order, all of whom will have to wait until 70 apprentices have been reinstated before they, the journeymen, will be considered for re-employment, and

WHEREAS, Such a precedent, if followed by other department or agencies of the government or even private industry, might seriously jeopardize employment rights of journeymen members of this Federation throughout the many trades encompassed and,

WHEREAS, The International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America has adopted this resolution in Convention at Philadelphia on May 21st, 1954, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention adopt this resolution and go on record as opposing any ruling at any time that gives an apprentice re-employment rights above a journeyman who has been laid off of the same job, before the journeyman has been given the opportunity to be re-employed, and that the Secretary of the Treasury be notified of our action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TRADE UNION UNITY IN ITALY

Resolution No. 137—By Delegates Luigi Antonini, Jennie Matyas, International Ladies Garment Workers; A. Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, Samuel Hershkowitz, Marx Lewis, United Hatters; Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salen, Textile Workers' Union; Arthur Elder, Selma Borchardt; American Federation of Teachers; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers' Union; Ossip Walinsky, Handbag, Luggage, Belt & Novelty Workers' Union.

WHEREAS, Recent months have witnessed welcome progress in the effective cooperation and consolidation of the democratic ranks of various shades of opinion in Italy, and

WHEREAS, This significant development is of the greatest importance to the cause of peace and freedom not only in Italy but throughout the world, and

WHEREAS, This encouraging trend of affairs cannot come to its full fruition unless the democratic-minded workers close their ranks and achieve full unity of their free trade union organizations dedicated to the defeat of Communism and every other form of totalitarianism and reaction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the A. F. of L. urgently appeals to the democratic-minded workers of Italy and particularly to the C.I.S.L. and the U.I.L. to desist from any and all cooperation with Communist-dominated organizations and instead to take measures to hasten the organic unification of their ranks into one united powerful free trade union federation which shall be strong enough to stamp out Communist control of any section of Italian labor and, at the same time, be able to defend and promote ever more effectively the economic interests and human and democratic rights of workers of Italy, thereby serving the cause of world peace and freedom.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

A TRIBUTE TO OTTMAR MERGENTHALER

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union; Thomas E. Dunwody, George L. Googe, Walter J. Turner, T. Q. McCollem, Donald P. McCaughan, Clarence G. Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Bell Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Leo J. Buckley, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America; Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Wilfrid T. Connell, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, In this year marking the centennial of the birth of Ottmar Mergenthaler, we commemorate that event by first thanking our Creator for the inspiration given this young working man to bring forth the Linotype machine which has so enriched mankind both materially and spiritually, and

WHEREAS, The birth of Ottmar Mergenthaler on May 11, 1854, in the village of Hochtel in Wurtemberg, Germany, brought into this world one who now ranks high among its benefactors. His apprenticeship to a watchmaker at the age of 14, his emigration to America at the age of 22 and his subsequent work in a machine shop of his cousin August Hahl provided the mechanical training which made it possible for a dream to become a reality, and

WHEREAS, That mankind needed and was ready for enrichment of body and soul may be regarded as more than coincidental with the invention that was to bring about such enrichment as has been ours since the birth of the Linotype machine on July 26, 1884. On July 3, 1886, the Blower Linotype helped set the New York Tribune and after four years of development the Simplex Linotype was produced and regarded as a successful innovation in producing the printed word, and

WHEREAS, The whole world hailed it—Thomas A. Edison referred to it as the "8th Wonder of the World." It has proved to be more than that. It has not been static. Its constant improvement provided the stimulus for the invention and perfection of other methods and processes needed to meet the demands of greater and higher quality production of the printed word, and

WHEREAS, Thus the means for a higher standard of education of the people of the world was at hand. There was brought into being the industry that made it possible to provide free, compulsory education of the children of America as advocated by the American Federation of Labor as early as 1881, and

WHEREAS, In this age of incalculable inventive genius and accomplishment all may pause to pay tribute to the inventor of the Linotype machine which made possible world-wide interchange of thought. Particularly grateful may be the workers in the printing industry but no less may all working people

whose standard of life has received such a forward impetus from accelerated production of printing and its tremendous effect on merchandising, and

WHEREAS, We do honor to the memory of Ottmar Mergenthaler on this hundredth anniversary of the year of his birth. We recognize the greatness of his achievement. We are grateful for the ever expanding benefits that the linotype machine has brought to all the people of the world, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor join with the American Printing Trades Unions in this most deserving tribute to a great benefactor of humankind.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

PROTESTING HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PROCEDURE

Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest N. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union; Thomas E. Dunwody, George L. Googe, Walter J. Turner, T. Q. McCollem, Donald P. McCaughan, Clarence G. Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Bell Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Leo J. Buckley, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America; Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Wilfrid T. Connell, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, For more than forty years the federal law has required books enjoying protection of our copyright laws to be printed in the United States, and

WHEREAS, In the closing days of the 83rd Congress, the House Judiciary Committee favorably reported out H.R. 6616 and 6670 and the Rules Committee placed them on the Consent Calendar, and

WHEREAS, Only non-controversial bills should appear on the Consent Calendar, and

WHEREAS, The International Allied Printing Trades Association did vigorously protest the adoption of H.R. 6616 and 6670 in defense of the printing trades of the United States, and

WHEREAS, The passage of these bills and the immediate signing into law thereof will end the requirement that works of foreign authors must be manufactured in the United States to have protection of U. S. Copyright laws, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the tactics of the administration in approving and sliding through the House (without a vote of the members) these bills which are plainly inimical to the welfare of the 300,000 workers of the printing trades, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Allied Printing Trades Association hereby protests such procedure which it believes is most unfair to the printing trades workers, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be offered by the five international unions making up this Association to the American Federation of Labor for adoption in line with the many previous actions of the A. F. of L. supporting the position of the printing trades unions on the copyright law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

TRADE UNION COURIER

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates J. Scott Milne, Lewis M. Herrmann, Geo. L. Russ, Brownie H. Cuthbert, Wallace C. Reilly, J. Arthur Moriarty, Ernest M. Hathaway, W. H. C. Murray, Fred H. Brigham and J. S. Smith.

WHEREAS, The International Labor Press of America has consistently endeavored to eliminate from the Labor Press field unethical and irregular publications parading as Labor papers, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has at all times encouraged and cooperated with the Labor Press in carrying out this important task, and

WHEREAS, In the course of this phase of I.L.P.A. endeavors, a complaint was filed with the U. S. Federal Trade Commission against a publication known as the "Trade Union Courier," published in the city of New York, charging that publication with unauthorized use of the name of the American Federation of Labor in the solicitation of advertising and donations, and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid "Trade Union Courier" has been announcing publicly through its columns and in testimony before a Federal Trade Commission examiner, that it has the bonafide endorsement of over 2,000 A. F. of L. unions, and

WHEREAS, This publication has continued to claim of 2,000 A. F. of L. union endorsements in the high-pressure solicitation of advertising and donations, in spite of the fact that the officers and executive council of the A. F. of L. and the I.L.P.A. have repeatedly denounced the "Trade Union Courier" for its unethical methods which have proved injurious to the prestige and good name of the labor movement, be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor at its 73rd Annual Convention at Los Angeles, California, September 20, 1954, that we hereby go on record requesting the officers of this Federation to institute a thorough investigation into the validity of the 2,000 A. F. of L. union endorsements claimed by the "Trade Union Courier," and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that any of the above mentioned endorsements are found to be valid, the offices of the American Federation of Labor are hereby urged to bring about the cancellation of such endorsements, to the end that the good name of the American Federation of Labor, the International Labor Press of America and their affiliates be protected from further injury, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of this convention, and forwarded to the International Labor Press of America and to the affiliated international unions of the A. F. of L. for their information and guidance.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

LANHAM TRADE MARK ACT

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department.

To the Delegates assembled at the American Federation of Labor Convention, Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles, Calif., September 21, 1954:

Greetings:

WHEREAS, In 1946 there was passed by the Congress of the United States legislation known as the Lanham Trade Mark Act, and

WHEREAS, Said Lanham Trade Mark Act had as its intention the clarification of previous legislation protecting union trade marks registered by labor organizations, and

WHEREAS, Said union trade marks of union labels are designed for the special purpose of promoting those products manufactured by members of organized labor under contract to fair employers, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor did support passage of the Lanham Trade Mark Act as it sought to prevent the unauthorized use of union labels or trade marks, and

WHEREAS, Certain sections of the Act subject to court interpretation have given rise to serious doubts as to whether the Act provides the protection for which it was designed, and

WHEREAS, Unscrupulous manufacturers and printers have seized upon this doubt and are presently in increasing numbers violating the spirit of the Lanham Trade Mark Act, and

WHEREAS, If this condition is allowed to continue, all union labels, shop cards, and buttons will lose their value as a means of identification of union made products and union services, thus resulting in the destruction of one of organized labor's greatest assets. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Union Label and Service Trades Department go on record as urging an immediate clarification amendment of the Lanham Trade Mark Act so that the very foundation of the department—the union label—be protected from unauthorized use, and

RESOLVED, That upon the passage of this Resolution by the Union Label and Service Trades Department Convention, the secretary of the department stand instructed to introduce this resolution into the Convention of the American Federation of Labor convening in the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles, Calif., on September 20, 1954, and urge its adoption by this body, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in drafting and securing passage of adequate legislation to clarify and restore the original intent of the Lanham Trade Mark Act of protection of the union label, shop cards, and buttons.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Seventy-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1954

Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 22, 1954

Report of

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 22, 1954

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock A.M., by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The invocation this morning will be given by the Reverend Doctor Forrest C. Weir, Executive Director of the Southern California Council of Protestant Churches.

INVOCATION
Doctor Forrest C. Weir, Executive Director, Southern California Council of Protestant Churches

Friends, in accordance with the declaration of the President of the United States, I shall ask you to join with me at the close of the invocation in a prayer for peace; and after I have said my prayer will you please bow your head for five seconds in silence to conclude with my own amen?

Let us pray. Eternal Father, who has brought us to the beginning of this day safely, we lift grateful and humble hearts to Thee for its promises, its tasks that are too great for us alone, and we beseech Thee to hallow our purposes and direct our intentions that we shall in what we do and say fulfill Thy law in us.

We give Thee humble thanks that by Thy gracious design and work Thou hast already hallowed all the labors of man's mind and hands. Enable us, we beseech Thee, to enter into Thy purposes and so pursue our vocations as in our work to perform a divine service in Thy name.

Almighty God who hast made of one blood all the nations of the earth to dwell together on the whole face of the earth in peace, we beseech Thee to look piteously upon our blinded, confused and tragic humanity. Open our hearts to counsels of eternal wisdom and enable us so to love Thee that we cannot at all be unjust to any whom Thou dost claim as Thy children.

Give to all rulers wisdom by which the issues and the fate of our common life may be decided peacefully. We beseech Thee, our Father, so to quell the haughty cries of war makers and so to guide the sacrificial efforts of all who devoutly love peace, that we together with Thee may bind up that which is broken and heal that which is hurt in our sorrowful world, and bring mankind again unto the shadow of Thy peaceful rule, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler, who has some announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

George Meany, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Los Angeles.

The Negro Labor Committee organized in 1935 and with which is affiliated progressive

A. F. of L. and CIO unions in New York, with a combined membership of over one million Negro and white workers, proudly send you fraternal greetings and best wishes for a successful convention.

In the struggle between Democracy and totalitarianism of every hue, we stand shoulder to shoulder with you on the side of Democracy and freedom.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH,
Chairman.

George Meany, President,
William Schnitzler, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Los Angeles.

Upon occasion of 73rd Convention we extend our fraternal greetings and profound appreciation to you, the vice presidents and internationals affiliated with the federation and delegates assembled, for both the moral and financial support given to our National Free Nonsectarian Tubercular Sanatorium for the past 46 years. We have implicit faith for the continued support from the labor movement thereby enabling us to continue with our humanitarian life saving work. With all good wishes fraternally and gratefully yours.

GEORGE RUBIN, Chairman,
JOSEPH BELSKY, Secretary,
R. Schwartz, National Supervisor Trade Union Committee for the support of the Ex-patients Sanatorium for Tuberculosis and Chronic Disease of Denver, Colorado.

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Los Angeles:

It gives me great pleasure in addressing your 73rd convention and your union which has a great history and ten million members; and to these members, we send our deep friendship.

There must be a strong unity of free labor unions, in order to protect liberty and democracy, to preserve peace based on international justice, and to promote the happiness of the workers.

Our Japanese Federation of Labor began its operation this April with the concentration of the truly free and democratic labor unions of Japan. And with a desire to join the international united front of the free labor unions, we have asked for membership in the ICFTU.

Although our membership in the ICFTU has not yet been officially recognized, we believe that ICFTU is the fortress in the fight to protect liberty, democracy, peace, and the benefits of the workers; therefore, we would like to join our comrades of the world in the same front as quickly as possible through the ICFTU.

The international relation between various nations is growing more complicated because of the quickly changing international situation, but it is our duty to deepen friendship and unity among free workers, regardless of national boundary. In order to have true peace, not peace which is disguised by intrigue or threat, but peace based on justice and human love, the struggle must be enforced against the left and the right totalitarianism and at the same time the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, racial discrimination, economic discrimination, and all such evils, so as to abolish them from the face of the earth.

We earnestly hope that the A. F. of L. which has a great tradition will take an even more active part as the leader in this fight. We also hope that the representatives of the convention and officials will have great success.

Japan Federation of Labor
MR. H. WADA
General Secretary.

George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor
Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

The Indonesian Labor Attache extends his wishes for the success of your convention and wishes the American Federation of Labor continued success in its efforts on behalf of improving working conditions and cooperation with the labor movement throughout the world.

A. A. GONDOKOKSOEMOIND WASH.

George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor Convention
Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles

On the occasion of your convention we express on behalf of the International Peasant Union our greetings and best wishes for your work for freedom, justice, democracy and higher standard of life for working people.

STANISLAV MIKOLAJCZYK, President,
DR. G. M. DIMITROV, Secretary General.

George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor
Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles
Dear Brother Meany:

I deeply regret that I cannot be in attendance at this 73rd convention of the American Federation of Labor, particularly since it is being held in my home state, where I served as president of the California State Federation of Labor before my election to Congress. Although I must remain in Washington until my new baby daughter's doctor gives her permission to travel to California, I want to emphasize to the convention my high hope that its deliberations this year of all years will result in constructive action on behalf of the members of the A. F. of L. and of the great mass of people in the United States. Ways must be found to combat and prevent growing unemployment; to stop the anti-labor philosophy now dominant in Washington; to halt the attacks on our social welfare programs by the forces of reaction; and to weaken the strong grip big business now holds on our government. The organized labor movement is the mightiest single force fighting these tendencies. Adoption of a fighting program by the Convention can signal their defeat. Please extend my warm fraternal greetings to all the delegates and assure them of my vigorous support for such a program.

Fraternally yours,
CONGRESSMAN JACK SHELLY,
5th District, California.

George Meany,
President AFL,
Ambassador Hotel, Los Angeles.

On behalf of the League for Industrial Democracy, may we extend heartiest congratulations to the American Federation of Labor on its past year of magnificent achievements in advancing Labor's living standards and strengthening the forces of democracy, peace and freedom here and throughout the world.

NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF, President
HARRY W. LAIDLER, Exec. Director.

American Federation of Labor
Annual Convention,
Los Angeles.

Cordial greetings, best wishes for success in your noble cause for freedom, democracy, social justice.

Congratulations for your magnificent opening speech. Sorry we cannot have you at our commemoration Nicola Petkov's Heroic Death Seventh Anniversary. Spiritually we consider you among us.

DR. G. M. DIMITROV, President,
Bulgarian National Committee
for Liberation.

A. F. of L. Convention:

On behalf of the Christian Trade Unionists in Central Europe silenced behind the iron curtain, Central European Federation of Christian Trade Union representing them extends to your convention an expression of solidarity and best wishes for success.

J. MELAHER, Chairman Central
European Federation of Christian
Trade Unions, 471 Park Ave.,
New York City.

September 15, 1954

To the 1954 Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

On the occasion of your Convention the Czechoslovak free trade unionists send to the American Federation of Labor fraternal greetings and wishes of every success in your deliberations.

We, living in free countries throughout the world, and our brothers behind the Iron Curtain (via Radio Free Europe and other stations), shall follow your Convention with profound interest. We are aware of the leading position occupied by American trade unionists in the international free trade union movement, as well as in influencing the national policies of the United States. And we know that free labor in this country and in other democratic states has practical knowledge of the treachery of the Communists, their destruction of labor's freedom and institution of a system of a complete slavery for all except a handful of men in Kremlin. Free labor recognized this danger of Communism long ago and is active in the struggle against it on many fronts.

Workers in Czechoslovakia and in other countries behind the Iron Curtain are familiar with the traditional opposition of the American Federation of Labor to dictatorship and its vision of the international developments, as manifested on several occasions by the late AFL President William Green, and more recently by the present AFL President, Brother Meany. His challenge of the Kremlin to permit an investigation of slave labor conditions behind the Iron Curtain, on the occasion of the anniversary of workers' uprising in Eastern Germany, met with enthusiastic reception among the workers in our country. Also the AFL proposal for a world-wide union boycott on the handling, transportation or purchase of goods produced by slave labor behind the Iron Curtain; Brother Schnitzler's correct evaluation of the situation after his trip to East Germany; Brother Meany's vigorous campaign against defeatism, the folly of coexistence, and against the eventual substitution of Administration's policy of massive appeasement for the policy of massive retaliation; and his recent visionary declaration that Communists can be dealt with only from the position of strength. These are only few examples of the active participation of AFL leaders in the propaganda war with world Communism.

Those few examples of the strong position taken by AFL with respect to Communism and to Soviet occupation of Central and Eastern Europe explain why our brothers behind the Iron Curtain have pinned their hopes on the American trade union movement, and believe that free trade unionists will never desert them in the hands of Kremlin's slave drivers.

CZECHOSLOVAK FREE TRADE
UNION FEDERATION

Paris, le 16 September 1954

George Meany, President of the AFL
AFL Convention,
Los Angeles, California
Dear Brothers:

The International Center of Free Trade Unionists in Exile, representing Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia, warmly greets the Congress of the AFL.

As they have always fought for free trade unionism, the representatives of the Center, all former trade union leaders, found that they had to flee Communist dictatorship which does not allow men to fight for better living and working conditions. The trade unions of the popular democracies have become docile and obedient instruments in the hands of totalitarian governments. The intransigence of a perjured sect, eager to keep its new privileges, has replaced the tolerance of democratic principles and free action. A minority holds all the power by oppression, force and fear. Yet, the great majority of the oppressed workers follow the activities of the free world with keen interest. The hope remains in their hearts that one day they will once again know reconquered liberty and that the foreign invader will leave their land and their country forever.

The abandoned or dormant fight will spring to life again ennobled by this unfortunate experience. Their ideal which has been violated and trampled down upon by those who dare to speak in the name of the working class while playing the game of monstrous State capitalism will also spring to life again, larger than ever before. The liberated workers will fight with all the understanding which long years of slavery, submission and forced obedience have given them. They will know how to build the temple of liberty again where the workers will be the master builders. They will once more find their place in the great international family of Free Trade Unions, where their fight will be identified with that of all free peoples.

Today, the free world is for them more than a symbol. It is the flame which continues to burn in spite of all storms. It is the tangible and real hope. It is the promise of future liberation.

That is why, Dear Brothers, you who carry the torch of free trade unionism so high, you who defend the freedoms of man, you bring, by your very Congress, the supreme hope to your brothers who listen to you anxiously.

Think of the millions of workers who cannot express themselves, who cannot defend themselves, men who are even forbidden to think.

Think of all those who have remained faithful to their ideal of social justice and real democracy and who risk their lives constantly in open or underground resistance.

You personify for them all that they have lost.

It is in this spirit, Brothers, that we wish you a fruitful Congress, success in your work and the accomplishment of the tasks which you have set before you.

Long live free and democratic trade unionism.

Long live real international solidarity.

F. BIALAS, The President
E. GHERMAN, The Vice-President

CAN — LAO
Union of Vietnamien Workers
in France
13, Rue Custine
Paris (18)

September 13, 1954

President, A. F. of L.
Dear Mr. President:

Last August, our representative had the pleasure to be received by your Committee in New York and had a long conversation with Mr. Jay Lovestone, who indicated the great interest which your organization has concerning the lot of Vietnamien workers in France and of labor unionism in Viet-Nam. We are deeply touched by your concern and we wish to express our thanks.

Having learned that your convention will take place towards the middle of September, permit us, through the medium of this letter, to send our most sincere wishes for the fullest success of your convention and to convey to you how much we, Vietnamien workers, feel in complete solidarity with the American workers and the Free World with whom we only ask to work together in common agreement for the victory of democracy, peace and freedom.

Due to the present situation, our voice has remained weak. We wish that with your aid we can work in a more effective way for the independence and the unity of Viet-Nam and in this way contain the expansion of totalitarian Communism in Southeast Asia.

Please accept, Mr. President, my deepest considerations.

(signed) MR. HUYNH-CAO-THANG,
President
MR. JOSEPH LE-VAN-THOI,
Secretary-General
MR. NGUYEN-MINH-TRIET,
Legal Counsellor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to present to you this morning another of our fraternal delegates. Before doing so, however, I want to call attention to the fact that one of our usual visitors whom we didn't see the last couple of days, who comes to every convention, has finally arrived. He is with us every year, and has been for the last 14 years. We all like to see him around. He is Labor Attache of the British Embassy in Washington. We know him as Archie, but since the last year or so he is Sir Archibald Gordon. I just want to let you know he is here. Archie.

. . . Sir Archibald McD. Gordon stood and received the applause of the delegates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present the second fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress. He is the Assistant General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, which, as you may know, is the largest union in the British Trades Union Congress. It is the union which was headed up by our old friend Ernest Bevin for many years and which, of course, is now headed by Arthur Deakin. Brother Tiffin comes here with a long record of service to his union and the British Trades Union Congress.

So I take a great deal of pleasure in presenting to you Brother Arthur E. Tiffin. He likes to be known as Jock; however, his right name is Arthur E. Tiffin, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, and a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to this Convention, Brother Tiffin.

ARTHUR E. TIFFIN
Fraternal Delegate from the British Trades Union Congress

My friends, it is only two weeks since I left the conference hall of our own British Trades Union Congress in Brighton on England's South Coast to bring fraternal greetings to your Convention in this hall at Los Angeles on the far West Coast of America. Two frontiers and thousands of miles separate our Congress in the Dome at Brighton and your Convention in the Ambassador Hotel here in Los Angeles. But between our two Movements, these two Movements, there are no frontiers. Our faith in free trade unionism bestrides the great distances of geography. Here as in the British T.U.C. the spirit of democracy flourishes and animates all that you do. I do not know if you have heard the story of an incident at one of the United Nations meetings, when by some strange chance an American delegate and a Russian delegate for a few moments got into conversation. Inevitably the word "democracy" cropped out. The American said to the Russian, "Democracy? Democracy? What do you know about democracy? I could stand in front of the Capitol in Washington (and it was in the days of the Truman administration) and shout 'Down with Truman.' Now, could you do that?"

And the Russian said, "Yes, I could." He said, "I could stand in the Red Square of Moscow, in front of Lenin's tomb, and I could shout, 'Down with Truman' and nothing would happen to me!"

I know, as your fraternal delegates realized only a little while ago in Brighton, that American and British trade unionists are the guardians of a great heritage of freedom. We must not fail in our duty. To adapt the words of that great Liberal British Statesman of the eighteenth century, Edmund Burke, trade unionism "is a situation of power and energy: he trespasses against his duty who sleeps upon his watch, as well as he that goes over to the enemy."

It is a sentiment we must bear ever in mind. Our charge in this passage of history is to use our power and influence to widen the community of free men, to strive to give the chance to all to live their lives free from the dictates of debasing totalitarianism, free from the hauntings of hunger, and free from the scourge of slavery whether it be political, economic or social. So long as there are men and women who are under-privileged in any way, so long will it be a reproach and a challenge to those who live in freedom and relative prosperity. Indeed it will be more than that. So long as poverty, malnutrition, and low living standards stalk through the under-developed lands of this world, so long will Communism seek to exploit misery for its own selfish ends. As democrats we must win both these battles. We must eradicate the conditions that Communists can exploit and we must go on to create a life in the under-developed lands that will guarantee human dignity, political freedom, economic security and social opportunity.

You know as I know that our two great organizations are working together within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for these ideals. In Britain we have not stinted our support for what this Inter-

national is doing in pursuit of its aims of Bread, Freedom and Peace for all. But we trade unionists in Britain feel we have a duty that goes beyond whatever we can do through the I.C.F.T.U. We must give special help to workers in those territories which in the course of the last 300 years have become dependent on Britain. We believe we have played and can still play a big part in laying forever the ghost of that old imperialism which British trade unionists themselves did not create. Through the aid, financial and otherwise, that we are providing to workers in British Colonial territories we are creating and building organizations that through their own democratic practice will be a lively example of what free trade unions can accomplish. The T.U.C. has sent missions to advise on the spot, it has brought colonial trade unionists to Britain for training, and it has supplied office equipment and libraries. Only this summer the T.U.C. has earmarked 18,000 dollars for strengthening free trade union organizations in British Guiana, Jamaica and other British territories in the Caribbean. And a fortnight ago Congress agreed to find bigger funds still to be used for the sole purpose of building independent, self-governing, and democratic organizations for colonial workers. All this is part of our contribution to the economic and social progress of all mankind.

British trade unionists, too, share the view that your distinguished President, Mr. George Meany, put so forcibly at Stockholm at the World Congress of the I.C.F.T.U.: "We know that the economic development of the underdeveloped countries will not restrict but actually expand the world market and benefit not only the peoples of those countries but also the working peoples of the industrialized nations." And you and I heard him on Monday again emphasize that profound principle. That is why we in Britain give our full backing to all programs that through economic expansion without exploitation will directly benefit the agriculture and industry of the under-developed countries. For it is where there is a rising standard of life that there free trade unionism will show its best results. A flow of mere propaganda or slogans is no substitute for the provision of new machines and methods, neither will doles of charity be as effective as the investment of pounds and dollars where they will in time breed jobs and the bustle of industry and allow men to stand on their own feet. We need deeds, not words or just good intentions. There can be no progress through persistent poverty.

As trade unionists in Britain I think it is to our credit that we have always kept in mind our international obligations. We have continually urged successive post-war Governments to find out of our straitened national purse the funds to help those who most needed it in lands that were or are backward and under-developed. That trade union'st of genius, Ernest Bevin, who was for so long leader of my Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, before he became Labor Minister and Foreign Secretary, had this ever in mind. In 1950 he fostered and nurtured the Colombo Plan through which the less-developed lands of Southeast Asia are receiving financial aid and technical advice and training not only from Britain, Canada, and Australia but from the U.S.A., too. Grievous though our own economic plight has been, Britain has not failed in its financial obligations to those Southeast Asian territories, nor did she neglect to pay out in aid to other countries—and I want to emphasize this, Mr. President, because I feel it is not realized sufficiently—almost as much as she received under the Marshall Plan.

Necessarily what we have done has been limited by our economic position. That is why British trade unionists have been anxious to do all they can to raise production and increase industrial efficiency. They have understood that Britain's status as a nation and its capacity to help in providing the means to prosperity elsewhere depended on economic recovery. Trade unionists have put that objective above any consideration of politics or personal selfishness. With all men of good will they have combined to push productivity to record levels in order to give Britain's goods a fighting chance in the markets of the world by reason of their price and quality. Time and again trade unionists have given evidence of their willingness to shoulder new responsibilities in the service of the nation—this despite certain misgivings they have had and have—but of course that is our own domestic business—about the policies of the present Conservative administration.

Let me give you just one example of what trade unionists today are doing to improve industrial efficiency in Britain. You will remember that only a few years ago British industry under the Anglo-American Council on Productivity was busy sending to the States teams of managers, workers and technicians to see how similar plants over here were organized. Well, the Anglo-American Council on Productivity on which both British and American trade unionists were represented served its very useful term. But the idea of British trade unionists and employers themselves co-operating to spread around the lessons that were learnt by the productivity teams and to work with each other generally to raise the level of industrial efficiency was not allowed to fade out. Today in Britain we have a British Productivity Council on which leading employers and trade unionists serve and whose chairman this year is a trade unionist that I think a good number of you know, Brother Tom Williamson, the General Secretary of the Municipal and General Workers Union. Further, in some 100 centers of industry throughout the length and breadth of Britain there are local Productivity Committees on which trade unionists get together with local employers and other interested parties to hold discussions, lectures and inter-plant visits—all with the single-minded purpose of making British industry more efficient. Trade unionists firmly believe that only through higher industrial efficiency will Britain earn its way out of its difficulties to lasting and proud prosperity.

Moreover an economically sound Britain is essential to the defense of freedom. British trade unionists have ranged themselves behind the collective effort of the West to defend its freedom and its precious way of life. We have declared to the world that the only way to be free is to be strong. As a Movement we have given full support to the United Nations in facing aggression and we have backed proposals that Germany should now make a contribution to Western Defense.

As in the international field so at home. The T.U.C. has given the lead in exposing and frustrating Communist attempts to exploit trade unions for their political purposes. In my own Union, for example, and it is by no means the only one—democratic decisions have been taken by the members themselves to deny official union positions to declared Communists. You can take it from me that in the broad British Movement today Communists are get-

ting short shrift. And so long as they plan and plot to subvert freedom, so will we be on active guard.

Mr. President, on Monday morning you referred to the troublous times in which we live. You referred to the upsurge of that nationalist feeling from the teeming millions in Asia and in Africa. It is my own opinion that man is on the march again. I am convinced that he is about to take the biggest step forward since he learned to walk upright. Whether he takes the road to the left towards Communist Russia or Communist China or down the road of Freedom is a challenge to us, to the men of the great free democracies.

I say to you this morning that leadership of civilization was first in the Euphrates and the Tigris, and then it shifted to the glory that was Greece, and then to the grandeur that was Rome. Later it was Paris, and then to my own Victorian England. But now, brothers and sisters, there has been another shift. It is now your proud heritage to lead civilization. From London it is now Washington that has the leadership. Whether or not you sought it, you cannot avoid it. It is your heritage. Time and space have been almost eliminated. The Lord Almighty has placed in the minds of men the knowledge of additional elements. And I say to you now, and I know you will forgive me for being straight—but, after all, in a family such as ours you will expect this straightness—I say to you and to the men of my own country that it is almost impossible in these days to be isolationists. You just can't be like the Levite of old and pass by on the other side.

So I want to say to you on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress, let us go forward together. Let us attempt to do the duty that is rightfully ours and may the Lord of the great horizons cause the eyes to see over the verge of the sundown the glory that can be.

Now, Mr. President, my time is up. I realize the delegates have borne this oration with some degree of fortitude, but I just want to say this to you before I sit down. It was a great English writer that wrote, "What do they know of England who only England know?" Well, my wife and I have had the opportunity of coming among you, mixing with you, and participating in your hospitality. Our visit will have enabled us to get my own country in a truer perspective than was possible when we were living within its narrow confines. For that reason, and on her behalf and mine, I want to thank you. We shall return to England with very, very pleasant memories. And now may I say to you, good luck to you in the work that you are doing. And I hope that you remember what I have said, that you now lead.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure by your demonstration you have indicated your appreciation of Brother Tiffin's address, and I want to personally express my appreciation to him and to Brother Baty for the very fine messages which they have delivered here this morning and yesterday afternoon. The fraternal relationship of the British Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor is of tremendous importance to the free world. We cannot underestimate its value. I am quite sure that there is no one in this room who does not feel, as I do, that this relationship must continue, it must be strengthened as years go on, and both organizations together must give more and more of their substance and encouragement to labor throughout the world that is perhaps not as fortunate as we are and who face the threat of Communist domination.

Brother Baty and Brother Tiffin, I thank you very much for your presence here and for the very fine addresses you have delivered.

At this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, who will present us with a partial report of the work of this Committee. Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee.

PARTIAL REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: President Meany and Delegates: The Committee on Resolutions has had before it over 60 items in the Executive Council's report, and over 90 resolutions. All of these have been carefully inquired into and considered and will be reported to this Convention. In reporting, however, the Committee had in mind avoiding any possible confusion and conflict between resolutions presented by several delegates on the same subject or dealing with matters dealt with in the Council's report.

Hence, wherever resolutions inherently involved and embraced the subjects contained in the Council's report, those resolutions will be reported in connection with the Council's Report. Where there are two or more on the same subjects, if possible, they will be embraced in one declaration and, of course, presented to you in that form.

We shall not report on the Council's report this morning, but begin reporting on the resolutions themselves. The Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Soderstrom, will report for the Committee on these resolutions. Secretary Soderstrom

SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Mr. President and Delegates, of the 91 resolutions referred to the Committee on Resolutions, 32 of them have been checked and double checked by the Committee, and I am prepared to report on 32 resolutions, as follows:

AMERICAN-BRITISH LABOR RELATIONS

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Marx Lewis, Alex Rose, Samuel Hershkowitz, A. Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, and Sal B. Hoffman, R. Alvin Albarino, Tony Remshardt, George Bucher, Reed J. Stoney, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 371.)

WHEREAS, The most valued fraternal relations of the American Federation of Labor for more than two generations have been with the British labor movement, as represented by the British Trades Union Congress, and

WHEREAS, This special bond has both reflected and furthered the enduring common interest of our respective countries, for the preservation and extension of human freedom and the advancement of the cause of international peace, and

WHEREAS, The survival of the free world in the face of Nazi and allied Japanese Imperial aggression which provoked World War II would have been impossible and inconceivable except for the firm alliance and understanding between not only the governments but by the labor movements of our respective countries, and

WHEREAS, The menace which our peoples faced and defeated in World War II confronts our peoples again by the rise of a powerful and dangerous aggressive totalitarian alliance of Soviet Russia and its Asian counterpart which it has created in its own image as a result of twenty-seven years of military intervention in China, and

WHEREAS, The policy to be pursued with respect to this new danger has created serious differences of opinion not only between the British Government and ours, but also between some parts of the British labor movement and our own, the visible evidence of which was furnished recently by a so-called good will mission sent by the British Labor Party to Russia and China, in the course of which leading members of this mission paid tribute to the leaders of the totalitarian governments who met them, and thus enabled these totalitarians to use the visit for their own propaganda purposes, and

WHEREAS, Some leaders of British labor have justified this gesture of friendship towards our common enemies by the claim that opposition in the United States to it is inspired by big business in the United States, when, as a matter of fact, it is the American Federation of Labor which regards such friendship as inimical to the best interests of world labor and fraught with great danger to the security the free world seeks, and

WHEREAS, The restoration and preservation of British-American labor understanding and solidarity are conditions precedent to the maintenance of the free world and the defeat of the aggressive forces which have plunged the world into an armament race the ultimate outcome of which may be a war in which all that civilization has established in centuries of progress may be completely wiped out, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and direct the Executive Council to consider: (1) a conference between the leaders of our respective movements for the purpose of adopting, if possible, a common front to resist totalitarian aggression, and (2) the making of arrangements for the exchange of visiting delegations by the Federation with the British labor movement for the purpose of presenting to the workers of each country, through an exchange of information, our respective views, and thus making possible an elimination of the misunderstanding which now seems to prevail and a clarification of the purposes which we all have in mind, and which we believe are essentially identical.

The Comment of the Committee follows:

It is desirable to maintain the best relations possible with the people of the United Kingdom and constantly work to bring about improvements in all American-British contacts and activities. Our aim and purpose should be to continue to build up and attain labor relations of the friendliest character. Your Committee is in sympathy with the objectives of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the International Labor Relations Committee.

On motion of committee secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

. . . The Committee acted jointly on Resolutions No. 4 and No. 25, as follows:

POULTRY INSPECTION

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 372.)

WHEREAS, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have revealed information which establishes that because of inadequate inspection by federal or state authorities, poultry which is unfit for human consumption is being marketed, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with the officers of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America in their efforts to obtain more stringent regulations for proper inspection of the poultry killing and packing industries.

COMPULSORY POULTRY INSPECTION REGULATION

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Earl W. Jimerson, Patrick E. Gorman, Milton S. Maxwell, T. J. Lloyd, Joseph Belsky, R. Emmett Kelly, Max Osslo, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 381.)

WHEREAS, Recent disclosures to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen reveal the shocking existence of filth, unwholesomeness and the utter lack of sanitation in certain areas of the Poultry Industry, and

WHEREAS, At the present time there exist no compulsory Federal Regulations governing the slaughtering, inspection, grading, labeling, processing, or handling of poultry, as is true in the case of beef, pork, veal and other meats and meat products, and

WHEREAS, Only very few states have any Poultry Regulations or Inspection Program whatever, and

WHEREAS, Less than 20% of the commercial poultry supply of the nation comes under Federal Inspection and then only on a voluntary basis, which in many respects is absolutely meaningless, and

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and its affiliated local unions have pledged themselves to the task of arousing the American people to the great hazard to health and welfare of the consuming public that exists in this poultry situation, and

WHEREAS, The support and cooperation of Congress, the State legislatures, Municipal officers, and every group of consumers in the nation, especially Organized Labor, is earnestly solicited in this cleanup drive and campaign for effective compulsory Poultry Regulation and Inspection not only on the Federal, but on the State and local levels as well, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record endorsing the Poultry Cleanup Campaign launched by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Federation and its affiliated International Unions, at the earliest

opportunity, take such other legitimate steps within its power, as may be necessary to aid in the success of this worthy project in the interest of the health and welfare of the entire nation.

This Committee considered jointly Resolutions No. 4 and No. 25. Your Committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 25. No action is needed on Resolution No. 4.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS' SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 6—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 372.)

WHEREAS, As a result of diligent efforts on the part of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions the valuable principle of seniority has been pretty generally established in industry, and

WHEREAS, It appears that organized industry is making a concerted effort to eliminate and destroy the principles of true seniority by either refusing to include provision for seniority in collective bargaining agreements or by forcing numerous disputes over seniority into arbitration, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make a study of this problem for the purpose of attempting to devise a more effective program to combat the efforts of organized industry to eliminate and destroy the principle of seniority as it is known to the labor movement.

Your Committee recommends that the Resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 372.)

WHEREAS, Only a healthy people can promote a vital democracy, and to function on a vigorous basis, America must establish the highest possible health standards for its citizens, and

WHEREAS, Millions of Americans are still denied the benefits of proper medical care, medical facilities and health service, and

WHEREAS, It is commonly considered that the current health standards of the nation are far below even our minimum needs because of drastic shortages of doctors, nurses, hospitals, clinics and medical schools, and

WHEREAS, The high cost of medical services denies needed medical care to millions of Americans as confirmed by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation, which reported on the shocking state of the nation's health and confirmed also the gravest fears regarding the availability of medical services and our failure to develop socially sensible ways to finance medical facilities and medical care, and

WHEREAS, A recent survey by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago revealed that medical costs have put eight million families in debt to hospitals, physicians, dentists and loan companies, and that approximately $200 a year is spent on medical care by the average American family, and

WHEREAS, These critical conditions can be met only by a broad program of national health insurance, and

WHEREAS, Though fully cognizant of the fact that despite the concerted efforts of labor and welfare groups to stimulate immediate social action and to provide the millions of our people with the necessary health care, nothing has been done, and

WHEREAS, We believe that the responsibility for meeting the health needs of the nation's families rests squarely with the present Administration and the Congress, for they can establish the machinery for a national health insurance system which, among other things, would provide for preventive medicine and a system of prepaid health protection; assure high quality medical services, facilities and personnel in expanding quantity and quality, while, at the same time, protecting the rights of individual patients and individual doctors, and

WHEREAS, The need for immediate enactment of such health legislation is urgent and any further delay can serve only to increase the deplorable state of our nation's health, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in session assembled in the City of Los Angeles, go on record to call upon Congress to enact legislation that will establish a coordinated and integrated national health program, based on national health insurance, designed to provide the American people with the best medical services, facilities and personnel available by:

1. Establishing a system of prepaid health protection which will provide all Americans with a complete program of preventive care, diagnostic services and comprehensive rehabilitative services for the disabled

2. Providing federal assistance to schools of medicine and dentistry, for training nurses and medical technicians, for construction of hospitals and health centers, for student scholarships and for research

3. Extending federal aid to state and local health programs, and aid maternal and child health services and the expansion of programs for handicapped children

4. Developing a mental health program which will improve our mental hospitals, increase the facilities and services for care of the mentally ill, and provide for the training of psychiatrists and other mental health personnel

5. Aiding in the understanding and the prevention of chronic diseases.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the Resolution, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 373.)

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT, The General Federation of Trade Unions in the State of Israel, has been the outstanding example of a democratic labor organization in the Middle East for the past 35 years and today plays a leading role in the life of the young Republic by spearheading the many economic, social and cultural advances of the country in which men of labor represent a majority of the coalition government, and

WHEREAS, The young Republic of Israel, numbering only 1,650,000, is surrounded by more than 45 million Arabs, who even now after the conclusion of an armistice maintain an armed blockade against the young State in order to starve Israel into submission, and who are on record against peace with Israel and are pledged to a policy of the Arab League to wipe the new State of Israel from the face of the Middle East, and

WHEREAS, Seven Arab nations organized into the Arab League, the majority of which are members of the United Nations, disregard the mandate of the United Nations for direct peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab countries, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT, with a membership of more than 500,000, is doing everything possible not only to improve the lot of labor in Israel but also to serve as an example to the toiling masses of the Arab nations who are enslaved by the Arab masters and big land owners, and to urge all Arab men and women of labor to organize and unionize to elevate their working standards and conditions and improve their lot, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT has continued to develop its network of cooperative institutions in the field of health and serves close to a million Jews and Arabs; in the field of vocational training for youth and adult immigrants; in the building of cooperative housing projects for workers and immigrants; in the stimulating of cultural activities among the Jews and Arab workers in their respective languages; in the fostering of mutual aid and social services; in the promotion of closer relations between Jewish and Arab workers to establish cooperatives and encourage them to organize freely into trade unions, and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has extended a helping hand to Labor Israel, the only democracy in the Middle East seeking to promote trade union education in that part of the world, and

WHEREAS, HISTADRUT is engaged in the continuous fight of converting homeless peoples into productive citizens of the State of Israel, endowed with all the privileges and responsibilities of dignified workers in a living democracy which is badly in need of continued help from all American labor, and

WHEREAS, The withdrawal of Great Britain from the Suez Canal Zone opens the gateway for invasion of Israel by all military forces of Egypt from an increasing number of directions than formerly and thus makes possible for Egypt to carry out its threat of extermination of Israel, and

WHEREAS, Communist Russia, in the councils of the United Nations, has aligned itself with the Arab countries in order to gain control over that strategic part of the world plotting for world domination, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in session in Los Angeles, extend it heartiest fraternal greetings to the people of the State of Israel and to HISTADRUT, the General Federation of Trade Unions in the State of Israel, and pledge its continued moral support to all efforts of the Free Trade Unions of the State of Israel to build a nation which will enrich the lives of its own people, contribute to the improvement of the peoples in the Middle East generally, and serve as a citadel of democracy in that part of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention express its sympathy with the efforts of the State of Israel to promote peace and tranquillity in the Middle East by settling all outstanding issues between the Jews and the Arabs through peaceful negotiations at the conference table, so that all countries in the Middle East may unite in inaugurating a new era of peaceful coexistence among the neighboring states and to keep Soviet Russia and Communism out of that part of the world, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention endorse the activities of the American Trade Union Council of the National Committee for Labor Israel which, for years, has served as goodwill ambassador between the organized workers of the United States and the trade unionists of Israel, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Convention call upon all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor to continue all support necessary for the further peaceful development of the State of Israel, in general, and of its Free Trade Unions, in particular.

Your Committee recommends that this Resolution be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

MILITARY PERSONNEL OFF-DUTY ACTING AS STRIKE-BREAKERS

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 375.)

WHEREAS, Members of the Air Force personnel of the Hamilton Air Force Base, Hamilton, California, have acted as strike-breakers for H. Koch and Sons of Corte Madera, California, and our local affiliate, Leather and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, has made representations to the Group Commander to order withdrawal of the men who are giving aid and comfort to an anti-union employer bent upon running a non-union shop, and

WHEREAS, The Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, went on record in a letter to our Leather

and Novelty Workers' Union, Local 31, dated August 10, 1954, as follows—

a. "Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9 (10 U. S. Code, Section 609) prohibits off-duty employment of enlisted men on active duty where it shall 'interfere with the employment of local civilians.' There are nowhere that we can find any regulations or laws of the United States specifically prohibiting military persons working in a plant where a labor dispute is in progress or which is being picketed, or prohibiting military persons crossing a picket line."

b. "As we interpret it Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, does not imply such prohibitions."

c. "While we may have sympathy with the merits of your case it is beyond the scope of my authority to order these airmen not to work in the H. Koch Luggage Company."

d. "I would personally prefer that no airmen be required by force of financial circumstances to engage in any outside employment. Most of these airmen have wives and children and are forced to supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort," and

WHEREAS, Said interpretations and conclusions of the Group Commander allow not only coddling strike-breakers but in giving full approval to members of the Air Force personnel, off-duty, to work as strike-breakers in order that they may "supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort," and

WHEREAS, Such coddling of strike-breakers and approval of members of military establishments, off-duty, acting as strike-breakers pose a grave problem for all union labor who may find themselves at one time or another in open combat with anti-union employers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, go on record that we disapprove the interpretation placed by the Group Commander of the 566th Air Defense Group, Hamilton Air Force Base, on Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, (10 U. S. Code, Section 609), and that we urge that the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take all necessary measures with the higher authorities to make sure that there is a clear-cut definition of said Regulation prohibiting members of the military establishments, off-duty, to engage in strike-breaking and in replacing civilian strikers on strike and the picket line for union standards and conditions.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom: The strike referred to in the Resolution is settled, but to prevent recurrence of anti-labor interpretations of military regulations, your Committee recommends that the A. F. of L. officers insist through proper governmental authorities that the practice should not be allowed to happen again.

Your Committee further recommends the adoption of the Resolution, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report of the Committee on Resolution No. 11. The motion is to adopt that report. Is there any discussion?

DELEGATE WALINSKY, Handbag, Luggage Union: Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I have known for some time that the National Association of Manufacturers has invaded the State Legislatures and has invaded Congress, but I did not know that they also invaded the Pentagon in Washington.

Sixteen weeks ago, one of my affiliates in the City of San Francisco declared a strike against one of the largest manufacturers of luggage making items for the Air Force of the United States, also for the Atomic Energy Commission.

Accordingly I asked Secretary Talbott of the Air Force to do something about it, and his reply is as follows:

"This will acknowledge your recent letter to Secretary Talbott.

"The Air Force has maintained an interest in the current strike at H. Koch and Sons, Corte Madera, California, as it does in all instances where production for the Air Force is halted or impeded due to labor-management difficulties or for any other cause.

"It is the policy of the Air Force to maintain a position of neutrality in labor-management disputes, and we would, accordingly, not consider it proper to intervene in this case. However, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, which is the government agency charged with the function of mediating labor disputes, has been advised of your inquiry and has been requested to press its efforts toward seeking an agreement between the parties."

I was very, very pleased with this communication from the Air Force, but we were later informed that members of the Air Force, not in uniform, but with the insignia of the Air Force of the United States, are acting as strikebreakers in that plant. So we went to the Commander of the Air Force and we pleaded that those men be withdrawn. Here is a document signed by the Commander of the Air Force, which is incredible, and which bespeaks the present atmosphere in Washington. Labor is smeared, labor is degraded, labor is attacked.

Here is what the Commander of the Air Force is writing. I want to read this communication because I believe it is of historic importance:

"Thank you for your letter of August 4, 1954, calling my attention to off-duty activities of the Air Force personnel in connection with employment at the H. Koch Luggage Company of Corte Madera, California. The instance you mentioned of the use of an Air Force vehicle was entirely unauthorized and disciplinary action has been taken. Under no circumstances will an Air Force vehicle be used in connection with any off-duty employment of military personnel.

"Air Force members are permitted to engage in off-duty employment only where it does not interfere with their military duties and in no way gives the appearance of engaging in such activities as representatives of the Air Force. In this connection I have ordered that no member of the Air Force will wear the uniform or part of the uniform, including fatigue clothing, while engaged in off-duty employment.

"Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, (10 U.S. Code, Section 609), prohibits off-duty employment of enlisted men on active duty where it shall 'interfere with the employment of local civilians.' There are nowhere that we can find any regulations or laws of the United states specifically prohibiting military persons

working in a plant where a labor dispute is in progress or which is being picketed, or prohibiting military persons crossing a picket line. As we interpret it Air Force Regulation 24-1, Paragraph 9, does not imply such prohibitions. There is no showing that airmen, acting strictly as individual citizens, are interfering with the employment of local civilians in the H. Koch Luggage Company, which is apparently seeking hiring of people from any and all who may apply. While we may have sympathy with the merits of your case it is beyond the scope of my authority to order these airmen not to work in the H. Koch Luggage Company."

Now comes the pay-off, Mr. President. This is incredible. It is what the Commander says:

"I would personally prefer that no airman be required by force of financial circumstances to engage in any outside employment. Most of these airmen have wives and children and are forced to supplement their inadequate military pay in order that their families may live in a degree of decent comfort."

In other words, the United States does not pay the airmen, the sailors, the marines, the soldiers, our sons and brothers, enough to keep their wives and children in decency and comfort. Therefore they may work as strike-breakers in a shop, in a plant where people are picketing, where people are being exposed to injunction and court persecutions, as was the case with my strikers. This has been going on, Brother President, for 15 long weeks. I asked the American Federation of Labor to take a hand at this point because, as I have indicated, I have been in the labor movement for 51 years. I have seen the struggle, not of leather workers, not of luggage workers, but of the entire labor movement. President Meany and Secretary Schnitzler, with the glory and the grandeur of the American Federation of Labor, have taken up this fight and after 14 long weeks we received on September 10th the following telegram from Brother Schnitzler's office:

"Just notified by James P. Goode, Deputy to the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, that he phoned Colonel Anderson this morning and ordered him to have all Air Force personnel out of the Koch plant by sundown. Informed by James Fanning, Director of Industrial Relations of Defense Department, that Army representative is in direct contact with Charles Bruno. Please notify me if military personnel continue at plant.

"Bert Seidman, Staff Economist, American Federation of Labor."

That was wonderful; a great accomplishment, an historical achievement of the great office of the American Federation of Labor put forth by President Meany and Secretary Schnitzler.

But on September 10th I received the following very unpleasant communication from the same Mr. Goode. He says:

"Reference is made to your letter of August 16"—of course, he took more than a month to answer my letter—"addressed to Mr. Roger Lewis, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, which has been referred to me for reply.

"After a review of the correspondence which you inclosed I caused an investigation to be made of the circumstances surrounding the use of military personnel by H. Koch and Sons, and requested a legal review to be made of the applicable rules and regulations. I have from time to time discussed this situation also with Mr. Seidman of the American Federation of Labor who has been very helpful in supplying me with additional facts concerning the situation you describe.

"This is to advise you that I have issued instructions to Colonel Anderson, the base commander of Hamilton Air Force Base, to terminate immediately the employment of military personnel in the firm of H. Koch and Sons. I have also taken the matter up with the Office of the Secretary of Defense with a suggestion that it might be advisable"—it might be advisable—"in order to prevent future situations of this kind to issue some general overall policy guidance for universal applicability to all three military services."

Then comes the invasion by the National Association of Manufacturers of the Pentagon. Here is a document known as Army Regulation 600-195. This army regulation is signed by General Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff, U. S. Army. This regulation dates from the days of 20 years of reason—20 years of reason by Roosevelt and Truman. This is the regulation, that military personnel will engage in such employment under conditions no less favorable than those afforded civilians and that no less than the prevailing rates of pay for jobs are to be paid. This is Item D, and Item E says—General Collins, Chief of Staff—"no military personnel are to be used in any place of employment where a strike, lock-out or other labor dispute is in progress."

Now, brother President and fellow delegates, the same Army Regulation 600-195, signed by M B. Ridgway, General, United States Army Chief of Staff, omits the words "strike-breakers" completely.

I would like to ask the Secretary of Labor, "Mr. Secretary, did you advise General Ridgway to change this regulation?" I would like to ask most respectfully the Commander in Chief of the United States, the President, "Did you know anything about the change of the regulation?"

Who is doing the changing? Who is breaking down union standards and conditions? Who is approving strike breaking by military personnel? Who is doing that?

These are questions to which labor is wanting answers and which we are awaiting.

I remember from my days in London and know that the Secretary would be on the floor of Parliament and Cabinets would be removed. This is the parliament of labor and I am asking these questions.

Brother President, I bring you the thanks and appreciation of the strikers of my membership, all of labor. We are eternally grateful to you and Brother Schnitzler for the aid and cooperation given my union because of the removal of the strike breakers. I just came from San Francisco. I have settled the strike; my strikers have returned to work. I thank you, Brother Meany. I thank you, Brother Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I agree with Brother Walinsky that this is a disgraceful situation. I am not charging any one person for responsibility, but I feel that it is the responsibility of all in authority and it is the responsibility of Congress. In regard to the one little paragraph in the letter, that the commander would "prefer" that no airman would be required by force of financial circumstances to engage in outside employment, I feel that it is not a question of preference. I feel that we all have a responsibility to see that the men upon whom we depend for our protection and the security of our nation when they are in the Armed Services do not have to seek outside employ-

ment. Most of the airmen have wives and children and are forced to supplement their inadequate military pay. Well, what about the wives and children of the people who are on strike, those who are on strike in order to secure an advance in their inadequate pay?

I feel, Brother Walinsky, that despite the fact that the strike is settled and the workers are back to work, it is the responsibility of all those in authority to see to it, one, that people in our military forces do receive adequate pay, and, secondly, that under no circumstances should the person who wears the uniform of any of the Armed Services in our country be allowed under the regulations to act as a strike-breaker against the citizens of this country. If that is unfair criticism, I suggest that our friend the Secretary of Labor make the most of it.

. . . The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

MENNINGER FOUNDATION TOPEKA, KANSAS

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate of Topeka Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 377.)

WHEREAS, Mental Health is the Number One Health Problem in America, with 700,000 persons now hospitalized for mental illness, 250,000 persons being admitted to mental hospitals each year and 250,000 persons being treated in out-patient clinics and by private physicians each year, at a total cost of $3 billion in public expenditures and loss of earnings, and

WHEREAS, More than one-half of all the hospital beds in the nation are occupied by mental patients, and one out of every 12 persons sometime in his life will suffer mental illness severe enough to require hospitalization, and

WHEREAS, 98 per cent of those hospitalized with mental illness are hospitalized in public mental hospitals, and

WHEREAS, There is an extreme shortage of psychiatric and allied personnel in public mental hospitals and out-patient clinics upon which the working people of America depend to restore and maintain the mental health of themselves and their families, when they become ill, and

WHEREAS, Less than two cents is spent for research with mental illness for every dollar spent to hospitalize and treat mental patients, and

WHEREAS, The working class of people bears the brunt of this lack of psychiatric treatment and research, and

WHEREAS, The Menninger Foundation of Topeka, Kansas, has achieved world renown for its outstanding contributions to mental health by (1) training more psychiatrists than any other single institution, (2) expending more funds for research than any other private psychiatric institution, and (3) consulting with public mental hospitals in Topeka and Kansas which has made them models for other public mental hospitals, and

WHEREAS, All of these contributions significantly enhance the health and welfare of the American working man, and

WHEREAS, The Menninger Foundation is a non-profit psychiatric treatment, training and research center supported by public subscription, and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates attending the convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse and support the Menninger Foundation, financially and otherwise, and to recommend concurrence by the affiliated bodies which they represent.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and appropriate action.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

POINT FOUR PROGRAM

Resolution No. 19—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 379.)

WHEREAS, Along with imperialism which amounts to the denial of political independence and freedom to the peoples of Asia and Africa, the natives are still suffering from extreme forms of poverty, illiteracy, disease, landlordism and excessive exploitation through small loans at exorbitant rates;

WHEREAS, The existence of political imperialism and economic and social feudalism have combined to create social misery which constitutes fertile grounds for the growth of seeds of Communism spread by the agents of the Kremlin who promise relief from various forms of oppression and exploitation and a bright and glorious future under the hammer and sickle; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, herewith, go on record in reaffirmation of its already expressed position of supporting the Point Four program, the policies of which are now being administered by the Technical Cooperation Administration as a method of enabling the natives of Asia and Africa to develop self-help to assist them in eliminating poverty, illiteracy, disease and the plague of landlordism; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention express its accord with the British government in extending recognition of self-determination to its former colonies, such as Pakistan, India, Ceylon, Burma and the Sudan; and its present policy of recognizing the right of West Africa, under the government of Nkrumah, and the right of Nigeria, under Azikiwi, to become self-governing political entities; and also applaud the United States in its humane, democratic and sound international policy toward the Philippines, as well as recognize the wisdom of the Dutch government in not attempting to block the nationalism of Indonesia for self-government; but urge the French government to recognize the inevitable growth and march of nationalism in Tunisia and Morocco, Algeria and Indochina as self-governing, independent countries as a policy of humanity and justice, and in the interest of winning these peoples over as allies of the free world and

against the march of the Soviet Union toward world conquest.

Your Committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNITED NATIONS

Resolution No. 20—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 379.)

WHEREAS, Strong tides of opposition are running high in the United States and throughout the world against the United Nations despite the achievements of this young institution in the field of international affairs in connection with serving as the agency for collective action against Communist aggression in Korea; keeping the flames of nationalistic conflict between Pakistan and India from bursting into a war; as well as maintaining the mechanism for continued negotiation in the interest of peace between Israeli and the Arab states; together with its many social, economic, agricultural, labor and educational agencies to achieve goodwill and the advancement of world literacy, health, science and peace and plenty, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as reaffirming its support of the United Nations and call on the United States government to utilize the United Nations in the future to a greater degree than it has in the past, in order that it may develop the prestige, position, power and place to fulfill its mission as expressed in its charter which will also serve to concentrate the free world in one common agency, in order that it may fight for world peace, the alternative of which can only be atomic and hydrogen warfare which is certain to encompass destruction of modern civilization.

Your Committee recommends that the resolution be adopted.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

AFRICAN MALANISM

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 379.)

WHEREAS, The sinister racist policies of Dr. Daniel F. Malan of South Africa, that not only take away the land of natives but rob them of the right to sell their labor through trade union organization for decent wages, improved and humane working conditions and fair working hours, and seek to stigmatize them with the mark of racial inferiority and reduce them to the status of perpetual social outcasts, industrial and agricultural peons, and

WHEREAS, The two million white population, with this attitude to subjugate, degrade and demoralize the native Africans, will not permanently prevail against eight million blacks in whose breasts are now burning unquenchable passions for freedom, independence, economic security and human dignity, will only serve to stir the fires of revolt and revolution of the black man against the white man in South Africa and other areas of the continent which will constitute a threat to world peace; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as urging the United States government to withhold financial loans to the Union of South Africa and urge the International Bank to insist as a condition for financial aid, that the Union of South Africa abandon its persecution of natives, Indian and British minorities; and that our government urge the United Nations to take prompt action against complaints brought against the Union of South Africa on behalf of Africans and the Hindus.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ABOLISHING JIM CROW HOUSING

Resolution No. 27—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 381.)

WHEREAS, Although the United States Supreme Court has repeatedly handed down decisions against racial segregation in various sections of our national life, including housing, the federal government of the United States is today the greatest single force in promoting segregation in residential areas through FHA, the slum clearance program and other agencies in this field, and

WHEREAS, A state of violence bordering on armed conflict now exists in Trumbull Park federal housing project in the City of Chicago since August 5, 1953, with law-abiding colored tenants being threatened with violence, and

WHEREAS, At Levittown, Pennsylvania, the FHA has insured millions of dollars worth of property, the government knowing that in this new community there is a rigid, hidebound and undemocratic program of excluding all colored people solely because of race; the government being also fully aware of the fact that discrimination against Negro citizens is a general policy of major insurance companies in the administration of their housing developments, and

WHEREAS, In Birmingham, Alabama, and Baltimore, Maryland, the slum clearance and urban redevelopment programs are being used to clear colored persons from certain areas of the city to make way for Jim Crow projects in definite defiance of the Supreme Court decisions, and

WHEREAS, The housing and home finance agency of the government is lending its influence and support to the development of so-called new Negro housing which is giving governmental sanction to segregation in the building of housing projects which will tend to set up hard and fast segregated areas in various communities which is not only a method of attaching the stigma of inferiority to an entire group of people but is contrary to the American dream of equality of opportunity for all persons without regard to race or color, religion, national origin or ancestry, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as condemning and opposing segregated housing and the use of government funds to promote same as contrary to justice, fair-play and sound, democratic principles as set forth in Supreme Court decisions striking down segregated housing.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Although we do not have detailed information regarding the incidents described in this resolution, your Committee is aware of the fact that the discriminatory policies of home builders, real estate firms and mortgage lending institutions have virtually barred Negroes and other minority groups from the market for new housing. The Federal Housing Administration has provided generous financial assistance to speculative home builders and banks while failing to insist that an adequate supply of housing built by private builders with federal aid be made available to minority groups. The federally subsidized slum clearance program has in many communities worsened the already bad housing conditions of minority families by forcing them to move out of slum areas to be cleared, but failing to provide decent housing in which they could be relocated. This situation has been critically aggravated by the virtually fatal attrition forced by the Congress in the low-rent public housing program.

The American Federation of Labor stands firmly for equal opportunity in housing, as in all other spheres of life, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. While we recognize that traditional patterns of community life cannot be changed overnight, we insist that it is the positive responsibility of the Federal Government in all aspects of its housing program, to help to eliminate segregation and discrimination in housing and to assure that government-aided housing programs add substantially to the supply of decent housing available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families.

We recommend that this resolution be referred to the executive officers for such action as may be warranted.

I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee and the motion is to adopt. The Chair recognizes Brother Randolph.

DELEGATE RANDOLPH, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Brother President and fellow delegates to the Convention: The delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters wanted to bring this resolution to the attention of the Convention because of its vital significance, not only to Negroes, but to all Americans. There is nothing more important to a wage earner than his home. It is important to the normal development of a family. Therefore the surroundings should be designed to promote normal family groups. But that is utterly impossible where there are segregated residential conditions. Not only have we segregated housing in a large number of sections of the country, but practically all of the various projects financed or generally favored by the government prevent minorities from securing home opportunities in those projects because of race, color, and sometimes religion. We wanted particularly to bring to the attention of the Convention the unhappy and unfortunate Trumbull Park housing situation in Chicago. There at this present moment every Negro who must go to his job from day to day is escorted by the police. He is escorted to a place from the housing project safe from attack by those who are opposed to the presence of Negroes in the project. When it is time for them to return home a police squad car escorts these Negroes back to their homes in order to avoid violence.

We submit that is a condition that is largely the responsibility of the City Administration. If there were adequate police, and the police were made to understand that the citizens are to be protected regardless of race or color, this condition would be eliminated over night. There are numerous housing projects in various parts of the country that are inter-racial and where you do not have any violence. But here in the Trumbull Park area from night to night aerial bombs are dropped around the section in which the Negroes live. The children are intimidated. The nerves of the women, the mothers, are shattered, and then hundreds of people gather from time to time and throw rocks through the windows.

Now, this is a condition that is certainly not American, and the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters felt that it is proper to have the eyes of labor turned on this condition in order that public opinion might be aroused and that this situation may be eliminated.

I think the position presented by the Resolutions Committee is a sound and proper one. In other words, that no governmental project should be permitted to lend itself to any form of segregation and discrimination because the project is built by money that is backed by the Brotherhood. Therefore, inasmuch as it is public money, the project ought to be used and the project ought to serve the public interest regardless of race or color.

Mr. Chairman, the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is appreciative of the position of the Resolutions Committee on this matter. It may be necessary, however, that something rather tangible be done by way of developing a delegation to talk to the President about this question. In that event you will be given further information than the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has undertaken to bring to you. Thank you very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The action taken by the Committee is in complete accord with the traditional position of the American Federation of Labor on this subject. Year in and year out we have stated our position against racial or religious discrimination in any form whatsoever, and while we still have a long way to go, we can look back over the record and find that little by little, year by year, this situation is slowly improving. The action called for by the Committee on this question, which will undoubtedly be implemented by the Executive Council and the Officers of the American Federation of Labor, will perhaps bring about more improvement.

Is there any further discussion on this resolution?

. . . The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now at this time we have come to the point in the Convention which we look forward to each year, the significant point of our Convention. For the past 34 years the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion have had a fraternal relationship which calls for the exchange of speakers at the annual convention of each

organization. The President of the American Federation of Labor has addressed every convention of the American Legion during that period, and likewise we have had the pleasure of hearing from the Commander of the American Legion at our annual convention for the same period of time.

I am very happy here this morning to present to you a new Commander of the Legion. You recall that last year at St. Louis we were addressed by Commander Connell. The man we are to hear this morning has had a wide experience. He has been Chairman of the National Security Committee of the Legion and has played a large part in determining the policies of the Legion on the subject with which we have a vital interest, the subject of foreign relations and the association of our country with the other peace-loving nations of the world. He has had personal experience that well fits him to give his views on this particular subject. As a pilot in the last war he flew what they called "The Hump" in India and came through and is back here with us now.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to you Commander Seaborn Collins of New Mexico, the National Commander of the American Legion.

SEABORN P. COLLINS
National Commander of the American Legion

Less than three weeks have passed since I was elected to lead the world's largest organization of veterans. I consider it a fortunate and high privilege indeed to have the opportunity so soon of addressing the world's largest federation of labor.

I hope your sessions here are successful in every way. I say that not only as a Legionnaire speaking for nearly three million American Legion members but as an American citizen who shares your faith in the principles and purposes of the American Federation of Labor.

For many years now, the AFL and The American Legion have enjoyed a fine, mutually helpful relationship. I look forward to the strengthening of that kinship in the months ahead. As National Commander I shall certainly do all in my power to develop the spirit of cooperation and understanding that exists between your locals and our Posts.

As a matter of fact, it seems to me that we have the best possible evidence of that spirit here today. A good many of the men seated here were also delegates at our American Legion Convention in Washington earlier this month. For my part I hope the number of delegates we have in common will be even larger at next year's conventions.

Those of you who were present know that your distinguished President delivered one of the most impressive messages heard by our Legion Convention. I cannot promise to match his eloquence, but I certainly share his conviction that members of the Legion and the AFL can best serve America by serving together the democratic institutions to which we all owe our first allegiance.

I would like to acknowledge in particular, Mr. Meany, your expression of support for the American Legion's continuing effort to protect an adequate program of hospitalization for disabled veterans. We welcome your indorsement of this cause all the more because it is the one nearest the Legion's heart. We want your membership to know that we do not intend to yield one inch of ground to those who deprive ill and needy veterans of the medical care to which they are entitled by right and by law.

Let me emphasize that in this matter we are fighting to preserve more than an outstanding medical and hospital program—and more even than the health and happiness of thousands of veterans less fortunate than ourselves. We are fighting also for a principle that is basic in the American philosophy—the principle that obligates *all* citizens to help the few whose service and sacrifice in time of war cost them the ability to help themselves.

Anyone who thinks this problem through objectively and logically must, it seems to me, arrive at the conclusion you have reached. Unfortunately, this is only one of many issues confronting the American people which have been confused by a lack of objective and logical reasoning.

Perhaps the most dramatic and depressing illustration of this problem, so far as Legionnaires are concerned, is found in the field of foreign policy and our present plight in the Cold War.

As veterans, we of the American Legion have an abiding, personal interest in our country's international and military strategy. The Cold War is an extension of wars we fought. Another Big War would nullify the victories we won and the peace we hoped to secure. For these and other reasons our recent Convention devoted a great deal of time and attention to the current world situation.

I want to explain to you briefly today the stand we took and the thinking behind it.

We recognize three hard, unhappy truths as the necessary starting point for any realistic appraisal of current American policy.

First, aggressive warfare is now being waged against this Country and its Allies by the Communists.

Secondly, it will continue to be waged until a decision is reached as to whether the forces of Communism or of freedom will prevail in the world.

And third, our side is presently losing the struggle.

The real tragedy of the times, in our judgment, is that too few Americans and far too few friends of America will admit these basic facts.

Here at home the mere suggestion that things are going badly for Uncle Sam abroad is greeted with criticism and suspicion. We are told that such a view is politically unwise, or bad for business, or even unpatriotic. Well, the American Legion has no political or business axe to grind—and we submit true patriotism these days means reading the record as it is—not as one would like it to be.

What does the recent record show?

In Korea we spent a vast treasure of lives and materiel for a military draw and psychological defeat.

In Indo-China we bluffed and were caught bluffing.

In Europe we contributed billions of dollars and man-hours to the planned European Defense Community only to have France withhold the cornerstone of that structure.

At the Geneva Conference and elsewhere, representatives of our chief allies have raised grave doubts as to the practical value of our mutual security pacts. Governments we counted among our staunchest friends show signs of turning away from Washington and towards Moscow for leadership and cooperation.

All this is on the record of recent years. Meanwhile, our own authorities report that military strength of the West has become progressively weaker in relation to that of the Communists.

The American Legion firmly believes that we have in this country the intelligence, the power and the will to triumph over Communism. We are convinced, however, that the Government has not yet translated that strength into plans and actions capable of halting the Red march.

Sooner or later, this nation must formulate and announce to the world a definite foreign policy which will fix the point of no return for Communist aggression. By that I mean that together with other free nations and on the basis of economic, political and military considerations we must determine a line which the Communists must not cross—and that we serve notice that if they do cross it, then the consequence will be immediate and total military retaliation against Russia itself.

We do not pose as foreign policy experts. We leave to qualified leaders the matter of how and when such a line is drawn. We insist, however, that unless it *is* drawn and backed up by ready military force, our present policies will eventually leave the United States alone and vulnerable in a Communist world.

Frankly, we see an ominous parallel between America's present dilemma and that of the French at the close of the fighting in Indo-China. You will recall that the French strategy was based upon holding the outpost of Dien Bien Phu. When that strong point fell, the main positions became untenable. Some of the countries serving as our global outposts already have been lost or partially lost to Communism. How many more can we lose without endangering our main position?

Since the start of the Cold War the Kremlin has beguiled and bled us with one diversion after another while building up their own military and industrial resources.

They mounted periodic "peace offensives," torpedoed effective action by the United Nations, put on a blockade in Berlin and real wars in Korea and Indo-China, and inspired the collapse of EDC. In every instance the diversion succeeded—winning valuable time for the development of their nuclear weapons and exacting a heavy toll of American life and treasure—and *without the loss of a single Russian soldier.*

Currently the Communists are stressing "peaceful co-existence"—and using gullible pilgrims from the Western world to echo the theme in Moscow and Peiping. Governments throughout the world are under tremendous pressure to relax restrictions on trade with the Reds. All who oppose the move—especially Americans—find themselves condemned on both sides of the Iron Curtain as enemies of peace and prosperity.

This latest Red bait may land the biggest catch yet, and do the greatest mischief to freedom's cause.

The question that occurs to most Americans is: how can they get away with it? Why do people who are free and who have demonstrated their love of liberty, fall so easily for a phoney line?

You and I know that the leopard's spots have not changed—that the very nature of Communism mandates a fight for survival with the non-Communist world. Yet millions of people in other countries, and some in our own, continue to believe in fallacies and dreams that never had substance.

One group sees salvation in the hope that the Communist high command will disintegrate and that friendly relations can then be worked out with the Russian people. Since 1917 there have been three Party leaders—and no perceptible weakening of Party control. Surely we must realize by this time that the Red governing power is vested not in one man alone but in a group of men—and when one leader falters there is another to carry on as before.

Believers in the theory of co-existence show the same lack of realism. That theirs is a fool's paradise was certified many years ago by Nicolai Lenin himself who said (and I quote): "As long as Capitalism and communism exist together, we cannot live in peace; in the end one or the other will triumph. A funeral dirge will be sung over the Soviet Republic or over world capitalism."

Malenkov preached co-existence while his airmen engage in target practice on American patrol planes over the Sea of Japan. Co-existence Russian style means coercion. What they are really offering us is national suicide on the installment plan.

Another fallacy common to many Americans is all-out reliance upon our superiority in nuclear weapons. In 1948 Winston Churchill declared that the only deterrent to Soviet conquest of the European continent was U. S. possession of the atomic bomb. There is no basis for a similar assurance today. As far back as 1951 the official United States Air Force publication pointed out that no matter how many bombs we stockpiled, their value as a deterrent to attack would be questionable once the Russians had enough of their own to smash our industrial might. Have the Russians reached that point? A good many of our military authorities think so.

I cite these factors by way of indicating how well the Communists have used the time they have gained since World War II to shave the industrial and military lead of the free world. Obviously, we have neither contained Communists nor captured the Cold War initiative.

That is why Legionnaires are concerned today lest our announced policy of "massive retaliation" terminate in massive appeasement. And that is why the American Legion, viewing the hard, brutal facts of international life, urges a new policy which will place squarely upon the Soviets the choice of either ceasing aggression or causing a war in which they cannot possibly survive.

In taking this position, we do not advocate that the United States "go it alone." On the contrary, it seems very clear that a firm stand now along a line that is militarily, economically and politically feasible, represents the best insurance against continued Communist encroachments which would leave us no alternative to "going it alone."

Some say that such a pronouncement would cost us Allies. If that be so, we say it is better that we lose those Allies now rather than on the day we are attacked.

Collective security, in our judgment, remains the best answer to the Communist challenge. But a system of collective security which permits appeasement can result only in collective surrender.

Our reliance, in the last analysis, must be upon the wisdom and the courage, the moral and material strength of our own people. God has blessed us with all of the resources we have needed to meet and overcome national crises in the past. We have those resources

now. . . . We need only assemble and apply them in the traditional American spirit of common sacrifice for the common good.

The Americans who settled this land and set it free achieved their finest work when the going was rough. Let us admit that the going is rough now—and let us do well the hard, heavy tasks that must be done to secure our finest work—victory for the free and peace for all mankind.

Thank you for your kind attention.

(The Convention stood and applauded.)

PRESIDENT MEANY: I can assure Commander Collins of the complete cooperation of the American Federation of Labor along the lines of his address today. It is quite obvious, as I told you in introducing the Commander, of the traditional community of interest between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. I want to assure Commander Collins that we, too, have been told that constructive, loyal, patriotic criticism is political, and to assure him that after his remarks here this morning, which are constructively critical on the question of foreign relations, that there is one group of people who will not accuse him and his organization of making this criticism for political reasons—and that group is the American Federation of Labor.

I might also add that we, too, in the American Federation of Labor have become the target of abuse of the American Medical Association, because of our interest in the health of all of the citizens of this great nation. We have stressed the passage of a national health plan, not socialized medicine, a national health plan, because we feel that the health of the people of this nation is of tremendous importance in these days of international crisis.

General Hershey, who has been in charge of inducting the young men of this country into the Armed Services, can testify that the lack of health in a certain percentage is a national problem. For that we have been accused of being socialistic by the American Medical Association.

Two or three years ago, during the Korean War, the Department of Defense certified, the Chief of Staff certified, and all agencies of government backed it up, that we needed more doctors in this country, that we did not have the facilities in this country to produce the doctors that the populace of the country needs and that the Armed Services at that time badly needed in Korea. Those expressions on the part of the Chief of Staff and the Secretary of Defense were embodied in a request to Congress for Federal aid to medical education. That request was backed up by the dean of every medical school in America. We all know, any of us who have acquaintances, sons, desirous of securing medical education, how hard it is for a boy to find a school. There are a number of them in Mexico City, a number of them in the universities and medical colleges of Europe. When that request went to the Congress, after it was unanimously approved by the Senate Committee of Labor and Education, it was suddenly withdrawn, and the bill put back into committee on the basis of a letter from the head of the American Medical Association that this was the first step towards socialism.

We know something about socialism, and we know how the word is misused. The expenditure of government money to do some good for the great mass of the people is socialistic, but the expenditure of government money to build up the great airlines, the civilian airlines of this country through mail subsidies—and that is how they were built up, with the idea in mind, of course, that the development of civilian airlines certainly would have its impact on the aircraft industry and make it, perhaps, more feasible to develop military aircraft, but that subsidy enabled those lines to go ahead and develop—that isn't socialistic.

The expenditure of government money to subsidize the cotton manufacturers and the planters—that is not socialism. The setting aside of government money to take care of the welfare of the children of the nation, the health of the people of the nation as a whole, school lunches for children, Federal aid to education to help the communities of the nation provide adequate schools for our most valuable possession, our children—those things are socialistic. Now we find that the American Legion is the subject of criticism by the AMA, the political arm of the medical profession, because they want adequate medical care and an adequate hospital program for disabled veterans. All I can say to Commander Collins is, Welcome to the fold. We assure him of the continued support of the American Federation of Labor in his program and the continued friendship of this great organization of American workers to his great organization of American veterans. Thank you very much.

We will have Secretary Soderstrom proceed with the report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 382.)

WHEREAS, The white settlers and government officials of the Colony of Kenya have combined to take away the choice land from the natives, without which life is unbearable, and

WHEREAS, The most brutal and barbaric form of warfare is being directed against the natives of Kenya which, together with a desire to regain their desirable land, has caused the members of the Kikuyu tribe to form a secret order known as the Mau Mau which is fighting back with desperation against bombs dropped by airplanes upon the men, women and children, and

WHEREAS, The conditions imposed upon the people of Kenya is colonialism in its most reprehensible form; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That while expressing opposition to murder by the Mau Mau as a method of settling their problems, that this Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Los Angeles, California, September, 1954, go on record as condemning the policy of the white settlers and colonial Kenya government in dispossessing the natives of their valuable land and call upon the United States delegates to the United Nations to demand a thorough-going, comprehensive study of the oppression of the Kenya people and urge the formation of an international commission, composed of repre-

sentatives of labor, church, business and education, to travel to Kenya for the purpose of observing and studying the problems that plague the natives and the white settlers and government officials, with a view to publicizing findings of same in the interest of moulding world opinion for the elimination of colonialism in this area of Africa, so that under the aegis of the United Nations these people may move to a self-governing status, a condition which will strengthen the forces of democracy throughout the world and dispossess the Communists of an effective weapon of propaganda against the Western democracies.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS' SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 378.)

WHEREAS, As a result of the arbitrary imposition of rigid physical standards and tests by industry, workers have been and are being deprived of their jobs without regard to their seniority rights, and

WHEREAS, In most cases the workers who are being arbitrarily discarded by industry are actually capable of performing the jobs required of them for many more years, and

WHEREAS, These workers have no recourse open to them due to the lack of sufficient protective clauses in the collective bargaining agreements, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention assembled in Los Angeles, California, go on record instructing the officers of the American Federation of labor to study this problem with a view to obtaining remedial legislation, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to refer this resolution to the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor for their study with a view to preparing protective clauses for inclusion in the collective bargaining agreements negotiated by local labor unions, which clauses should be furnished to all local labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

In lieu of the last resolved, guidance in preparing protective clauses in negotiated agreements should be made available to all unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. and your Committee so recommends.

Your Committee further recommends that the resolutions as amended by adopted.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate J. S. Smith, Virginia State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 378.)

WHEREAS, Close observation of the National Congress and States Legislatures indicate a trend toward anti-labor legislation more restrictive than that which presently faces us, and

WHEREAS, If the present trend continues the ultimate result will be a noticeable reduction in the total membership of organized labor, and

WHEREAS, This serious situation affects the American Federation of Labor and all National and International Unions affiliated, and

WHEREAS, The National and International Unions can render more cooperation and assistance in the field of political education than has been exhibited up to the present time, and

WHEREAS, Political education among other things can relieve and eventually solve the many problems which confront us in the legislative field, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the delegates assembled in this Seventy-third convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that all National and International Unions employ special political organizers to work among their members within the various States to establish local union committees on political education with the ultimate goal, all members qualified to vote, and be it further

RESOLVED, That these special political organizers work in close cooperation with Labor's League for Political Education and with the Leagues within the States wherein they work.

Your Committee is in sympathy with all units of the A. F. of L. working together and helping each other attain political objectives and recommends continued activity toward that end.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Jesse Clark, Frank R. Edmonson, M. S. Mason, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 380.)

WHEREAS, The City of Hope National Medical Center which was founded forty-one years ago by members of the trade union movement has helped restore to normal life and usefulness thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement who have suffered from tuberculosis, cancer, leukemia, and heart ailments, and

WHEREAS, Its medical services, given without cost to our fellow trade unionists, demonstrate dramatically that through our joint efforts we can help our brothers and sisters in need to overcome the high financial barriers which often stand in the way of the average worker's ability to combat the ravages of catastrophic diseases, and

WHEREAS, A large number of international unions, local and state central bodies and their affiliates and members are giving their wholehearted support to the City of Hope's three-pronged program of medical service, research and technical training, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the trade union movement are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope, and its research and training programs help advance medical

knowledge, so that doctors, technicians, and nurses are enabled to better serve their communities throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, It is fitting and proper that this convention of the American Federation of Labor commend and encourage the splendid efforts of our numerous affiliates, on behalf of the City of Hope National Medical Center, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, in September 1954, again call upon all affiliated to join in this great work of combatting catastrophic diseases through the facilities and services of the City of Hope; and urge furthermore that all affiliated unions, central bodies, and locals endorse a special campaign effort so that a memorial will be established on the grounds of the City of Hope National Medical Center, at Duarte, California, to the great leaders of the trade union movement whose vision and devotion is reflected in the high principles of service to humanity exemplified by the City of Hope.

LABOR MEMORIAL AT THE CITY OF HOPE

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 403.)

WHEREAS, The City of Hope National Medical Center which was founded forty-one years ago by members of the trade union movement has helped restore to normal life and usefulness thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement who have suffered from tuberculosis, cancer, leukemia, and heart ailments, and

WHEREAS, Its medical services, given without cost to our fellow trade unionists, demonstrate dramatically that through our joint efforts we can help our brothers and sisters in need to overcome the high financial barriers which often stand in the way of the average worker's ability to combat the ravages of catastrophic diseases, and

WHEREAS, A large number of international unions, local and state, central bodies and their affiliates and members are giving their wholehearted support to the City of Hope's three-pronged program of medical service, research and technical training, and

WHEREAS, Many members of the trade union movement are presently utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope, and its research and training programs help advance medical knowledge, so that doctors, technicians, and nurses are enabled to better serve their communities throughout the nation, and

WHEREAS, It is fitting and proper that this convention of the American Federation of Labor commend and encourage the splendid efforts of our numerous affiliates, on behalf of the City of Hope National Medical Center; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, meeting in Los Angeles, in September 1954, again call upon all affiliates to join in this great work of combatting catastrophic diseases through the facilities and services of the City of Hope; and urge furthermore that all affiliated unions, central bodies, and locals endorse a special campaign effort so that a memorial will be established on the grounds of the City of Hope National Medical Center, at Duarte, California, to the great leaders of the trade union movement whose vision and devotion is reflected in the high principles of service to humanity exemplified by the City of Hope.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: In lieu of these two resolutions which were considered jointly, your Committee desires to point out and state that it is impressed with the splendid service rendered by the City of Hope to which the AFL has always subscribed and recommends continued cooperation with this and other successful humanitarian organizations operating in their field.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COLORADO RIVER

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 381.)

WHEREAS, In the 64th Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in New Orleans in 1944 a resolution was adopted opposing the Colorado River Project, and

WHEREAS, In each succeeding convention the American Federation of Labor has reaffirmed its opposition to the Project, and

WHEREAS, Legislation has now been introduced into the Congress advocating the construction of a series of storage dams in the Upper Colorado River Basin known as the "Upper Colorado River Storage Bill," and

WHEREAS, The construction of these dams would impose upon the taxpayers of the nation a subsidy of over $1,000,000,000 to provide irrigation water for less than 370,000 acres of land—of which about 240,00 acres would receive only a supplemental water supply, and

WHEREAS, This amounts to $2,500 per acre irrigated which is not economically justifiable, and

WHEREAS, The construction of these dams would break the 80-year conservation policy of the Government by invading the Dinosaur National Monument to supply irrigation to land which is substantially limited in producing capacity, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in Los Angeles, California, hereby reaffirm the previous position on the Colorado River Project, and be it further,

RESOLVED, That the officers be instructed to oppose the adoption of such legislation.

PRESERVE INTACT OUR NATIONAL PARKS AND MONUMENTS

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 399.)

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument is a system of canyons in Utah and Colorado

through which flow the Yampa and the Green Rivers, tributaries of the Colorado River, and

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument was first created in 1915. It then comprised 80 acres of land and was established to protect the interesting and scientifically important dinosaur bones that had previously been discovered in the area. In 1938 the Monument was enlarged to 200,000 acres to protect the magnificent canyons of the Lodore and Yampa and such spectacular natural features as Steamboat Rock at the confluence of the Green and Yampa Rivers, and

WHEREAS, In recent years, the Bureau of Reclamation has planned for a series of dams in the Upper Colorado Basin, including two, Split Mountain and Echo Park, which would lie within the boundaries of Dinosaur National Monument and which would inundate over one hundred miles of these beautiful river canyons, and

WHEREAS, The question of whether these dams shall be built within the borders of Dinosaur proportions and Congress must make the final decision on this important matter, and

WHEREAS, Dinosaur National Monument is a unit of the national park system which by law of Congress must remain unimpaired for the enjoyment of this and future generations, and

WHEREAS, The construction of Echo Park and Split Mountain dams would abrogate this law and by its precedent jeopardize the existence of other units of the national park system such as Grand Canyon, Mammoth Caves, Kings Canyon and Glacier National Park, which also have river valleys with attractive dam sites, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Los Angeles, disapprove of the construction of Split Mountain and Echo Park dams in Dinosaur National Monument because suitable alternate sites are available, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor subscribe to the general principle that our national park system was created to preserve the scenic and geologic wonders of our country for the enjoyment of this and future generations, and therefore must be protected from uses and abuses which will ruin it for those who come after us, and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to appropriate individuals and agencies.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: These two resolutions were jointly considered and without attempting to alter or interfere with former convention actions your Committee recommends that they be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and study and whatever action may be warranted.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENT MEETINGS COUNCIL EXTENDS THANKS TO THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates of International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 382.)

WHEREAS, The organizations of the Government Employees Council, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government Service, and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the whole-hearted support and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing unions in the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor in this Seventy-third Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

This is a resolution of thanks and no action is required.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WALSH-HEALEY ACT

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 383.)

WHEREAS, The passage of the Walsh-Healey Act in 1936, providing for the setting of wages at prevailing rates in the manufacture of goods under government contract, was a milestone in labor's progress, and

WHEREAS, This Act served notice that federal funds would not be used to undermine existing wage standards which are particularly important in an industrial economy in which government expenditures account for a significant portion of the national product, and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of the Act has been seriously impaired since our last Convention as a result of the adoption, in 1952, of the Fullbright Amendment which provides among other things, for judicial review of all wage determinations made by the Department of Labor under the Public Contracts Act and specifies that any interested person can request a court review of any legal question

connected with a determination, with the result that employers are encouraged to delay enforcement by challenging, in the courts, either the amount of the determination or its application on a nation-wide basis, and

WHEREAS, In February, 1953, a minimum wage determination of $1.00 an hour was made under the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act for the cotton, silk and textile industry, and immediately the legality of a nation-wide rather than a regional, determination was challenged with the result that today more than a year later the case is still in the courts and the effect of the wage determination has thus been nullified, and

WHEREAS, The same thing happened recently in the woolen and worsted industry wherein a $1.20 an hour minimum wage determination, originally proposed over fourteen months ago by the late Secretary of Labor, Maurice J. Tobin, was finally approved in April, 1954, only to be contested in the courts, and

WHEREAS, There is real danger that reactionary forces, emboldened by this success, will attempt further to weaken the Act by trying to revive previous proposals which would require the determination of prevailing wage standards on the minimum in a "city, town, village or other civil subdivision" and permit the exemption of a standard-type product sold in the open market, and

WHEREAS, The reactionary forces of the country, through the National Association of Manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce, now seek to obstruct further the operation of the Act by denying adequate funds for its enforcement, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor, urge the immediate repeal of the Fullbright amendment and oppose all further amendments to the Walsh-Healey Act which would restrict its operation or subvert its objectives.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FOREIGN SERVICE ACADEMY IN U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 384.)

WHEREAS, There is general discussion regarding the capability of personnel in the United States Department of State, and

WHEREAS, The United States has not exerted any appreciable leadership or influence on the conference at Geneva, and

WHEREAS, Communist aggression in southeast Asia has developed into a grave threat to the security of the world, and

WHEREAS, We win wars but lose the peace, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That there shall be established as part of the State Department a school, academy or other institution similar to West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy, for the purpose of training and preparation of personnel in the art of diplomacy with foreign governments, and be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Senate and the Congress, in Washington, D. C., to consider the establishment of a State Department Academy for our Diplomatic Service.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Officers of the A. F. of L. for study and whatever action they believe warranted.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

$1,000 STATE AND FEDERAL INCOME TAX EXEMPTION

Resolution No. 37 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 384.)

WHEREAS, The nature of the administration's recent tax revision gave all the tax relief to the higher bracket groups, and

WHEREAS, The greater group of wage earners have been forgotten, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring a $1000 State and Federal income tax exemption, and be it further

RESOLVED, That our Senators and Congressmen be instructed to draft such legislation as will bring about the intent of this resolution.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Tax Committee.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

$1,000 INCOME TAX EXEMPTION COLLEGE STUDENTS

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 385.)

WHEREAS, There are many families in Oregon and other states, who find it impossible to send their children on to college due to the added expense, and

WHEREAS, There is no provision in the present income tax structure recognizing this added burden on the family budget, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring an amendment to existing tax legislation to permit parents to claim dependency credits for children under 21 years of age instead of 18 as is now provided, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the income tax exemption for college students be established at $1000 per year.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Tax Committee.

On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPOSING ATTACKS ON CIVIL SERVICE

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, S. H. Shawyer, International Association of Fire Fighters.

(First Day's Proceedings—Page 385.)

WHEREAS, It has been proved that Civil Service is not only a protection to the employee, but it is also a protection to the public against abuses as practiced by some politicians, and

WHEREAS, The vast majority of Civil Service employees are honest, loyal and hard working people, and

WHEREAS, Civil Service procedure is intended to protect the employee from being summarily fired without cause, and at the same time ample provisions are set up to protect the public against incompetent and dishonest employees, and

WHEREAS, In some instances employees have been discharged contrary to accepted practices, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning the action of some public officials in their attacks through the medium of the public press on Civil Service employees and Civil Service in general.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE REDMOND, Fire Fighters: Delegates, I rise in support of the Committee's report, but I thought I would call the attention of the Delegates to the onslaught that is being made against Civil Service employees or career employees of the National Government and some of the local governments.

This is being applied generally because of the fact that in our newspapers have appeared articles relating to positions of policy in the National Government which are now occupied by career employees. The understanding of service to the Government from the viewpoint of a career employee is that, as long as he faithfully executes the duties of his office and prepares himself for superior positions or executive positions, he will not be removed by either an Executive Order or by any other subterfuge.

Firefighters generally throughout the United States have fought to maintain the Civil Service system because it removes them from the spoils political system. The spoils political system is one of the most devastating systems that can be applied to any type of democratic government because through its means a totalitarian dictator is set up to take over all the functions of the government. It destroys the very incentive for any public employee to try to prepare himself to fill these positions in the various branches and subdivisions of Government.

While I am on my feet I want to pay tribute to the attorneys of the American Federation of Labor. There was one particular case at the very inception of the Administration coming into power which caused widespread concern, and that was the fact that an attorney with many years of service was removed from a Civil Service status and was discharged from the service of the Government. That particular case was taken to court by that individual. Many public minded citizens got interested in that particular case because of the fact that it had far-reaching effects upon future civil service employment and, as a result of the decision that was handed down by the Judge in that particular case, a fund was raised so that this individual who did not have the necessary funds to carry the case to the appellate court could do so. The United States Attorney General followed that case to the appellate court and we—when I say "we" I mean the people that were interested in that particular case—hired the firm of Woll, Glenn and Thatcher of the American Federation of Labor. They were successful in getting a reversal of that position in the appellate court.

The United States Attorney General is now trying to confuse the issue by bringing in many side issues not bearing upon the case.

The facts are that the employee is entitled to a trial, an impartial trial before removal from the Service. That is the question, and I believe he is entitled to such. I believe that every man should have his day in court and he shouldn't be prejudged by any executive officer or cabinet officer as to his fitness; that an impartial jury should be provided so that that individual can have his day in court.

I say to you that this has far-reaching effects upon the very fundamental of government because since the days of Jackson when he declared that to the victor belong the spoils of war, we haven't adhered to that policy in America. The result has been progress and continued growth of this great nation in the right direction.

So I just wanted to call to the attention of the delegates the fact that we must awaken ourselves in our various communities to safeguard those essential facts, which are foremost in the minds of every progressive citizen to faithfully and conscientiously serve in our various subdivisions of government which can be performed only under true Civil Service.

Thank you.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We will dispense with the report of the Resolutions Committee for the time being until they have more resolutions.

ESCORT COMMITTEES

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to announce the appointment of a committee to escort the Governor of Puerto Rico to the hall for tomorrow morning's address. This Committee consists of President Hoffmann of the Upholsterers, Secretary Haggerty of the California State Federation of Labor, and President Marcano of the Puerto Rican State Federation of Labor.

I also wish to announce the appointment of a committee to escort the President of the United States to this hall on Friday morning for his talk to the delegates. The Committee consists of Vice President Harry Bates, Vice President M. A. Hutcheson, and Secretary Schnitzler. That Committee will escort the President of the United States here on Friday morning.

I would like to inform the Delegates that the Police and Fire Departments and the representatives of the United States Treasury Department who are charged with safeguarding the security of the President of the United

States have been here and have issued certain orders by which we have to abide. There will be no visitors allowed on Friday morning because of the request of the people charged with the security of the President. The meeting on Friday morning will be restricted to Delegates of the Convention.

I wish to stress the fact that this is not a ruling of the American Federation of Labor through any of its officers or officials. We have never restricted the meetings of the American Federation of Labor Convention and, in so far as I know, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have never had an executive session. I may be wrong about that; there may have been some. Some occasion may have happened in the past where they had an executive session, but I do not remember an executive session of the American Federation of Labor.

However, we must respect the wishes and the desires of those who are charged with safeguarding the President of the United States. I am quite sure that, along with those charged with that duty, you are as much interested in safeguarding his interests and in making his way around secure. So we will have to respect the wishes of these people and the meeting, as I said, will be restricted on Friday morning to delegates. We will have a detailed announcement on this tomorrow on just how the hall will be opened up. I understand there will be just one entrance, and that entrance will be closely guarded through which the delegates will come. I imagine that will be the main entrance.

We are having an orchestra here Friday morning to welcome the President with a little music. I am quite sure we all will be delighted to have him. We all feel—I know I do—that this is a significant honor to have the President of the United States address a Convention of the American Federation of Labor. The last time this happened was in 1917—37 years ago.

So I just want to make that announcement and the appointment of the escort committee and tell you of the regulations of the City Police and the Secret Service men of the Treasury Department who are guarding the life of the President.

There will be more details on that tomorrow.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Auditing Committee for a report. Chairman Stephens.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN STEPHENS: The Auditing Committee has completed its report, which will be given by the Secretary of the Committee, after which will follow a supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials.

. . . Committee Secretary Meinz submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your auditing committee, having been duly appointed by President Meany in Accordance with Article III of Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, desires to submit the following report showing the financial position of the American Federation of Labor as of close of business June 30, 1954:

We have checked the books and records for the period beginning July 1, 1953, and ending June 30, 1954, and we wish to advise that we found all accounts and balances to be correct. All transactions were clearly recorded and the books were found to be in good condition.

The total receipts from July 1, 1953, including June 30, 1954, amounted to $5,582,960.77, while the total expenses amounted to $5,488,271.98, an excess of receipts over expenses in the amount of $94,688.79.

We counted and inspected the securities owned by the A. F. of L. by going to the City Bank and entering the safe deposit box where the securities are kept. We counted $800,000.00 in United States Government Bonds and a stock certificate of the Union Labor Life Insurance Company representing 700 shares, which is carried on the books at a value of $15,000.00.

The cash balances shown by the books were verified through the medium of a letter from each of the banks where the Federation has funds on deposit. These letters certified as to the balances on deposit to the credit of the A. F. of L. at close of business June 30, 1954. The amounts certified to in the letters were in exact agreement with the balance shown on the books of the Federation.

Our report includes a statement covering the receipts and expenses of each of the accounts carried on the books of the A. F. of L. for the period of this audit July 1, 1953, including June 30, 1954, detail of which is as follows:

RECEIPTS

Balance on Hand June 30, 1953		$1,520,858.01
Per Capita Tax	$4,735,606.32	
Paid Subscriptions, AMER. FEDERATIONIST	2,687.57	
Per Capita Tax Subscriptions, AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST	322,957.34	
Per Capita Tax from Locals Allocated to Defense Fund	184,306.24	
Initiation Fees	50,119.41	
Reinstatement Fees	1,255.52	
Supplies	17,599.49	
Interest	18,361.46	
Premiums on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded through AFL	35,905.22	
Subscriptions, NEWS-REPORTER	18,549.04	
Disbanded and Suspended Unions and Miscellaneous Receipts	55,651.09	
Property Exchange St. John's Church	139,962.07	
Total Receipts		$5,582,960.77
Grand Total		$7,103,818.78

EXPENSES

Organizers' Expenses	$ 755,419.51	
Organizing Expenses	945,373.14	
Salaries:		
Organizers'	868,193.77	
Office Employes':		
AFL	485,044.24	
Dept. of Education	27,121.53	
LLPE	115,952.46	
Administrative:		
AFL	244,345.57	
LLPE	20,000.00	
Miscellaneous General Bills:		
AFL	1,459,966.21	
Dept. of Education	31,147.49	
LLPE	102,131.19	
Printing and Publishing, AMER. FEDST.	167,413.57	
AFL NEWS-REPORTER	107,564.62	
Defense Fund	69,220.00	
Premiums on Bonds of Officers of Unions Bonded through AFL	27,922.67	
New Building Construction	61,456.01	
Total Expenses		$5,488,271.98
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954		$1,615,546.80

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	$ 997,946.18
In Defense Fund for Federal Labor Unions	617,600.62
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$1,615,546.80

The following is a schedule of the securities owned and monies deposited:

U. S. Savings Bonds, Series G, 2½%	$ 300,000.00
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2¾%, Series B, 1975-80, Maturity Value, $200,000.00	198,452.53
U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½%, Issue of 1963-68, Maturity Value, $300,000.00	295,396.27
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock) 700 shares	15,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Subject to check)	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co., N. Y. (Savings Accounts)	10,000.00
City Bank, Washington, D. C. (Subject to check)	100,000.00
City Bank, Washington, D. C. (Savings Account)	10,000.00
Brotherhood State Bank, Kansas City, Mo. (Savings Account)	20,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Subject to check)	10,000.00
Union National Bank, Newark, N. J. (Savings Account)	25,000.00
Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. (Subject to check)	629,698.00
Secretary-Treasurer's Balance June 30, 1954	$1,615,546.80

SAMUEL GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including June 30, 1954	$ 136,375.30
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including June 30, 1954	127,456.07
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$ 8,919.23
Funds deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank, Checking Account	$ 8,919.23
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$ 8,919.23

WILLIAM GREEN MEMORIAL FUND

Total Receipts: September 10, 1953, to and including June 30, 1954	$ 345,219.21
Total Expenses: September 10, 1953, to and including June 30, 1954	00.00
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$ 345,219.21
Funds Invested as follows:	
Riggs National Bank, Checking Account	$ 245,219.21
First Commercial Bank, Chicago, Ill., Certificate of Deposit	$ 100,000.00
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$ 345,219.21

AFL BUILDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Cash Balance on Hand June 30, 1953		$ 2,727.87
Rents—901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.	$57,218.60	
Sale of Waste Paper	94.94	
Sale of Awnings	127.50	
Refund A Insurance	268.14	
Rents—1525 H Street, N.W.	4,750.00	
Receipts	$62,459.18	
Transfer from Defense Fund	50,000.00	
Total Receipts		$112,459.18
Receipts and Balance		$115,187.05

EXPENSES

Maintenance—901 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.		
Payroll (Building Employees)	$46,170.10	
Taxes	3,683.60	
Electricity	4,959.18	
Fuel (Coal)	1,400.54	
Supplies	2,620.03	
Plastering and Paint	2,519.55	
Cleaning Windows	540.00	
Upkeep and Repairs	13,932.80	
Upkeep and Repairs, Elevators	2,233.24	
Hauling Ashes and Trash	300.00	
Water Rent	106.70	
AFL Employees' Retirement Annuity Fund	1,354.14	
Social Security (FICA)	658.39	
Total		$ 80,478.27

Maintenance—1525 H Street, N.W.		
Payroll (Building Employees)	$ 2,808.00	
Gas	649.92	
Trash Removal	160.00	
Telephone Service	91.84	
Fire Insurance	231.74	
Electricity	568.01	
Supplies	31.16	
Cleaning Windows	175.00	
Taxes	16,108.04	
Water Rent	53.87	
Upkeep and Repairs	210.26	
Total		$ 21,087.84
Total Expenses		$101,566.11
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954		$ 13,620.94

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and Balance	$115,187.05
Expenses	101,566.11
Balance on Hand June 30, 1954	$ 13,620.94
Monies Deposited as follows:	
Riggs National Bank	$ 13,620.94

In conclusion, we desire to thank Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and his assistants for the many courtesies extended to us and the helpful cooperation we received in making this audit.

Respectfully submitted,

RUSSELL M. STEPHENS, Chairman
MILTON P. WEBSTER
ELMER P. MEINZ, Secretary
Auditing Committee.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund for the period July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand July 1, 1953		$492,951.06
A. F. of L. weekly contributions	$21,847.38	
Employees' weekly contributions	21,847.38	
Interest on U.S. Treasury Bonds	12,750.00	
Total Receipts		56,444.76
Total Balance and Receipts		$549,395.82

DISBURSEMENTS

Benefits Paid	$ 2,546.24	
Withdrawals Paid	3,539.82	
Death Benefits Paid	913.89	
Total Disbursements		6,999.95
Balance on hand June 30, 1954		$542,395.87

ALLOCATION OF INTEREST

Investment Earnings Clearing Account

Balance on hand July 1, 1953		$ 6,029.01
Receipts—July 1 to December 31, 1953		57.97
Excess Interest on Withdrawals		57.97
Total		$ 12,303.28
Less: Allocations made December 31, 1953:		
To Prior Service Liability	$ 7,250.76	
To Federation Accumulations	2,210.70	
To Members' Accumulations	1,801.49	
To Annuity Reserve	917.70	12,180.65
Balance		$ 122.63
Receipts—January 1 to June 30, 1954		6,533.70
Excess Interest on Withdrawals		46.79
Balance, June 30, 1954		$ 6,703.12

BALANCE SHEET

for the period July 1, 1953 to June 30, 1954

ASSETS

Investments	$542,000.00
Cash	395.87
Total	$542,395.87

LIABILITIES AND INCOME

Prior Service Liability	$285,037.30
Federation Accumulations	109,592.60
Members' Accumulations	89,855.01
Annuity Reserve	51,207.84
Investment Earnings Clearing	6,703.12
Total	$542,395.87

The securities owned by the American Federation of Labor Employees' Retirement Annuity Trust Fund consist solely of United States Treasury Bonds.

We examined and counted the bonds and found them to be correct as listed in the Bond Record.

Respectfully submitted,

RUSSELL M. STEPHENS, Chairman
MILTON P. WEBSTER
ELMER P. MEINZ, Secretary
Auditing Committee.

. . . Upon motion of Committee Secretary Meinz the report of the Auditing Committee was unanimously adopted and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I shall ask the Secretary of the Credentials Committee for a supplemental report on credentials that he desires to make.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEINZ: Your Committee on Credentials have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated with vote:

Gilbert E. Clark, representing Flint, Michigan, Federation of Labor with one vote.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Meinz the supplementary report of the Credentials Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Secretary Schnitzler wishes to present a resolution.

RESOLUTION REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: This is a resolution that is being submitted through the subcommittee of the Executive Council from the Chairman of the Community Services Committee of the AFL. This resolution needs the unanimous approval of the Convention to be considered.

SUPPORT OF COMMUNITY CHESTS, UNITED FUNDS, UNITED DEFENSE FUNDS AND COUNCILS

Resolution No. 142. By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; Lee Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has with pride and interest participated in active support of the voluntary health, welfare and recreational agencies that are affiliated with local Community Chests, United Funds, United Defense Funds and Councils of Social Agencies, and

WHEREAS, A. F. of L. officers and members are serving on the Boards of Directors, Budget Committees and Labor-Management Committees of the above mentioned agencies in their year-round program, and

WHEREAS, All A. F. of L. affiliates are giving a greater amount of time and effort to community affairs to help make their local communities better places in which to live and work for all of the people, and

WHEREAS, Community Chests, United Funds, United Defense Funds and Councils are serving the needs of people and diminishing the multiplicity of time-consuming appeals through their policy of federated giving, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention recommends the active and generous support of Community Chests, United Funds, United Defense Funds, and Councils by International Unions, State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Bodies, and Federal Labor Unions of the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent by the Executive Council to all affiliates of the A. F. of L. and to the officers of the Community Chests and Councils of America, Incorporated, and the United Defense Fund.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the request for unanimous consent respecting a resolution on Community Services. Is there any objection? If not the resolution will be inserted in the record and referred to the appropriate Committee.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, we now stand adjourned until 9:30 o'clock tomorrow morning under the rules.

. . . At 12:00 o'clock noon the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A.M., Thursday, September 23, 1954.

Seventy-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1954

Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 23, 1954

Report of

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 23, 1954

The Convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock a.m. by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Invocation this morning will be delivered by the Right Reverend Donald J. Campbell, Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles.

INVOCATION

Right Reverend Donald J. Campbell, Suffragan Bishop, Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles

O God, our Heavenly Father, Who has given us this good land for our heritage, make us a people always mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will.

We thank Thee for the opportunities in this free land for all its peoples. Grant that as we enjoy the privileges of freedom and of truth we may always recognize the obligations which go with those privileges.

We ask Thy blessing and Thy guidance for the deliberations of this Conference of the American Federation of Labor. Guide and bless its officers and its members and bless us all in our individual service and our work.

But as we serve Thee may we serve our country and the peoples of the world and contribute to that great day when there shall be peace among the nations of the earth.

All this we ask in the name of Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

VISITING CLERGYMEN

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to call attention of the Delegates to the presence of a group of visitors in attendance here this morning. We are always happy to have visitors and the general public attend the sessions of the American Federation of Labor Conventions. This is a group of about 60 ministers of the Gospel associated with the Southern California Council of Churches and the Church Federation of Los Angeles. Their visit has been arranged by the Department of Church and Economic Life of the National Council of Churches.

I wish these ministers to know that we are very happy to have them here with us this morning, and hope that they can stay with us through the entire session.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for an announcement

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

William Schnitzler,
Secretary Treasurer American
Federation of Labor,
Ambassador Hotel,
Los Angeles.

Deeply regret inability to be present and participate in actions of 73rd Annual Convention of American Federation of Labor. As President of New York State Federation of Labor I extend best wishes for a very success-

ful convention in the true tradition of the American Federation of Labor.

THOMAS A. MURRAY,
President New York State
Federation of Labor.

CIGAR MAKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA
(A. F. of L.)

San Juan, Puerto Rico
September 20, 1954

Mr. George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor Convention
Hotel Ambassador
Los Angeles, California
Dear Sir and Brother:

The Cigar Makers' Union No. 460 of San Juan, Puerto Rico, affiliated to the Cigar Makers' International Union of America (A. F. of L.), sends brotherly greetings to the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor and wishes the Convention a complete success in its work.

The State Federation of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has launched an intense campaign to organize and educate the agricultural and industrial laborers throughout the Island.

Let us inform to the Convention that our organized labor movement is cooperating wholeheartedly with the government of the Commonwealth, headed by Governor Luis Muñoz Marín, to achieve its economic, social and educational programs. Governor Muñoz Marín exposed his economic goal to achieve a level of income of a minimum of $1,500 a year for Puerto Rican families before 1960, and that minimum to increase to $2,000 toward 1960. Likewise, the government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is working on an educational program to the end of providing schools for 91% of the population between the ages of six and twelve for 1957; intermediate schools for 75% of the population between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, and high school facilities for 43% of the population between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. The program aims at eliminating illiteracy within the next six or seven years.

The economic program of the present government of Puerto Rico strives at increasing employment, thus giving to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth an economy built on sound and healthy American democratic principles.

Organized labor movement of Puerto Rico trusts that it will continue to receive the valuable support of the American Federation of Labor in order to insure success in its work of organization, and also hopes for its aid in securing from Congress the extension to Puerto Rico of Federal legislation providing aid to education as well as other economic measures which benefit the Island.

We reiterate our friendship and our sincerest wishes for the success of the Convention and remain,

Fraternally yours,
F. PAZ GRANELA
President, Cigar Makers'
Union No. 460

c/o P. O. Box 3509
San Juan, Puerto Rico

Mexico City
September 18, 1954

To the 73rd Annual Convention
American Federation of Labor
Hotel Ambassador
Los Angeles, California

I regret to inform you that last minute unforeseen developments here at home prevents me from attending your Convention to which I have been invited by your President George Meany. I am therefore taking the liberty of addressing to you a message of greeting on behalf of the Confederation of Labor of Mexico (C.T.M.), wishing you complete success in your deliberations and expressing the support of the organization which I have the honor to represent, for all the resolutions your Convention will adopt in the interest of the working class of the United States of America.

The C.T.M. is working in close cooperation with the American Federation of Labor because we share with you the belief in the unity of the free labor movement of the world and in fighting together to achieve the emancipation of labor and the elimination of misery and starvation from the face of the earth.

We also share with you the deepest concern for the future of democracy and freedom and are resolved to work with you for the total elimination of all dictatorships and every form of oppression. We believe that only under the rule of freedom can a lasting peace be established and the energies of mankind be devoted to creative and fruitful tasks.

Long live the American Federation of Labor!

Long live your great President George Meany!

(Signed) Fidel Velazquez
General Secretary,
Mexican Confederation
of Labor

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Los Angeles:

It gives me great pleasure in addressing your convention, representing all seamen of Japan.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation and respect to your union which has an understanding towards the labor union campaign in Japan, and which has given us great aid directly and indirectly through your Asian representative and many international unions and organizations.

The labor union campaigns of Japan are still in their infant stage and have many weak points. One very weak point which I would like to point out is that many of the labor union leaders lack knowledge about the harm and method of the Communists; therefore, although what they say they are anti-Communists, they do not show any precaution against Communism in their actions. This is the reason why unionists of America and Europe are commenting that the Japanese labor unions are strange and complicated.

The free world and Japan cannot fail to overlook this dangerous fact. We are doing our utmost to fight fascism which is extremely right, and totalitarianism which is extremely left, and have made this our union policy. This basic policy is also the basic policy for the Japanese Federation of Labor (Zenro) which we have newly organized and is a nationally centralized organization.

We hope that your union will contribute a great deal in defending the free world and our fight in building a free Japan.

Hoping that this convention will be a success.

HISHASHI KAGEYAMA, Chairman
All Japan Seamen's Union (Zenro)

Mr. Chairman, Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention at Los Angeles:

We would like to send our deep respects to all of you of the A. F. of L. for endeavoring

to bring peace and democracy to this world through labor campaigns, also for leading Japan's labor unions.

At the present time, as the result of Yoshida Government's retrenchment policy and tight credit policy in order to combat deflation, many industries are in a depressed condition, and they are either contracting or going bankrupt. Even in our field of chemical industry, explosives, dyes, and chemicals, inventory is increasing and reduction of working hours is taking place.

Because of this, we are faced with reduction in force, intensification of labor, and delayed payment of wages, thus sacrificing workers in the chemical industry.

We believe that this critical condition arises from the Yoshida Government's domestic policy, but looking at internationally, we believe it is caused by restriction of East and West trade and conflict between two worlds.

As the Geneva Conference came to its conclusion, it seemed as though peace had again returned to this world, but the opposition between two worlds has not yet disappeared. The true picture is that we are caught in between the two worlds and are in a very disadvantageous position.

We hope that trade between China and Japan, as well as East and West, will be stimulated, but because of strict restriction, exporting is slackening, and we believe that this is one major reason why we are unable to overcome this critical condition.

Internally, there is a limit to solving a major problem like this; therefore, we hope that the A. F. of L., which has great influence throughout the world, will solve this problem by taking steps in lessening the tension between the two worlds and by bringing about more trade between the East and the West.

As our labor campaign is still in its infant stage, we hope that the A. F. of L. which has many years of experience and leads other advanced nations in their labor campaign, will lead us and show us the way.

Last of all, we hope that there will be ever lasting success for the A. F. of L.

KAORU OHTA, Chairman of the Synthetic Chemical Industry Workers' Union (Sahyo).

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present to you for a very short address the National President of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. I am quite sure that everybody in atendance at these conventions in the last few years is acquainted with this lady. I am happy to introduce Anna P. Kelsey, National President, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor. Mrs. Kelsey.

ANNA P. KELSEY
National President, American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor

President Meany, Secretary Schnitzler, National Officers and delegates: Greetings and the top of the morning to you all. May I extend to you the greetings of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor with the confidence that as the years go by this organization will grow stronger and become more influential in securing better conditions for all our workers.

I shall take just a few minutes of your time. I feel that my message is important, and if taken to heart it will be one of the means of creating that greater strength and influence that we hope for you.

In 1936 the American Federation of Labor adopted a resolution sanctioning the formation of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor for the purpose of disseminating information that would educate the wives, mothers, sisters and daughters of all union men. Since we have been organized we have been pretty successful in doing just that. However, your organization has over 10,000,000 members, the majority of whom have more than one female member in their families; so our organizations with only 50,000 members has barely scratched the surface of our potential membership. That is what I want to talk to you about for just a minute.

I do not know whether you realize it or not, but the trend is great at present toward the securing of the membership of our women in other organizations and not in harmony in the least with organized labor's principles. We know that when a woman is once indoctrinated with the idea that unionism is not good, or is a racket, or supposedly takes away a man's free agency, it is mighty hard to convince her that all such propaganda is mere drivel dispensed for the purpose of turning her mind against her husband's union. I have seen that happen many, many times. I have come across it so often in the last 17 years.

Many of our national and international unions have national and international auxiliary parent organizations and they are deriving much good from them, not only in their union labor work, but in legislative matters, civic affairs and charity work.

We send material to all our groups for their educational periods, and have had requests from several universities and churches to place them on our mailing list. Also quite a number of college students have written for information for their theses.

The Women's Division of the Department of Labor has sent us a number of exchange persons to be placed around the country for the purpose of investigating our women's organizations and what we do to help the American Federation of Labor. We have been very happy to do that, and we have become very much acquainted with the other unions in other lands and it has helped us a great deal.

Our members are on the advisory committees of all the service agencies—civil defense, polio, the cancer organization and all such other agencies. Many of our women who have received their first education in union principles in our auxiliaries have gone on to become legislators in their own particular states. I know Utah is very proud of our auxiliary women who have done that.

An auxiliary can also become very excellent public relations coordinators, and we all know that good public relations is so essential to the labor movement.

With all the labor saving devices we now have in our homes, our housewives have time for outside interests. But, gentlemen, please may I urge you to organize them in our own good or we will lose them. We will surely lose that wonderful potential help if we hesitate.

In my own auxiliary work in the last 17 years I have seen women gather in clubs and practically lost to us because we have been too busy or hesitant to organize them. Our women folk need this education in unionism so they may have a clear understanding of labor's principles. Once they are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of unionism they are forever good union women. Samuel Gompers during his life-

time urged us to educate the housewives, and he knew what he was talking about. So please may I urge you to take this matter up in your organization. Think it over, and I shall be mosts happy to contact you and send you any material that you need. I know that you can get my name and address anywhere. Every household has at least one female member and sometimes a great many of them, and even if some of our men think the women spend 85 per cent of the money, or even 125 per cent of the money, nevertheless they need union education. That is what we are here for. We have dedicated our lives to do that. We are working very hard in this organization and we hope that we can become as influential as a great organization as the American Federation of Labor. I thank you kindly.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to thank Mrs. Kelsey for her presence here this morning and for her very interesting remarks.

At this time we recognize the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Brother Woll.

The Secretary of the Committee will carry on.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

Committee Secretary Soderstrom presented the following resolutions:

SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM

Resolution No. 5—By delegates Robert E. Haskin, Bette Hogan, Joseph Denny, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 372.)

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 384.)

SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 410.)

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm Rohrberg, Jas. Meehan, Jos. Clarke, Jas. Knoud, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 420.)

Your Committee jointly considered Resolutions Nos. 5, 35, 103 and 131 and recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

1955 LABOR DAY DEMONSTRATION

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate J. C. Turner, Washington Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 380.)

Your Committee believes that Labor Day should be more widely and indeed more seriously observed. In many places the true meaning of Labor Day has been forgotten or ignored.

We are happy to note that in the Nation's Capital there was this year significant observance of the day with President Meany making a noteworthy address.

Your Committee commends the spirit and purpose of the resolution and recommends that all State Federations and City Central bodies should at least three months before Labor Day be asked to consider a program commemorating the proper purpose of Labor Day, and your Committee recommends that further consideration for action be submitted to the Executive Council.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You heard the report of the Committee, and the motion is to adopt.

I would like to just say a few words about this. Some may feel it is not of tremendous importance, just another holiday, but I think we should realize that Labor Day is our holiday, it is the holiday of the workers. It was not placed on the statute books with the idea of just having another day off, or to get away for a picnic; it was placed on the statute books as the result of the drive by Peter McGuire, Samuel Gompers and those associated with him back in the 1880's to set aside a day to give respect to the dignity of labor. I can remember a few years back when Labor Day was really a labor celebration where every Central Labor Union, some State Federations and National Unions would give some public demonstration of the solidarity of labor which would in effect call attention to the fact that labor, after all, is a part of the great mass of American citizenry.

Now, of course I realize that in these days of widespread ownership of automobiles, people can get away and there are a great many other diversions. I can understand readily why Labor Day celebrations have been reduced to a minimum. But I do not think we should accept that. I think we should counteract it in some way and restore this day as the day of labor.

I know when a real effort is made our organizations can do a wonderful job, but it does require that effort. In Chicago a few years back we had one hundred thousand people in Soldiers Field on a Labor Day celebration. I can remember Labor Day parades, and I feel that we should not accept this trend toward just celebrating Labor Day as a holiday signifying the end of the summer season. We should try to reestablish the idea of Labor Day as the day of the worker to let the community know who the trade union members are. After all, our membership goes into every phase of American life. The people that go to church on Sundays representing business sit right alongside the members of our organizations, and I think we should try to bring back Labor Day to its real meaning, a day set aside in honor of America's workers, to call the attention of the public to the fact that labor has a dignity, that labor represents something more than just headlines in a newspaper when we happen to go on strike, and that we do make a great contribution, entirely apart from our trade union activities, to the community life. I would ask particularly the Central bodies and State Federations of Labor to try to do something to revive interest in this holiday as Labor Day, rather than just another holiday.

Are there further remarks on this motion?

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY—LOWERING RETIREMENT AGE FOR WOMEN

Resolution No. 32 — By Delegates John O'Hare, R. J. Petree, Tobacco Workers' International Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 383.)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 36 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 384.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENT

Resolution No. 39 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor

(First Day's Proceedings—page 385.)

FEDERAL OLD AGE AND SURVIVORS INSURANCE AT 60 YEARS OF AGE

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 402.)

SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 409.)

Your Committee approves in principle Resolutions 39, 80 and 102 and recommends that they be referred to the Committee on Social Security.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

(Vice President MacGowan in the Chair.)

PROTESTING IMPORTATION OF MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS OF SOVIET DOMINATED COUNTRIES

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 385.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the International Labor Relations Committee.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TIMES-MIRROR COMPANY

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 386.)

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICESHIP

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 412.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SHIPBUILDING

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 412.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 412.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMPENSATION FOR LOSS OF HEARING CAUSED BY INDUSTRIAL HAZARDS

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, AFL.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 413.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

OPPOSE PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE WITH SOVIET UNION

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 399.)

Your Committee recommends that the last Resolve be amended out of the resolution. Your Committee further recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMEND SENATORS WHO FOUGHT ATOMIC POWER GIVE AWAY

Resolution No. 75—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 400.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR PUBLIC RELATIONS

Resolution No. 76—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 400.)

Your Committee approves the objectives of the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Eexecutive Council.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

FAIR AND FREE ENTERPRISE IN THE UNITED STATES TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 402.)

Your Committee desires to call attention to the expression of thanks in the first Resolve. No further action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR STRIKE ASSISTANCE

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 403.)

This is a resolution of appreciation and thanks. No action is required.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the Committee's recommendation.

. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE LEWIS, Hatters: I believe, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution expresses fairly well the sentiments of our membership with respect to the support that we received in our recent strike against the Hat Corporation of America. That solidarity which was shown to us by many of the powerful unions in the American Federation of Labor enabled us to conduct this strike for a period of ten and a half months and to beat the powerful, wealthy corporation which had determined to wipe out our organization and the working conditions of over 1500 members of ours in South Norwalk. It was that support which enabled us to spend approximately $2,000,000 to help our strikers in order to bring the struggle to a victorious conclusion.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor identified our cause with their own. President Meany traveled to Norwalk, Connecticut, in one of the worst storms that we had during that winter to address our strikers there and to build up their morale so that they would hold out in their efforts. Many unions came to our support generously, immediately and effectively. I want to thank all the Central Labor Unions which helped us tremendously in our successful efforts.

We are deeply grateful to all who participated in this effort in a struggle to preserve the livelihood of 1500 workers against a runaway employer who is looking for non-union and low wage areas.

VICE PRESIDENT MacGOWAN: May I say to the delegate from the United Hatters that the Executive Council and this Convention glories in the great victory accomplished by that sturdy International Union, the United Hatters.

Is there any further discussion? If not, the report of the Committee is adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

PROTECTION OF STAINED GLASS INDUSTRY AGAINST IMPORT COMPETITION

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 405.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

MANUFACTURE OF PAINT AND VARNISH AT MARE ISLAND

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 405.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for inquiry and action.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ENDORSING NO-RAIDING PACT BETWEEN A. F. OF L. AND C. I. O.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, William H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, and other delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 405.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this Resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: Is there any objection?

DELEGATE BURKE, Sheet Metal Workers: I rise merely to state that our international Union has not signed the no-raiding pact with the C.I.O. Our delegates are going to abstain from voting upon this resolution. We do not want to be put in the position of voting for the resolution, not having signed the no-raiding pact.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions has requested that we hold action on this resolution in abeyance until the report is made on the same subject on the Executive Council's report. If there is no objection we will pass that resolution.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

PROHIBITING MILITARY PERSONNEL REPLACING CIVILIAN WORKMEN

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 409.)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ORDINANCE PROHIBITING DOOR-TO-DOOR SELLING

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann; J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 410.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted

LLPE SUPPORT

Resolution No. 106—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 411.)

Your Committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PERMANENT A. F. OF L. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 411.)

Your committee has given careful consideration to Resolution No. 108, favoring the creation of a permanent Committee on Atomic Energy.

The Resolution relates directly to the most crucial and far-reaching material development in the history of civilization since the harnessing of steam and electricity for the economic betterment of mankind.

Unquestionably, we are now entering upon a new phase of industrial life. We are now in an Atomic Age.

Atomic energy, first developed and used for war, is now being converted at a rapid pace to peacetime and industrial uses, as a substitute for other fuels and sources of energy. President Eisenhower's dramatic ceremony commencing construction of the first atomic power plant near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was hardly over before large industrial and construction companies, whose workers are represented through unions of the American Federation of Labor, began competing for construction and development of packaged atomic power units to be shipped by plane to our outlying military bases. Atomic power for use in submarines is a forerunner of atomic power for daily use in all of our major shipping. The field for development is both vast and relatively unexplored. All of our technical and engineering skills, all of the know-how of our skilled craftsmen, must be brought to bear upon the problem of transforming the plans of the scientist into the plant and equipment needed to place the benefit of our wartime discoveries at the service of all of our people.

The American Federation of Labor has a large stake in the course followed in the industrial development and use of atomic power. We speak for the million American wage earners who with their families, include over thirty million Americans. Our craftsmen will be engaged in the tremendous tasks of conversion to the Atomic Age. Our concern, therefore, is not only as workers and producers, but as consumers and citizens. We must shoulder our full responsibilities, together with government and private industry, to study and explore, to plan and train for present and future uses of atomic power.

The Committee called for by Resolution No. 108 is an imperative step toward carrying out the duties of the American Federation of Labor to its members and to the public. In view of the importance of Atomic Energy today, the scope of committee action should, in our opinion, go beyond the functions described in the Resolution as introduced, of keeping abreast of developments of atomic energy and advising the membership of the Federation.

Accordingly, the Resolutions Committee recommends that the resolving clause of the resolution should be amended so as to read as follows:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend the creation of a permanent Committee on Atomic Energy composed of the President of the American Federation of Labor, as Chairman, with such other additional members, not less than five, as the President shall consider necessary and appropriate. The Committee on Atomic Energy is hereby authorized and directed to:

1. Keep abreast of developments of atomic energy to the end that the membership of the A. F. of L. may be kept fully informed;

2. Ensure and make recommendations to the end that public policy and the private effort involved in the development of atomic energy serve the best interests of the American people as workers, consumers and citizens;

3. Undertake continuing study and research into the development and conversion of atomic energy for industrial and civilian use;

4. Anticipate the needs of the nation for skilled manpower in the conversion of atomic energy to industrial and civilian use and to make recommendations for training such manpower;

5. To cooperate with the Government and with industry in carrying out the foregoing objectives;

6. To obtain such technical and other assistance as may be necessary to carry out the foregoing purposes.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: I quite agree with the Committee that nothing is of more vital interest to the American people and to the wage earners in particular than the problem of atomic energy for industrial and peaceful purposes. I am very happy that the Committee has made the proposal that it has to coordinate what some of us have already been doing individually in a small way. I can foresee the time when our entire trade is going to be completely revolutionized, and if we are not careful, with the grasp of monopoly and other things, we are going to have an extremely difficult time if we do not get on the job and get there early.

Is there further discussion?

DELEGATE TURNER, Washington Central Labor Union: I felt that I wanted to rise to commend the Committee for bringing in this very fine resolution. I think that generally there is a lack of understanding as to just what the economic readjustment may be required in this country as a result of atomic energy. The four-hour day and the four-day week are distinct possibilities in the near future—"near future" meaning in the next 30 or 40 years—as a result of the production of atomic energy.

Not only that, but in all the backward countries of the world where before they haven't had power they now have it.

I believe, Mr. Chairman, that this action by the Committee is a long step in the right direction. If we get the right technical advice and if all our members know exactly what is happening in this field we will be very far ahead.

In the recent Congress Mr. Chet Holifield of this city, a Congressman serving on that Committee, made a very great, fine contribution to the common man and his interest in the atomic energy. The way he did it was because of the Dixon-Yates question. Had that not come up we would not have come out as well as we did in the Congress.

Thank you, very much.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: Thank you, Delegate Turner.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

PARTITION OF IRELAND

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 416.)

Your Committee recommends that our former action on this subject be reaffirmed, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unonimously adopted.

TO AMEND THE HOBBS ACT

Resolution No. 124 — By Delegates Sal B. Hoffman, R. Alvin Albarino, George Bucher, Reed J. Stoney, and Tony Remshardt, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 417.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be approved and referred to the Officers of the AFL and the Committee on Legislation for further action.

I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ON ENDORSEMENT OF MEMORIAL FOR 1953 REVOLT OF BERLIN BUILDING WORKERS AGAINST COMMUNIST TYRANNY

Resolution No. 125 — By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, R. Alvin Albarino, George Bucher, Reed Stoney and Tony Remshardt, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 417.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

URGING A MOBILIZATION OF LABOR FORCES FOR THE COMING CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 418.)

Your Committee recommends that the word "Republican" in the first line of the first Whereas be struck out and the words "present Administration" be inserted in its place, and that the word "Administration" be substituted for the word "party" in the third line of the first Whereas.

Your Committee further recommends adoption of the resolution as amended.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ON THE MIGRATION OF INDUSTRY TO LOW-WAGE AREAS

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Navaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 418.)

In view of the Executive Council's statement on this subject your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Officers of the AFL and to the Committee on Legislation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT BOARD

Resolution No. 134.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 421.)

Your Committee recommends approval of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

QUOTAS ON POTTERY IMPORTS

Resolution No. 135—By Delegate Frank Hull, International Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 449.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PLATE PRINTERS SENIORITY RIGHTS

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate Daniel J. Bradley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers Union of North America.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 449.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION UNITY IN ITALY

Resolution No. 137—By Delegates Luigi Antonini, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Jennie Matyas, International Ladies Garment Workers Union; A. Mendelowitz, United Hatters; James V. Novaco, United Hatters; Samuel Hershkowitz, United Hatters; Marx Lewis, United Hatters; Arthur Elder, Teachers.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 450.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be approved.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A TRIBUTE TO OTTMAR MERGENTHALER

Resolution No. 138—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union; Thomas E. Dunwody, George L. Googe, Walter J. Turner, T. Q. McCollem, Donald P. McCaughan, Clarence G. Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Bell Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Leo J. Buckley, International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America; Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Wilfrid T. Connell, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 450.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PROTESTING HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PROCEDURE

Resolution No. 139—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest N. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union; Thomas E. Dunwody, George L. Googe, Walter J. Turner, T. Q. McCollem, Donald P. McCaughan, Clarence G. Smith, International Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of North America; Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Bell Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Leo J. Buckley, International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America; Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, Wilfrid T. Connell, International Photo Engravers Union of North America.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 451.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be approved.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION COURIER

Resolution No. 140—By Delegates J. Scott Milne, Lewis M. Herrmann, Geo. L. Russ, Brownie H. Cuthbert, Wallace C. Reilly, J. Arthur Moriarty, Ernest M. Hathaway, W. H. C. Murray, Fred H. Brigham and J. S. Smith.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 451.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPORT OF COMMUNITY CHESTS, UNITED FUNDS, UNITED DEFENSE FUNDS AND COUNCILS

Resolution No. 142—By Delegates Matthew Woll, International Photo Engravers' Union of North America; William F. Schnitzler, Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America; Lee Minton, Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada.

(Third Day's Proceedings—page 482.)

Your Committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Committee has a number more resolutions to report on, but we will now proceed with the partial Executive Council's report.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

INTRODUCTION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 22)

This 1954 Convention of the American Federation of Labor meets at a time of great significance for our country and for all mankind.

It is a period of uncertainty, both at home and abroad. In the eyes of the world, America's prestige has fallen. The results of the Geneva Conference have proved disappointing to all except the Soviets. The failure of France to ratify the European Defense Community has dealt a severe setback to the defense of Europe. A wave of neutralism threatens to take hold in many parts of Europe and Asia.

On the domestic front the prevailing mood is also uncertainty and disappointment. During the past year, levels of employment and economic activity have seriously declined. Unemployment is more than double the level of a year ago. The failure of our economy to move ahead with confidence is sorely disappointing.

This period of uncertainty tests the mettle of any group or organization. This Convention must demonstrate to the world that the American Federation of Labor stands now as always as the foremost voluntary organization of workers dedicated to the advancement of all the American people and to the maintenance of freedom everywhere.

It is the solemn responsibility of the delegates here assembled to prove equal to this task by formulating programs and policies, at once forward-looking and practicable, to assure that our Federation will maintain its position of constructive, progressive leadership during the critical year ahead.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DEATH OF WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON
(Executive Council's Report, p. 43)

The passing of William L. Hutcheson takes from the American Federation of Labor a true pioneer of America's labor movement. President of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America for over thirty-five years, his leadership is responsible for that union's present position as one of the largest and most influential in the United States.

Brother Hutcheson gained the respect and admiration not only of the members in his own union, but of all trade unionists with whom he worked.

We are indeed grateful for the many years of fruitful services and contributions rendered by him for the American trade union movement.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: Those favoring the adoption of this portion of the Committees' report will please rise.

The motion is unanimously carried by a rising vote.

Thank you.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Committee as follows:

RESEARCH
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 82-85)

Factual information provided by economic analysis and research studies has become a basic tool in trade union efforts to advance the living of American workers. Organized labor's need for its own competent analytical research service has been particularly highlighted in the past year by the economic recession.

The A. F. of L. Research Department has proved its value as an important arm of the Federation's program. Among the department activities during the past year have been periodic evaluations of economic trends, analysis of government economic policies, maintaining a check on the accuracy and usefulness of government statistical programs, preparation and distribution of A. F. of L. pamphlets, and a variety of types of assistance to other A. F. of L. headquarters departments.

Many affiliated unions have found that the work of the Research Department in providing information on bargaining developments, wages, benefit practices, the financial status of individual companies, and other matters has proved extremely useful in meeting their individual collective bargaining problems.

Our affiliates have increasingly found the monthly *Research Report* a useful source for up-to-date information on collective bargaining, important decisions affecting labor by the National Labor Relations Board and the courts, activities of federal agencies and current economic trends. We suggest that all our affiliates avail themselves of this highly informative and useful publication.

We take pride in the strengthening of the Federation's research facilities. Improved factual research services will better enable trade unions to cope with the vast resources of industry and will help make labor's voice a more persuasive and effective force for advancing the interests of the nation's workers and general public.

With these comments your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: May I take this opportunity of complimenting the close attention that the delegates are paying to the business of this Convention. It may not be perfect, but it is very superior to many that we have had held.

The Chair now recognizes President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time we will interrupt the work of the Resolutions Committee. I wish to present to you the President of one of our large international unions who is going to make a report this morning in his capacity as President of the International Labor Press Association. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Brother J. Scott Milne.

J. SCOTT MILNE
President, International Labor Press Association

President Meany, and Delegates to the Seventy-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

It is an honor and a pleasure for me to appear before this Convention this morning

to bring you a report from what I choose to call the "good right arm" of the American Labor Movement—the Labor Press. Each year that passes between our conventions, shows, I believe, a great improvement in the Labor Press, and what is equally important, marks progress in the attitude and assistance to the Labor Press given to it by its parent organizations. This is as it should be and is most certainly encouraging, but more help is needed if this branch of the labor movement is to continue to do the job we expect it to do—of selling the program of the American Federation of Labor to its more than 10 million members in our ranks, and their families as well.

Now I do not want to keep you long this morning as there is still much work to be done and many reports and speakers to be heard. I will be as brief as I can. But I do want to bring before this body three points:

(1) The job the Labor Press is trying to do;

(2) How we can help it to do that job; and

(3) A brief summary of the work of the Labor Press in the past year.

First, the job the Labor Press is trying to do. Brothers and Sisters, we sit in convention assembled, here in the great city of Los Angeles, and we make the plans and map the policies that govern our unions in the days and months ahead. We make great plans. But I tell you, that these plans formulated by the 700 delegates assembled here would mean little, if they were not disseminated to our 10 million members at home. Surely we reach some of these members in our own conventions or regional meetings, but the vast majority—the rank and file, may never have the opportunity to attend a convention or regional meeting. But they get the story. They get it from their own labor magazines and newspapers.

This American labor movement of ours was founded for one purpose and one purpose alone—to obtain better wages and hours and working conditions—a better deal—for the men and women of America. And I say to you, Brothers and Sisters, that there is not a group of persons anywhere in the American labor movement that is doing a better job of fighting the battle for wages and hours and all that the American Federation of Labor stands for, than our own Labor editors and writers. Day after day they pound away, telling the story—the story that the secular press will not tell—and the story that must be told if we are to continue to go forward.

They are doing a job and a good job, and a most important job! They are entitled to every bit of help and support that they can get. I believe this—and many of you believe this. But if we need more expert testimony to back up our appeal for the Labor Press, we can go back to one whose testimony we have always revered—back to Sam Gompers and his statement of 43 years ago, that if it were not for the work of the Labor Press, a great deal of the work of the American Federation of Labor would never be done.

In a more recent day there is more expert testimony, Matthew Woll, the revered first vice president of the American Federation of Labor, was President of the International Labor Press of America for 42 years and during all that time worked unceasingly to bring home to his colleagues throughout the AFL the importance of the work of the Labor Press.

And our own AFL President George Meany never misses an opportunity to praise the Labor Press and urge support for it. Here is a typical quotation from one of his many speeches to gatherings of the ILPA:

> "A good job is being done by the Labor Press. Most of our people never have the opportunity to attend an AFL Convention. Its influence must come to them through our labor papers, and as far as I can influence it, the American Federation of Labor will be behind the Labor Press 100 per cent."

So much for expert testimony. I believe we are convinced that the Labor Press is doing a real job. I believe we are all convinced also, that we, the delegates to this Convention, the officers of International Unions, State Federations and central bodies, have an obligation to help them all we can.

And that brings us to Point Two: How can we help the Labor Press to do a better job? Chiefly, in two ways.

(1) By providing more money to the labor editors to help them to do their job. The more attractive and interesting a publication is, the more members are going to read it. But I want to remind all our people here of an important point. The struggling labor editor, who must continually inch and pinch to make ends meet, who cannot use a picture here or a spot of color there because it will be over his budget, who must spend half his time out looking for ads and the other half trying to collect payment on them in order to pay his printing bill—can't do the job that has got to be done if the labor members of this country are going to get the American labor story as we want them to have it. You can't blame an editor faced with a one-man operation of writing, editing, proof-reading, besides getting ads and doing all the odd jobs on the side that are often demanded of him, for filling his paper with boiler plate and turning out work that is certainly no Pulitzer prize winner. These editors often work under severe handicap and are to be praised for the decent job they do under the circumstances. And this is where we come in. Through the years we have always managed to do the job that had to be done. We have gotten more wages for our members and better hours. When we needed more organizers, we managed to get the wherewithal to put them on. We have usually managed to come up with what was needed. Well, now we need to do a better job of financing the Labor Press. Let's do that job just as we have done the others through the years. And while we're on the subject of help for the Labor Press there is this second point I should like to get over to you today, and I feel free to discuss these things with you, for while I am here today as an officer and representative of the International Labor Press of America, I also represent an International Union which like many others here and many representatives of state federations and central bodies, can take this message to heart also. Let's give our labor editors and writers a little more understanding—a better appraisal of what is going on. Too often we have top level meetings, policies are formulated, we receive pertinent correspondence, and we fail to pass adequate information on to those who must write our stories and articles and sell our program to the membership.

I say to you, delegates gathered here today, that in the days and months ahead, particularly in these times of Taft-Hartley and right-to-work and other conditions certainly not favorable to organized labor, that our own press is our greatest organ of strength and protection and our means of keeping our people alert.

Let's give it all the support—moral and financial—to do the job.

That's the appeal the International Labor Press of America wishes to make to you this morning, and now in Point Three of this report, we should like to bring you a summary of the work of the ILPA during the past year.

We have just concluded our 43rd Convention, the largest in our history and we believe one of the most successful. An innovation to our program was made this year in that a full day and evening session was given to a workshop forum carried on in collaboration with the School of Journalism of the University of California. This forum embraced radio and TV techniques and public relations work as well as problems of writing, reader interest, typography and make-up of our publications.

The report of the Executive Council to the ILPA Convention showed a rise in active membership from 229 in 1953 to 247 today.

Delegates to this Convention may like to know who the officers of the ILPA are. They are representatives of the AFL, long-established in the labor movement and well known to many of you. Some represent international monthly publications and others weekly papers. This year three new vice presidents were added to our roster. I shall not take up the time of the delegates now with the reading of this list but I shall include it for the record, and you may read it at your convenience:

J. Scott Milne, President, Electrical Workers Journal, Washinton, D. C.; Lewis M. Herrmann, Secretary-Treasurer, New Jersey Labor Herald, Newark, New Jersey; Frank X. Martel, 1st Vice President, Detroit Labor News, Detroit, Michigan; Stanton Dann, 2nd Vice President, Mobile Labor Journal, Mobile, Ala.; C. J. Haggerty, 3rd Vice President, California AFL Weekly News Letter, San Francisco, Calif.; C. Doyle Anstead, 4th Vice President, The Federationist, Baltimore, Md.; Ray W. Taylor, 5th Vice President, Milwaukee Labor Press, Milwaukee, Wis; Irwin E. Klass, 6th Vice President, Chicago Federation News, Chicago, Ill.; Paul Phillips, 7th Vice President, The Paper Maker, Albany, New York; Gordon Cole, 8th Vice President, The Machinist, Washington, D. C.; Richard Estep, 9th Vice President, United Auto Worker, Milwaukee, Wis.

These officers who shall be named in the proceedings are those who join with me and with our President Emeritus Matthew Woll, and AFL President George Meany and Secretary Schnitzler is making an earnest appeal to you to give your fullest support to the Labor Press.

These officers of the Labor Press are extremely pleased to report to you that the past year has seen a continued and marked improvement in the appearance, news and editorial comment of the Labor Press. It has won outstanding praise not just from labor leaders but from lay sources all over the country—government, particularly the Labor and State Departments and especially for the good job it is doing against the forces of Communism, as well as from business men, clergy, educators and the daily press. Even organs of management have had numerous complimentary things to say of our improving Labor Press in the past year. This year the Chairman of the Board of Judges for our 1954 Annual Journalistic Award Contest, Dean Earl English of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, had this to say in his report to our ILPA Convention:

"The papers submitted in this contest, in my opinion, rank well in typography, treatment of news and general editorial content. Some of them are outstanding examples of journalistic art and it was not an easy matter to come to a definite decision as to which ones ran first, second, etc."

This is a far cry from the day when the average labor publication was the butt of ridicule in journalistic circles, most of which was justified, until recent years. Today we can well boast of having among our membership international journals and local labor papers, which compare favorably with the best that the general press of this country has to offer.

The 1954 journalistic awards contest mentioned above, attracted more entries this year than ever before in its history. This friendly competition is, we believe, a constructive stimulus to promoting more attractive and readable labor magazines and papers. For the record we bring you here the list of publications which won awards in this year's competition but which we will not detain you by reading now:

International Union Publications

Class 1-A **General Editorial Exellence** (Magazine Format)

First Award—"The Electrical Workers' Journal"

Second Award—"Building Service Employee"

Class 1-B **Editorial Excellence** (News Format)

First Award—"The Government Standard"

Second Award—"AFL Auto Worker"

Class 2-A **Best Front Cover—Artistic Excellence** (Magazine Format)

First Award—"Maintenance of Way Employees' Railway Journal"

Second Award—"Electrical Workers' Journal"

Class 2-B **Best News Front Page** (News Format)

First Award—"The Railway Clerk"

Second Award—"Labor"—(R. R. Unions)

Class 3 **Best Single Editorial**

First Award—"The Painter and Decorator"

Second Award—"The Butcher Workman"

Class 4 **Best Original Cartoon**

First Award—"Machinists' Monthly Journal"

Second Award—"The Butcher Workman"

Class 5 **Best Feature Article**

First Award—"Electrical Workers' Journal"

Second Award—"The Bakers' & Confectioners' Journal"

Local Union Publications

Class 1 **Editorial Excellence** (News Format)

First Award—"New Jersey Labor Herald," Newark, N. J.

Second Award—"Detroit Building Tradesman"

Class 2-A **Best Front Page—Pictorial Excellence** (News Format)

First Award—"Engineers' News-Record," Los Angeles

Second Award—"Federationist," Baltimore

Class 2-B **Best News Front Page** (News Format)

First Award—"Detroit Building Tradesman"

Second Award—"Electrical Union World," New York City

Class 3 **Best Single Editorial**

First Award—"Colorado Labor Advocate"

Second Award—"Federation News," Chicago

Class 4 **Best Original Cartoon**

First Award—"San Francisco Labor"

Second Award — "Union Labor Record," Springfield, Mo.

Class 5 **Best Feature Article**

First Award — "Electrical Union World," New York City

Second Award—"Detroit Bartender"

Class 6 **Best Regular Special Column**

First Award—"New Jersey Labor Herald," Newark, N. J.

Second Award — "Labor World," Chattanooga, Tenn.

Next year we hope to continue our journalistic competition and our Executive Council has been successful in getting the School of Journalism of the University of Wisconsin to judge the contest.

There is not time in a brief report to bring you a full account of all that the labor press has done in the past year to further the cause of organized labor on this Continent of North America.

Highlights mark the continued fight against Communism, constant support for the work of Labor's League for Political Education, the continued battle against the injustice of the Taft-Hartley law, support for constructive legislation on national and state levels and against such anti-labor legislation as the vicious so-called right-to-work laws.

During the past year the ILPA has continued its battle to uphold the standards of the legitimate labor press by its war on unethical publications. A resolution concerning these unethical publications and what the unions and federations you delegates represent can do to aid in the battle to eliminate them has been introduced at this convention. We urge your support.

Constructive work has been done in the past year to promote adequate news services for our members' publications and to promote support of our small labor papers by aiding them to obtain national advertising contracts.

In an effort to further our labor press work all through the year, three new regional press conferences have been organized as follows: Missouri Labor Press Association, Iowa Labor Press Conference and California Labor Press Association. Currently a Midwest Labor Press Conference is being organized and it will hold its initial meeting in November.

There is much more which we might tell you of our work, our aims and ideals but space will not permit. If there is any delegate here today who would like to know more about the work of the ILPA and its recent convention, our officers would deem it an honor to give you further information.

As I conclude this report, I wish to go back to our initial theme and leave one important thought with you.

Freedom of speech is a pretty important item in this world we live in. We have seen what has happened in the countries where the lamps of truth have been extinguished and the "Big Lie" has become the order of the day. We have seen what has happened when labor unions have been destroyed. We can't let that happen here. And I say to you that the best way to keep the members of organized labor vigilant and militant, is to keep them informed, and how do we keep them informed? By means of a militant press. We have the men and the women with the spirit and the courage to do the job, who will tell the truth and call the plays as they see them. Let us all, every one of us here, help them to do the job—so that please God, the lamps of truth will never be extinguished in our country, and the American labor movement will continue to go forward, winning a fuller and freer life for all.

Respectfully submitted,
J. SCOTT MILNE, President
International Labor Press of America, and
Fraternal Delegate to the Convention

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to express to Brother Milne the thanks of the Convention for the very illuminating and constructive report on the activities of the labor press. I do not think that we can over-emphasize the importance of the labor press nor the necessity in these days of strengthening the labor press so at least we can get our methods to our own people if to nobody else. Thank you very much, Brother Milne.

The Chair recognizes at this time Vice President McFetridge, Chairman of the Committee on Adjustments.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McFETRIDGE: The Committee on Adjustment will report through Secretary Wright.

. . . Committee Secretary Wright made the following report:

REQUESTING A.F.L. TO FORCE ELECTRICIANS, BUILDING SERVICE AND BAKERS UNIONS TO RELINQUISH PAINTERS

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, William H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonksy, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 408.)

The subject matter of this resolution has not been presented to the unions involved as required by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Conferences should be arranged with the interested unions.

The Committee therefore recommends nonconcurrence in the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Wright, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McFETRIDGE: That will conclude the Committee's report, unless something else in the future comes up.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I wish to thank the Committee and the Chairman for disposing of its business in such an expeditious manner.

Now we will have the Secretary of the Resolutions Committee resume.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom resumed the report of the Committee as follows:

WAGE AND HOUR ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 79-82, 101-102, and 143-145)

Protection of minimum labor standards is essential at all times in order to assure at least a minimum level of living to low-wage workers and their families. It is of strategic importance at the present time that the nation's statutory minimum wage be raised to a realistic level fully reflecting the increase in the general level of wages. This would give a powerful boost to the purchasing power of low-income workers and help restore prosperity and full employment throughout the economy. The existing 75 cent minimum wage established nearly five years ago is now completely outmoded and should be substantially increased.

Despite the urgent need for a substantial increase in the minimum wage and extension of coverage of the law to large numbers of workers now denied its protection, the Administration's recommendation to the Congress was against amending the Fair Labor Standards Act. Congress acquiesced in this recommendation, failing to take any action on a number of bills which would have amended the law in accordance with the policies adopted at our last Convention.

The failure of Congress to act has meant that millions of low-wage workers and their families must continue to bear the hardship of substandard wages. By continuing the law's unjust exemptions, Congress has deprived large numbers of low-paid workers of even the inadequate safeguards in the existing law. Enforcement of even the inadequate existing standards has been critically weakened by drastic reductions in appropriations for the Wage and Hour Administration.

The Walsh-Healey Act is another example of labor legislation whose effectiveness has deteriorated in recent years. The law's minimum standards for workers employed in firms holding government contracts have been all but nullified by the enactment of weakening amendments, the resulting litigation by recalcitrant employers, and the continued failure of the Congress to provide sufficient funds for effective enforcement of the law.

The Executive Council reports on the determined efforts our representatives have made to obtain repeal or modification of the Fulbright Amendment to the Walsh-Healey Act, enacted as a rider to the Defense Production Act in 1951. This amendment contains these important provisions: (1) It requires proceedings in connection with determination of the prevailing minimum wage under the Public Contracts Act to conform to the strict requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act; (2) it provides for court review of such wage determinations upon filing of suit by an affected party; and (3) it permits court tests at any time by an interested party of any legal issue involved in administration of the Act regardless of prior stipulations such party may have made. These rigid and unworkable restrictions have all but stopped this program for establishing minimum labor standards for employees in firms holding government contracts.

A bill, introduced in the first session of the 83rd Congress, would have substantially restored the effectiveness of the Walsh-Healey program. Despite all of our efforts, Congress took no action on this bill, which did not even receive the consideration of the appropriate Congressional committees.

The protection given by a third labor standards statute, the Federal Eight-Hour Law, has been seriously undermined during the past year. This law, which applies primarily to workers employed on government construction contracts, requires payment of time and one-half for hours worked in excess of eight hours in any one day. Under a recent interpretation by the Comptroller-General, however, the law does not require premium pay for any hours worked in excess of forty per week. This new interpretation permits government contractors on non-union jobs to force their employees to work seven eight-hour days, or 56 hours in a single week, at straight time pay. Continuance of such outrageous conditions represents a serious threat to our members in the building and construction trades.

The Executive Council has set forth the alarming deficiencies in the existing laws for protection of minimum labor standards. The suggestions for changes and improvements the Council has made, if adopted, would assure minimum labor standards at a reasonable level to virtually all workers.

At the coming session of Congress, the American Federation of Labor must take vigorous action to enact into law the following improvements in the nation's labor standards legislation:

Fair Labor Standards Act.

1. The minimum wage should be increased to $1.25 an hour.

2. Within two years, the statutory work week should be reduced to 35 hours with a requirement for premium pay at the rate of time and a half for all hours worked in excess of 35 per week.

3. The coverage of the law should be extended to millions of low-wage workers, including retail and service workers and workers on large-scale corporation farms, now deprived of its benefits.

4. Within two years the minimum wage for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands should be brought up to the mainland level.

Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

1. Full and unchallengeable authority should be restored to the Secretary of Labor to issue minimum wage determinations on an industry-wide basis.

2. The provisions in the law restricting and impairing the effectiveness of minimum labor standards established by the Secretary of Labor, added to the law by the Fulbright Amendment of 1951, should be repealed.

3. The statutory workweek under this Act should be amended to conform to our recommendation for a thirty-five hour workweek under the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Federal Eight-Hour Law.

1. This law should be amended so that its provisions with regard to the requirement for premium pay for overtime conform to those in the Fair Labor Standards and Walsh-Healey Acts.

In order to make these laws fully effective, Congress should provide considerably larger appropriations to the Department of Labor to permit effective administration and enforcement of all laws providing for minimum labor standards, including the Wage and Hour, Public Contracts, Davis-Bacon, and Eight-Hour Laws. In addition, effective administrative steps

should be taken to assure complete authority to the Department of Labor to enforce all Federal labor standards laws.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: In connection with the Executive Council's Report just read, we want to present the following resolution:

WALSH-HEALEY

Resolution No. 78 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 401.)

In view of the action taken regarding the Executive Council's Report, no action is required upon this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am now going to interrupt the work of this Committee for a few minutes. Will the Committee escorting the Governor of Puerto Rico kindly bring him to the speaker's platform?

. . . At this time Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico was escorted to the speaker's platform, and President Meany took occasion to introduce Mrs. Marin and their two daughters to the Convention delegates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that we are all happy this morning to have the next speaker with us. Puerto Rico is now governed by its own Constitution adopted a few years ago by an overwhelming vote of the people of the commonwealth. This Constitution was spearheaded by the gentleman who will address you here this morning. He is the first Governor Puerto Rico elected under that Constitution. He is an old friend, and in his early days an associate of Santiago Iglesias, who was the Puerto Rican Commissioner in Washington and who attended many, many conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

I might say to you in passing that the Puerto Rican Constitution is one of the most liberal on record, containing among other things a specific provision guaranteeing the right to strike, and there can be no abridgement of that right.

I can assure the Governor that we are happy to have him here with us today. I can think of no more appropriate way of presenting him to you than by reading from the record of the Forty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Portland, Oregon, in October of 1923. I find in that record in the report of the Credentials Committee of the accepted delegates to that convention the representative of Federal Labor Union No. 17712 of San Juan, Puerto Rico, and that representative's name, a delegate to that convention, was Luis Munoz Marin, the Governor of Puerto Rico, who is with us here today.

THE HONORABLE LUIS MUNOZ MARIN, GOVERNOR OF PUERTO RICO

President Meany, distinguished visitors, friends of the American Federation of Labor:

I want to tell you how deeply I appreciate the honor of the invitation extended to me to address this great convention of American labor. Barring only my election by the people of Puerto Rico I cannot think of an honor that would be greater. I began my public activities 34 years ago under the leadership of one of the great leaders of Labor in America: Santiago Iglesias who initiated the labor movement and founded the A. F. of L. branch in Puerto Rico. Thirty-one years ago I had the honor to attend as a delegate a convention such as this which met at Portland, Oregon. I believe it was the last convention presided over by your illustrious founder, Samuel Gompers.

In a lighter vein, I want to say that I have also the honor of having a gold card which makes me Honorary Member of Local No. 15 of the Bartenders' Union of Los Angeles. It says "Honrorary Member—this is to certify that Luis Munoz Marin, Governor of Puerto Rico, is honorary member of the Bartenders' Union, Local 15, A. F. of L. Jack Townsend, Charles Jennings."

And on the back it has two very moving tributes, at least one of which is true. It has engraved on the back the following words:

> "In recognition of his contribution to the economic well-being of the people of Puerto Rico and the cause of organized labor and liberalism, and because of his acute appreciation of the product of the bartender's skill."

At least the second of those statements I accept as true, and if Jack Townsend happens to be at this Convention I hope to prove to him that I still deserve those words—sometime after the meeting.

I recall that on that occasion I introduced a resolution condemning the then existing dictatorship in Venezuela, and calling for moral support for the development of democracy there and everywhere in the American Hemisphere, especially through the recognition of the right of Labor to speak freely, organize unhampered, bargain collectively and be a great force in the defense of human rights.

Puerto Rico is on the sea frontier between North and South America, on the cultural and language frontier of both great civilizations of the Americas, and has always felt that it had a job to do in bringing about between them understanding and good will. Today the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is a basing point for the Technical Assistance program which the United States and the United Nations are carrying out to help underdeveloped countries to help themselves towards a better standard of living. At any time you may find in Puerto Rico—in the University, taking training in government departments, in public corporations—two or three hundred young men and women from all over the world, especially from Latin America, taking a look at how an underdeveloped community has been tackling its very grave problems and how a free and friendly relationship has developed there between the two great cultures of the New World.

Within this framework, I should like to tell you briefly about the tough fight against economic adversity that we have been waging to the best of our ability, and about the measure of significance—a modest but perhaps worthwhile significance — that the Puerto Rican experience may have for those engaged in seeking answers to some of the wider perplexities of our day. It is not a fight against institutions. In so far as they are United States institutions they are cooperative and helpful; in so far as they are Puerto Rican institutions we have created most of them ourselves in

this generation. It is rather the fight of man against a lack of natural resources, against scarcity, against what once seemed to be unconquerable fate.

First, let us glimpse a picture of Puerto Rico. It is an island Commonwealth. It used to be a Territory, belonging to, but not a part of, the U. S.; it now belongs to itself and is freely associated to the American Union by the strong bonds of common citizenship and common democratic ideals. It has very few resources aside from its land and the courage and determination of its people. It is small and densely populated, one hundred miles long by 35 miles wide; its population is now 2 million and a quarter, 650 per square mile. Not much more than half of the soil has been suitable for cultivation.

To realize what this means, an image used once by the Chancellor of our University is dramatically revealing. Imagine that the population of the whole world, more than 2 billion human beings, should move to the United States; then the United States would have 650 inhabitants per square mile; it would be as densely populated as Puerto Rico. But to make the comparison precise at every point you must also imagine that most industrial plants had ceased to operate or had never been in operation in the United States, that there were no coal mines, no oil wells, no great sources of water power. If all those suppositions became true, the situation would be as difficult in the United States as it was in Puerto Rico when the people decided to do something about it and saw to it with their votes that the present program got under way. It is a fact worth noting that there are practically no Communists in Puerto Rico. It is especially a notable fact because of the great hardships under which our people have been trying to work out their problems for so many years.

We then faced our problems as you would have faced them: not with despair but with a will to tackle them and lick them. You would have broken through in the States by sheer force of spirit and clarity of purpose. We are breaking through, vanquishing the tremendous odds against us, by the exercise of as much of those qualities as God has been disposed to vouchsafe to our good people. We have needed friends, of course, and we have had them: the good people of the States and many of their institutions; and foremost among the latter this great institution of American labor before whose convention I am now privileged to speak. Let me avail myself of this opportunity to thank all of you for the splendid attitude, for the fraternal helping hand that you always extended to our efforts. My people are especially appreciative of your declaration regarding Puerto Rico unanimously approved in your New York City convention in 1952. You said then; "As trade unionists and as fellow Americans we must continue to give the people of Puerto Rico every assistance in their efforts to develop their economy. The American Federation of Labor is seeking to organize the workers of Puerto Rico into bona fide unions within the ranks of the Federation in order to advance the living standards and improve the working conditions of the workers of Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible." That, gentlemen, is a paramount purpose of my government. To attain such improvement, and keep on attaining more of it, I pledge you and all bona fide organizations the full support of the Commonwealth government of Puerto Rico.

Our program is one of fair distribution of what the economy produces, intense development of production, and the fixing of minimum goals for a future not too remote as regards the income of families and the standard of living of the people. In seeking to carry to everyone a fair proportion of what is produced our policy is one of increased wages, educational, health and welfare facilities, creation of rural homesteads for otherwise landless agricultural workers, slum clearance and public housing, unemployment compensation in the sugar industry, guarantees to the collective bargaining process, Commonwealth minimum wage legislation and a sincere cooperative attitude towards the United States Department of Labor in its minimum wage procedures regarding Puerto Rico; and many other measures on the agenda of labor and of democratic government.

A brief reference to some parts of the Bill of Rights of our Commonwealth constitution will indicate the spirit of our labor and social legislation in general. Section 1: No discrimination on account of race or color. Section 16: The right to a reasonable minimum salary, to an ordinary workday which shall not exceed eight hours. An employee may work in excess of this daily limit only if he is paid extra compensation as provided by law "at a rate never less than one and one-half times the regular rate at which he is employed." Section 18: assures the right to organize and to bargain collectively, to strike, to picket. In many states and in other countries similar rights are embodied in statutes that may be revoked at will. In the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico we have given these human and labor rights a firm and commanding constitutional rank.

Of course, even the fairest distribution of what is in short supply would not defeat want —and we are out to defeat want as the greatest historical enemy of mankind. A very high priority in our program has been assigned to increased production—a strenuous drive to place each year a more abundant production at the disposal of the social objectives expressed in our Constitution and contained in our legislation.

Methods and principles underlying our industrialization program will be of special interest to the members of this convention. Obviously such a densely populated country as Puerto Rico cannot achieve the standard of living its people are entitled to if it is to rely mainly on agriculture. Through a 10-year industrial tax exemption and other aids we have succeeded in getting more than 300 factories established in Puerto Rico in the last few years. Let me say here that three basic policies underlie the industrialization program. One is that the Commonwealth government does not grant tax exemption to any firm if it is to close a factory in any state of the Union in order to set it up in Puerto Rico. Our drive is for new capital. Our slogan is not "move something old to Puerto Rico" but "start something new in Puerto Rico" or "expand in Puerto Rico." So that, far from detracting, even slightly, from the activity of the general U. S. economy, the Puerto Rico program is creating a constantly growing market, now close to 500 million dollars a year, for capital and consumption goods produced by American labor in the States. Another basic principle is that industry is the servant of the people and not the people the servant of industry. In stating the practical implications of this principle in my first message to the Legislature after being elected Governor, I said "Tax exemption to new industries and a friendly attitude by the government and by the people in general are the proper incentives. Cheap labor is not to be an incentive, so far as this

government is concerned. This government does not believe that wealth should be founded on hunger and hopelessness."

A third principle is that of realism: We do not worship either public ownership nor private enterprise. We believe that each in its place — and every people will have different places for them—are good and useful tools of the democratic way of life. So long as you don't hold either of them sacrosanct, they can both be very respectable means to the ends of economic freedom. It's a dangerous thing to be religious about anything excepting religion. As an example, we started our industrial program by running five government factories—cement, glass, paper, ceramics, shoes. When we found a private industrialist willing to operate them, and to pay what they were worth, we sold them and used the money for furthering the industrial program along other lines. Let me point out that we sold them to one of our most militant and constant political opponents, because we believe he has better sense about industry than about politics. This, incidentally, should go some way toward showing that where a sound democratic culture exists, the fear that government ownership may be used for political tyranny is not justified.

The progress in these dozen years has been substantial. What remains to be done before we reach our minimum goals is greater still than what we have done, and the people of Puerto Rico have given themselves a shorter time to do it in. Our goals are a minimum income — minimum not average — of $1500 a year per family sometime before 1960, and $2000 by 1960 or not very long after 1960. We realize that it is an impossibility to get absolutely every family above that minimum at any time in any place. We shall consider that minimum has been gained when 90% of Puerto Rico families are above it. Today still more than 50% of Puerto Rican families are below it.

Net national income and income per family and per wage-earner have all more than doubled in terms of dollars with an equivalent purchasing power. The death rate has gone down from 18 per thousand population in 1940 to 8 per thousand population in 1953; the birth rate has been lowered from 40 per thousand population to 33—both facts are clear signs of a rapidly improving standard of living. Infant mortality stood at 115 per thousand live births in 1940 and it was only 64 last year. Electric power, all of it produced by the Commonwealth government, rose from 69,000 kilowatt hours to 771,000. In 1941 only 3% of all wage-earning families received an income more than $1000 a year. By 1952, 43% of them were receiving incomes of above one thousand, and the educational, health, welfare and housing services for the population as a whole had notably increased.

If we can achieve our goals by 1960, or even by 1965, it will mean that a poverty-stricken people, practically without natural resources, who had looked upon their plight with almost utter hopelessness, will have worked themselves out of that plight in a brief historic period of 20 years, perhaps 25. It shows it can be done. If it can be done under very adverse circumstances in Puerto Rico, it can be done and it should be done in all the underdeveloped areas of the world.

I have presented statistics, and they no doubt have some significance. But you know, as I do, that the deeper meaning of the Puerto Rico story relates to how a vision and a purpose can turn a hopeless people into a dynamic one, and how the dream of abolishing want from among the fated sorrows of humanity can be a very powerful one. Doesn't it seem to be the duty of civilization to unfold the vistas of this dream before the eyes of all the peoples in the underdeveloped areas of the world? In this connection let me express my belief that for us in the Western Hemisphere, a paramount aspect of this duty is to put into high gear the purpose of abolishing want, destitution and ignorance within this generation in the whole American continent, north and south.

Not only in the American Hemisphere, but all peoples are living in the terrible shadow of atomic destruction by attack and retaliation. It very likely can be total destruction of civilized life, or life itself. The West is now trying to ward off destruction for itself, and its enemies, by three means: Preparation for atomic defense and retaliation; readiness to meet aggression in a long costly series of "little" wars; technical and economic aid to many peoples. The one to which the lesser attention is given seems to be the last, and still I believe it to be by far the most important.

Of these, economic organization for an all-out fight against want, not half-heartedly or meagerly, but in a manner to engage deeply the imagination, the hearts and the intelligence of men and women everywhere, is perhaps the only remaining true answer. We might conceivably persuade the Russian people to cooperate in disarmament so as to augment to its true merited proportions the fight against want, but we can hardly hope to persuade the Soviets of this. Shall they then have a veto over this also, over the hope of peoples all over the world to burst the shackles of poverty, and thereby travel the road to permanent peace?

By strengthening the weapons of the economic war against this ancient enemy of man — hunger — want — while maintaining the strongest military defense against his upstart enemy, Communism, the greatest threat of all times may be finally averted. Certainly, it will not be more likely to be averted by not doing it. Only it would cost money. It would cost a great deal of money. It would cost everyone, in and out of the United States, a lot of money in any one of a number of fiscal years. In terms of a fiscal generation, however, instead of a number of fiscal years, it may even *save* money, besides saving civilization, besides saving the soul of man by his having, in the cruelest dilemma of his life on earth, answered the challenge of God with creativeness instead of destructiveness, while vigilantly on guard against those that would try to destroy him. But whatever the cost, whatever the burden, we should not insist too much or too long in getting survival at cut-rate in a bargain counter. The survival of civilized mankind is a bargain at any price.

My friends, a little island which is the home of a good and courageous people, leaves this thought with you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all appreciate the Governor's presence here this morning and his fine address. I would like to introduce two more members of the Governor's party who have accompanied him to Los Angeles: Senor Fernando Sierra Berdecia, Secretary of Labor of Puerto Rico, and Ramon Enrique Bauza', member of the Puerto Rican Senate.

. . . Senores Fernando Sierra Berdecia and Ramon Enrique Bauza' rose amid the applause of the delegates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure we all listened with rapt attention to the Governor's description of the very, very pressing problems of raising the piteously low standards of a group of people without any real natural resources in their home land, and I am sure that under the able leadership of Governor Marin the people of Puerto Rico will make progress and they will not look to American capital who come there with any idea of exploiting what they might feel are cheap labor standards.

I am quite sure that the Governor will cooperate with the American Federation of Labor so that industry will know that if they go to Puerto Rico, they go there to pay decent wages and not to escape from the conditions and the standards that American labor demands.

We wish him every success in his drive to raise the standards of his people and also pledge to him every cooperation that is within our power to give. We are very happy to have him with us and to him and his party may I say, Bienvenido. Now, we will proceed with the work of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom resumed the report of the Committee as follows:

INTERNAL DISPUTES (Executive Council's Report, pp. 61-67)

This section of the Report of the Executive Council deals with the very important subject of a plan for the voluntary settlement of jurisdictional disputes between unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The history of the framing of such a plan is set forth in full, commencing with the recommendations of the 72nd Convention that such a plan be formulated under the direction of the Executive Council. A Special Committee of the Executive Council was appointed to this end, consisting of George Meany, William F. Schnitzler, Charles J. MacGowan, William C. Birthright, D. W. Tracy, George M. Harrison and A. J. Hayes. That Committee framed a tentative draft of a plan and presented it to the Executive Council for their consideration at its February 1, 1954, meeting. After due consideration, the Council returned the plan to the Committee for further drafting, following which a supplemental version was submitted to the Executive Council at a special meeting held by that body on May 13, 1954. At that meeting, the Executive Council arrived at a formal draft of a plan, which draft was then submitted to a Special Conference of International Union Executive Officers and International Representatives, called for the specific purpose of considering the plan. This Conference was held on May 14, 1954, in Chicago, Illinois, and at that Conference various suggestions for changes and improvements were made. In general, the Conferees signified their approval of the plan. Following such conference, a further draft of the plan was prepared, incorporating the various suggestions, and this draft was sent to the Executive Officers of each affiliated National and International Union for their further study and suggestions. At its August meeting, the Executive Council considered these suggestions and drafted a final plan to be submitted to this Convention. The Executive Council recommended that this plan be approved by this Convention.

In brief summary, the significant features of the plan are as follows: the plan is binding only on those National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that subscribe to the plan in writing. Once subscribed to, the plan is binding on the subscribing union and its subordinate bodies. Similarly, such plan is binding upon directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor when approved by the Executive Council and signed by the President and the Secretary-Treasurer.

The plan is applicable only to disputes arising as a result of circumstances occurring after approval of the plan by A. F. of L. Convention action; it is applicable only to the following four types of dispute:

(1) Disputes between two subscribers to the plan involving raiding, that is where one party seeks to obtain bargaining rights held by another, regardless of whether such bargaining rights were obtained through NLRB certification or otherwise.

(2) Disputes in which one party seeks to obtain for its members work being performed by or assigned to members of another party.

(3) Disputes over the right to perform work not theretofore assigned to any particular party.

(4) Disputes regarding which party should attempt to organize unorganized workers in a particular plant or industry.

The procedures for settlement of these disputes are as follows:

First, the parties are obliged to confer with each other for the purpose of settling the dispute by mutual agreement. Assistance of a representative of the A. F. of L. may or may not be sought in the first instance. However, if the parties are unable to mutually agree upon a settlement within a reasonable time, a representative appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. must be called upon to act as a mediator or moderator, but with no power to compel agreement. If such representative is unable to effect a settlement within 10 days, then the parties are obliged to submit the dispute to arbitration conducted by a single arbitrator either mutually agreed upon by the parties, or in the event of disagreement, appointed by the President of the A. F. of L. from a special panel of impartial persons chosen and approved in advance by the Executive Council. This arbitrator, after hearing the parties, renders a decision which is final and binding upon the parties, confining his decision to the specific dispute submitted to him. In reaching a decision, the arbitrator must consider, although not exclusively, such factors as charters or certificates of affiliation, jurisdictional decisions made by A. F. of L. Convention or Executive Council, the jurisdiction customarily exercised by each union, agreements with respect to jurisdiction entered into by the parties, and prior decisions of other arbitrators and tribunals. The costs of arbitration are borne equally by the parties.

If the sole parties to a dispute are also parties to some other plan for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes, such as the plan in effect for the building trades unions, then that other plan must be utilized without resort to the present plan. However, if the dispute involves a party who is not a party to such other plan, then the present plan must be utilized.

Any decision of an arbitrator can be reviewed at the expiration of one year from the decision but only if the essential facts

involved in the decision have been changed due to technological or other causes.

The plan may be amended or terminated either by the Executive Council or by any Convention, but no change can be effective until specifically approved by the parties. The plan is effective for a period of two years after adoption by the convention. It remains automatically in force from year to year unless notice of termination is given at least 90 days before the effective date of any yearly period. Withdrawal from the plan does not invalidate previous decisions.

The plan concludes with a flat no-raiding pledge by all signatories thereto. In its final form, the plan offers a simple and workable method for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between affiliates of the American Federation of Labor and for the elimination of raiding in and between such organizations. Jurisdictional disputes are the plague of any labor movement. They are costly and energy-consuming, and involve a completely unnecessary waste of time, efforts and funds that could far better be put to organizing the unorganized or bettering the economic and social well-being of the rank and file membership. Not only that, but such disputes create unfavorable publicity and are in large measure responsible for much of the restrictive legislation that has been enacted on the state and federal level in the past decade. Surely the American labor movement has matured to a point where it can by voluntary methods dispense with such disturbances within its ranks. It is to be noted that the plan is completely voluntary and no union is required to become a party. Your Committee urges that the report and recommendation of the Executive Council respecting a plan for the settlement of labor disputes between American Federation of Labor affiliates be approved and adopted by this Convention.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to just say a few words on this, even though the motion has been carried, to emphasize again that this is a completely voluntary plan, and it in no way interferes with the present operation of the A. F. of L. machinery, which is available to all affiliates of the A. F. of L. It, however, presents a practical way for us to devote the energies and material resources which have been spent in fighting one another and to the field of the unorganized, and bring more wage earners under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

In this connection I wish to mention the success of the Machinists and the Carpenters in finding a formula to terminate the long-standing dispute between those two organizations in regard to certain lines of work. The Machinists and Carpenters have been meeting for some time and they met without asking the American Federation of Labor to use this machinery. They took it upon themselves to try to settle their own quarrel—and to me that is the best method of all. That is better than anything we can submit here, or any machinery we may have in the American Federation of Labor for the organizations involved to solve their own problems. But if that is not possible, then this plan which you have adopted here this morning, presents a way that these things can be settled on a fair and equitable basis to all concerned.

I have said many times that while we have had these jurisdictional problems before us for many years, we were dealing with the problem after it became a problem, after bitterness had arisen on both sides, and when these matters would come to the American Federation of Labor, either to the Council or to the Convention, they would be tests of strength rather than an effort to find a solution.

The Carpenters and Machinists have really set an example. I think that under this plan we can meet this very, very vexing problem, knowing full well the advancement which the American Federation of Labor has made over the years in the operation and conduct of the business of its various International unions, knowing full well that we have been able to meet the employer in the field of collective bargaining on any technical aspect of a collective bargaining relationship, that we have had the intelligence to meet their experts with our expert testimony on every phase of industrial problems. Knowing these things, I'm sure —and I absolutely refuse to believe otherwise —that we do have the intelligence to settle the problems within our own family. This voluntary plan submitted to this Convention today, which was drawn up by the Executive Council at the direct order of the last convention, presents an opportunity for all organizations, and I hope all organizations will avail themselves of the opportunity to find an intelligent solution for a problem which has vexed us for many, many years.

Thank you very much.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: In connection with the Executive Council's report on this subject just read, a resolution was considered, Resolution No. 16.

PLAN FOR INTERNAL DISPUTES

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates of International Chemical Workers Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 378.)

In view of the action taken on the foregoing section of the Executive Council's Report, no action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We will dispense with the Committee work at this time, the hour of adjournment having been reached.

(Opportunity was given to the various Committee Chairmen to announce committee meetings.)

PRESIDENT MEANY: We shall stand adjourned until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

. . . At 12:00 o'clock noon the Convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock p.m., Thursday, September 23, 1954.

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 2:10 o'clock p. m. by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to present to you a visitor for just a few remarks. This young man is the Executive Vice President of the Federation of Free Workers of the Philippine Islands. He is the chairman of the Political Action Committee of that organization, and a supporter of the anti-Communist who was elected President of the Philippines, President Magsaysay. He is also President of the Stage, Radio and Entertainment Workers, one of the unions of the Federation of Free Workers. He fought in the battle of Bataan, was captured and escaped on the fourth day of the infamous Bataan Death March. Upon escaping he joined the Resistance Movement against the Japanese until the American landings in Leyte in 1945. He is here visiting with us with a group of his fellow trade unionists. I wish to present him to the Convention now for a few remarks, the Executive Vice President of the Federation of Free Workers in the Philippine Islands, Edmundo F. Nolasco.

EDMUNDO F. NOLASCO
Executive Vice President, Federation of Free Workers, Philippine Islands

President Meany, officers and delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention, ladies and gentlemen:

In behalf of the Federation of Free Workers of the Philippines and its 20 national unions I say to you "MABUHAY" on the occasion of your 73rd Annual Convention. We are proud that the Philippine free trade union movement is well represented in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. I am referring to your distinguished Vice-President Bill Doherty who is an adopted son of the Philippines. Brother Bill Doherty was in the islands for over ten years as a sergeant in the U. S. Army and his name is still a legend in the island of Luzon.

The growth of our Labor Federation has been associated with Philadelphia and the American Federation of Labor. It was Father Walter B. Hogan of the Society of Jesus, a native son of Philadelphia who sold the idea to young labor leaders some time in June, 1950, to start a truly free and democratic trade union movement in the islands. The labor situation was bad. The Communists had taken over the labor movement. The other unions were either led by racketeers or controlled by the government. It was time to act. The Communist labor leaders decided to go to the hills to start the armed revolution in the islands. The Communist unions were already divided among squadrons and cadres and were told to stand by for D-Day.

There were two factors that stopped the Communists. They were President Magsaysay's military operations and the work of the Federation of Free Workers to oust Communist leadership in the labor movement. Our first year was trying indeed. There was general skepticism among the workers whether we could do better than the Communists. We will never forget the encouragement we received from the American Federation of Labor. Your representative in the Far East, Richard L. G. Deverall, gave us all the encouragement we needed. He helped us with a labor education program, he attended our strike meetings and visited our picket lines. When our resources were low he donated the proceeds of his books and pamphlets to us. With Fr. Hogan's help and Brother Deverall's inspiration we really went to town. I would also like to bring to your attention the big publicity we received from the Free Trade Union Committee headed by your President, George Meany, and Jay Lovestone, as Executive Secretary, for giving worldwide attention to the labor issues in the islands—the issue on compulsory arbitration, the issue on government intervention in labor unions, particularly with regard to the Secretary of Labor. This very labor organization that was inspired by the AFL went to the waterfront and gave the racketeers a licking. We tackled the big industrialists in town by organizing unions in their factories. We have pulled the biggest strikes in the islands and our members now are receiving the highest wages in the Philippines. We have the largest number of signed labor contracts. During the elections our federation was the only labor organization that had the "guts" to back President Magsaysay. We licked the pants off the Labor Secretary of the old administration and blocked his election as Senator in the last elections. We lobbied for a Minimum Wage and got it. The Magna Carta of Labor Republic Act 875, which is the counterpart of your Wagner Act in the islands was passed on account of our intense political activity. That was too much for the Commies and now we are in full control of the labor situation.

From now on we will have to play a major role in fighting the Commies in the islands. You must have heard of the surrender of the No. 3 Communist in the Philippines, Luis M. Taruc. Military intelligence authorities revealed from captured documents that Taruc had the blessings of the Communist politburo in his so-called surrender to the government forces. It was found out that Taruc was given explicit orders to get an amnesty and then infiltrate in labor unions and important agencies of the Philippine government. The Communists, it appears, have switched from the armed revolution strategy to taking over the government by a "bloodless" revolution. And I assure you we are ready for them.

The labor problems in the islands are by no means licked. We also have a large number of people who are unemployed. You'd think the Republicans have taken over the Philippines. Over 4 million agricultural workers are still unemployed. Our industrial courts have to be revamped and enlarged so as to be effective. There is still an overwhelming hostility of a large number of employers against unions. The American employers are fighting unions hammer and tong and they believe the Filipino standard of living is so low that they should not receive the same wage as an American doing the same amount of work. The Chinese employers are mustering their resources to bust unions. It is true that the Magsaysay administration is doing its best to encourage the growth of a free trade union movement. Our Secretary of Labor, Eleuterio Adevoso, is doing, too, a wonderful job. But a lot of work still has to be done.

Before I finish my talk I would also mention in passing the wonderful job Tom Flynn of the Office Employees Union did when he was in the Philippines. Tom Flynn is now organizer in Boston. He helped us a lot in our organizing drive. We are grateful to him and I say we need more men like him in the Philippines.

We wish to thank the AFL for the help they have extended to us, and to Philadelphia for giving us their native son who helped the labor movement. Where the Philadelphia "A's" have failed Fr. Hogan has succeeded in winning a pennant for the free trade union movement. I say again to you all "MABUHAY."

PRESIDENT MEANY: We thank Brother Nolasco for his remarks today. Of course, this is an indication of the fact that free workers in any part of the world look to the American Federation of Labor for guidance. Whether we like it or not, they expect guidance and we try to help them in every possible way, not because we have any interest in acquiring membership, but because we feel that the more free trade movements there are in the world and less slavery, the better chance there is for us to live in peace here in America.

I wish to introduce someone to you who is one of our own members. He is doing a very fine job on the Communist battlefront in Europe. He has been over there for a number of years as a representative of the American Federation of Labor. He has received public recognition by President Eisenhower himself, who had reason to be in contact with him when he was in command of headquarters in Paris, now under General Gruenther. He has had public commendation from General Gruenther for the work that he has done in Europe.

In my opinion—I may be biased—he is the most important American in Europe, and that does not bar anybody, in so far as holding back the tide of Communism and assisting the trade unionists of Europe, the workers of Europe who are still free, to remain free. I am very proud to present him to you as a member of the American Federation of Labor and one who is doing a grand job for his country under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. I present to you Brother Irving Brown.

IRVING BROWN
Representative of the American Federation of Labor in Europe

Thank you, President Meany; Secretary Schnitzler, members of the Executive Council and fellow delegates: It has only been two weeks ago that I left what I should like to call a land of coexistence.

Two weeks ago I toured for seven hours the Soviet zone of Austria, covering over 250 miles right up to the murderous frontier of Communist Hungary.

To understand coexistence as now being peddled about by the communists one should have a good look at this so-called "new look," as you see it, the Hungarian border which is not only directed against the Austrians but is the electrified and mined iron container of the people of Hungary. For, carved out of the wooded hills of this beautiful agricultural land extends a lonely, death-like still dirt road one hundred yards wide running for 50 to 60 miles along the Hungarian side of the Austro-Hungarian border. There is no life on this road—no traffic, no living being, whether human or animal. No living thing dares to cross this passageway for it is truly the road of death. There is no east-west trade. Any living thing that touches down here will be blown to smithereens. There are watchtowers and the barbed wire to complete the decor of this vast national specimen of a concentration camp. This is a stark and awesome reminder of what the word "coexistence" means in the Soviet book.

Yet, sadly enough, the word in Europe today is "coexistence." All of Europe's longing for "peace," all of the people's hopes for a respite from cold and hot wars are being appealed to and exploited under the cover of this illusionary word. Neutralism and appeasement are now being quietly camouflaged in this magic word which promises the world a formula whereby the lion will lie down with the lamb. Actually, the new look of the Soviet Union as expressed in the so-called policy of "coexistence" has one objective: the disintegration of the coexistence of the free nations of the world.

The present Soviet policy is succeeding in threatening the coexistence of the free world. Never were the democracies of the western world so disunited and weak as in recent months. The Atlantic Alliance in in jeopardy as a result of Soviet political and diplomatic victories which can be described as follows:

1. The division of the allies at the Geneva Conference on political and military policy led to the almost inevitable appeasement agreement on Indo-China which may lead to the eventual loss of southeast Asia.

2. The coming to power of a government in France which is not displeasing to the Soviets has brought about the rejection of the proposal for an European Army. This veto of the European Army may amount not only to the indefinite postponement of German sovereignty and rearmament but lead to the opening up of a new Locarno pact on Germany in which the Soviets not only participate but become the arbiters of the situation, which may result in pushing the Germans in an eastward direction.

3. The Communists of France have not only extricated themselves from their formerly isolated position but are now a decisive factor in influencing the course of French foreign policy.

This major Soviet political breakthrough has been due primarily to the breaking of the weakest link in the chain of the Atlantic Alliance—France. Ironically enough this comes at a time when the internal position of the Communists in France has never been weaker since the end of the war. This is not merely an opinion but a fact confirmed by the documents, reports, speeches, and "confessions" of the French Communists themselves.

In the June, 1954 congress of the French Communist Party, the leaders reported that their attempted general strike in April had been a failure and confessed that they were incapable of pulling any strike whether political or economic as long as the non-Communist unions of Force Ouvriere were opposed. Thus, in contrast to the successful August 1953 strike of the non-Communist unions as especially led by the Force Ouvriere unions in the postal, telephone and telegraph industry, the attempts of the Communist CGT to call a general strike on April 28, 1954 was a great failure. In spite of three months of preparation, the expenditure of tremendous funds on propaganda and organization and the support received from the Christian trade unions, the workers did not respond. There were no more than 500,000 in strike out of a total of over 11,000,000 workers in France. What is even more startling is the report that many Communist members and union officers refused to comply with the strike order. This alone reveals how critical the situation had become for the French C.P. The crisis was not confined to the membership but to the lower leadership as well. The workers, as typified by the F. O. position, saw through the political motives and objectives of the communists. For it was clear that the real objective of the C. P. was to defeat the European Army project and exert pressure on the foreign policy of the French government in

the direction of an appeasement policy towards the Soviet Union.

Now these weaknesses in the labor field were being matched by an internal crisis in the C. P. itself. The June congress of the French C. P. revealed a drop in membership from a peak of 900,000 to about 500,000 according to the C. P.'s own official figures. Actually a conservative estimate indicates that the membership reached the low level of less than 300,000. The declining influence of the C. P. was also noted amongst the youth of France as reflected in the constantly rising average age of the membership.

At this very moment when the C. P. is at such a low ebb, the coming to power of a new government has opened up a new and dangerous period in postwar France. This was not just one more government or one more prime minister in the vast procession of rising and falling governments (as well as prices) which has characterized France since 1944. The real significance of this change lay in the fact that here was a French government which recognized and accepted not only a policy of retreat but to a large degree a policy of appeasement of the Soviet Union and its satellites. The quick and almost prearranged settlement on Indo-China has not only endangered the entire defense of southeast Asia but led to the defeat of the European Army and perhaps to the doom of a free united Europe.

At this point let us not forget that this fatal change in French policy was perhaps made inevitable first by the kind of settlement in Korea and second by the failure or unwillingness of America to enter into the defense of Indo-China—as had been done in 1950 in Korea, and has been and was done in 1950 when America entered into Korea and saved the free world from another defeat. This moving away from positions of strength by the U.S.A. increases the temptation for certain "allies" to come to an agreement with the U.S.S.R. and Communist China on the basis of weaknesses and division which can only add up to appeasement. This leads inexorably to the fatal policy of "coexistence" with the Soviets on the latter's terms. In France, the first pieces of America's wrecked foreign policy are on display as peace in Indo-China opens up southeast Asia to the Soviets, and with the defeat of EDC western Germany is once again opened up to the Soviets. The tragedy is further heightened by the fact that all this has come about at a time when communism in France has been in decline or at least seriously checked.

While engaging in such questionable international moves, our French trade union friends report that their new government is contemplating the elimination of the 40-hour week and the increase of the work load without adequate and proportional compensation.

What has transpired in France has had direct and dire consequences on developments in Germany. As a result of these recent changes in the French government and the veto of EDC, the pro-western European policy of the German government has been badly shaken. The recent elections in Schleswig-Holstein were not only a defeat for Adenauer but for the entire policy of orientating Western Germany's foreign policy towards the west. No serious German democrat can afford to ignore the all-out claims for German sovereignty and rearmament. In addition, the possibility of Franco-German rapprochement has been weakened to the point where it appears that the Atlantic Alliance is splitting along a Franco-British versus German-American lineup. Nothing could be more tragic for the west.

What is even more tragic is that soviet policy in Western Germany gets a new lease on life. Having suffered two major defeats last year, first, when the workers revolted on June 17th in the Soviet zone and, then, on September 6th in the western zone elections, the Communists are now on the road to a possible comeback through the rear door of France. With resentment against France mounting after the defeat of EDC, the door is being opened to doing business with the Russians who hold the trump cards on German reunification, east-west trade, as well as the use and revival of the military and nationalist leaders in both zones of Germany. For, only Soviet totalitarianism can play and win successfully with German Nazis and extreme nationalists. Thus, sadly but true, the whole edifice of American foreign policy on Germany is tottering.

In contrast to these political and international weaknesses and fissures, the economy of Germany continues to boom along reaching perhaps the strongest level of any of the western European nations involved in the recent war. Germany is practically the only nation on the continent—barring Switzerland—which is ready for full and free monetary convertibility. The German mark rates as one of the strongest currencies in the world. They have a huge surplus credit in the European Payments Union—at the end of June, the rest of Europe owed Germany over one billion dollars. Export trade as well as production is on a constant boom rise.

This favorable picture of the German economy fits in to the relative degree of economic stabilization of the entire economy of western Europe. Economic and social progress has been encouraging since the end of the war. The expenditure of close to $45 billion by the USA has contributed much to this advance. However, this should not blind us to the fact that there has been no solution of the fundamental disequilibrium of the European economy as exemplified by:

1. Continuation of low economic standards of living so that in many countries workers' standards are not much superior to prewar years and in several countries there is still serious unemployment.
2. The continuing deficit as between exports and imports which are hidden by American dollar aid, procurement of military items and the restrictions of imports by the European nations.
3. The dearth of adequate and sufficient housing, especially in France.
4. The small progress in breaking down tariff barriers between the European nations, as well as between Europe and the USA, the continued economic restrictions and cartel arrangements, the high profits and luxury production methods of employers —all of which contribute to the narrowing of mass purchasing power which is the main cause of the low standards of living on which the European economy is based.
5. The unequal and unjust tax system existing in certain countries which places an unfair burden on the great masses of workers and farmers plus the cumbersome distributive systems which contribute to the inefficiency and high price levels of many of the national economies.

While western Europe has been making halting progress, there can be no doubt about the signs of economic failure coming out of east-

ern Europe. Since the death of Stalin, there are open admissions by the Soviet masters themselves of serious economic crises. This is especially true in the agricultural sector where the annual yield of many essential food items is insufficient to meet the population increase thus showing a per capita production that is even below the levels of Czarist times. These difficulties are multiplied and compounded throughout the eastern Europe satellite nations, where the reports are not any more favorable. In fact, in the industrial areas the commissars are constantly inveighing against the workers accusing them of sabotage. Added to these economic stresses are the continuing political strains. The struggle for power continues within the Soviet Politburo. The liquidation of Beria last year has led to no final and decisive solution. The seeming truce as presented under the deceptive formula of "collective leadership" covers up rather than solves this question. Thus, the Soviet regime still requires time and "space" to attempt to stabilize and consolidate after the death of Stalin whose total authority had long been established. Out of these very weaknesses and difficulties the Soviet "new look" arose. With this new foreign policy, the Soviets have moved forward with seven league boots in the past year to create this false atmosphere of "peace and coexistence" in Europe. They have been able to foster all sorts of illusions about the possibilities of east-west trade as a substitute to any greater strengthening and integration of the Atlantic economy. And by creating this false aura of "peace" another fairy tale has been told to many Europeans about how the USSR is reducing the military budget and increasing the production of consumption goods. This new tactic has led to the reappearance of Soviet delegates in such international organizations as the I.L.O. Through their usual methods of Communist penetration and infiltration the Communist hope to secure either the complete paralysis or the subjection in part or in whole of the I.L.O.

Through the WFTU and other front labor organizations, the Soviets have attempted to woo especially the European labor movement with their new siren songs of peace and coexistence. To date these sweetness and light songs have fallen on deaf ears as was only recently demonstrated at the British Trades Union Congress.

At the same time the trade unions of Europe have continued to hold their ground and in many cases even increased their membership and influence. There are over 23,000,000 members in trade unions affiliated to the ICFTU in Europe with over 14,000,000 concentrated in two countries—8,000,000 in Great Britain and 6,300,000 in western Germany.

It must be reported, however, that the unity of the free trade unions against the Communist manoeuvres was partially broken at the last I.L.O. conference in June of this year when some European as well as Asian workers delegates did not follow the policy of the ICFTU on contesting the credentials of the so-called Soviet worker delegates. This breach in the wall of resistance to the Soviet invasion of the western world cannot be under-estimated in spite of the fact that I must insist that the European labor movement still remains a major bulwark against Soviet penetration and infiltration of the free world.

In France, the non-Communist trade unions, especially in Force Ouvriere, has played a decisive and strategic role in preventing the C.P. from obtaining its political objectives in France and thus in Western Europe. When the Communists themselves confirm these facts then we can feel more than justified over the utility and the importance of continuing the support of the AFL and its representatives to our brother trade unionists in the Force Ouvriere organization.

In Germany, the powerful non-Communist German Federation of Labor with its over 6,000,000 members has grown by leaps and bounds not only in size but in economic strength and influence that touches all sectors of German society—politics, banking, films, publications, radio, as well as in the entire European economic organizations. And having achieved co-determination in the coal and steel industries as well as recent gains in wages through long overdue strike actions, the German unions are now preparing for a major battle to attain the 40-hour week without reduction in pay.

In Italy, the non-communist unions under the leadership of C.I.S.L. (The Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions) has made real and welcome progress. As a result of a collective bargaining agreement negotiated with the Italian employers, the highest national wage increase for any year since the war has been achieved. This was an agreement signed only by the non-communist trade union federations to the exclusion of the communists. The latter were so infuriated by the agreement that they attempted to throw Italy into a general strike. This failed miserably and the Communist leaders had to admit that they had been outmanoeuvred in the end. This wage contract has greatly increased the prestige and position of the non-communist unions under the leadership of their president, Giulio Pastore.

Austria continues to withstand heroically the ravages of being one of the pawns in the Soviets' cold war. Living dangerously both inside and outside the iron curtain, the Austrian labor movement continues as the major bulwark against Communism and Soviet imperialistic exploitation. With over 1,300,000 workers organized into the trade unions, the Austrian Federation of Labor has reduced C.P. strength to a small percentage except in those Soviet-owned economic units where through terrorism and bribery the Communists act as state company union leaders.

Another factor in the strength and stability of the Austrians' power to resist is the successful political coalition between the Christian and Socialist Parties. This accounts for the great solidity of the Austrian political society in spite of continuing pockets of unemployment especially in the Soviet zone and the weight of the Soviet occupation and exploitation.

In the Benelux countries, the labor movement is strong and powerful and in the forefront of the resistance to totalitarianism as well as in the fight to improve the economic standards of the workers. In Holland and Belgium, the trade unions are the backbone of the government in maintaining not only stability but in acting as a barrier to Communist machinations. In the little duchy of Luxembourg, the trade unions are not only in the forefront of this struggle but have contributed members to the cabinet and are maintaining the Christian-Socialist political coalition no matter what difference may exist on the economic and trade union front.

In Scandinavia, in spite of a Swedish neutral foreign policy, and certain reservations in Denmark and Norway concerning military bases, this area of Europe is unquestionably strong in its moral and material preparation to defend a free society against the totalitarian world. And here the trade

unions are amongst the strongest in the world, with a membership averaging about 80% to 90% of the working population. Communist strength has been steadily reduced since 1945 to a very small percentage. The trade unions of the three countries—Sweden, Denmark and Norway — have been moving towards a greater and greater unification in planning and policy-making. This has been paralleled on the political side by the growing inter-Scandinavian economic union.

In Greece, the Confederation of Labor which has been one of the main elements in the resistance to communism has been experiencing grave difficulties in the past year. While this country is one of the bright spots in the growing strength of the free nations in the Balkan area, the government through the Minister of Labor has been attempting to meddle in the internal affairs of the trade unions. The Greek trade union leaders have been accusing the Minister of Labor of attempting to create what would be eventually a government directed and controlled labor movement. All of which has been grist to the mills of the Communists and can threaten the internal stability of a country which has shown great progress in recent years and is one of the key military bastions in the Mediterranean as well as on the Balkan mainland. It is to be hoped that recent conversations with the Greek government and the labor movement with the help of the international labor repesentatives may lead to a rational and sensible compromise which may safeguard the existence of the free trade unions and their strength in resisting the recently growing threat of the Communists.

In the middle east and the Arab world especially, the labor movement of North Africa —especially in Tunisia and Morocco—remains as the great hope of the free world. I visited this area in July when the state of tension and terrorism was at its height, especially in Tunisia. Violent acts were occurring every day and most people especially in the smaller towns and villages refrained from going out at night. A pattern of terror and counter-terror was developing between the French colonialists on one side and the extreme fanatical nationalists on the other hand.

When in Tunisia I attended and addressed the convention of the U.G.T.T. or the General Union of Tunisian Workers. Over 500 delegates were present, representing close to 75,000 workers. In spite of police restrictions and the fact that some workers were still detained either in prison or under house arrest, the representation at this convention revealed a real cross-section of the Tunisian people. I found at that time—in the beginning of July— that there was a growing disillusionment with the west and especially the U S.A. from whom they had expected so much in the fight for freedom.

Since that time, great expectations are in the air as the new French government has made some commendable steps in the direction of independence. The nationalists as well as our trade union friends now look forward to a fundamental change of French policy envisaging greater national independence. Negotiations are now in progress towards this end. If nothing comes of the present conversations between the nationalists and the French, then Tunisia if not all of North Africa will become once again an armed camp in which the rule of reason and moderation will disappear. And our trade union friends who stand for a democratic evolution will be submerged in a wave of hopelessness and despair.

Decision in North Africa must be taken now or else the free world will have a repeat performance of the Indo-Chinese debacle. On the other hand, the beginnings of a real independent Tunisia and Morocco would go a long way towards the re-establishment of the credit of the western democracies in the underdeveloped and colonial areas of the world. What is more, any victory for the free labor forces in North Africa would result in the beginning of the end of the WFTU's and Cominform's drive to win over the Arab masses of the middle east.

In summing up this report on Europe, which I tried to condense and make as short as possible, let me say that it is quite clear that the American foreign policy has been set back. I remember when General Stilwell came back from China he said, "We took a hell of a licking." I think it is important not to hide the fact that the American foreign policy has been set back and the Soviet's new look has contributed to the weakening and division of the free and democratic nations.

Secondly, while Western European defense and Franco-German rapprochement have been slowed down, thus weakening NATO and aiding those who seek an alliance with the Soviet Union, it is now in the process of possibly becoming a new reality.

Three, the economic stability of the West has been maintained but has been marred by continuing pockets of unemployment, low standards for workers.

Fourth, trouble and conflict in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe resulting from economic failure have been greatly and unfortunately covered up and transformed by the Soviet Union into actual diplomatic victories in Indo-China and France.

Fifth, European labor continues as a great bulwark against the new advances of the Soviets in spite of recent defeats, all of which adds up to the overwhelming and desperate need for America to strike out with an international policy that will give initiative and imagination to the free world, to give leadership, and as, Brother Tiffin of the British TUC said the other day, to provide the kind of leadership which can only be defined in the memorable words of Abraham Lincoln: "America should become not the terror of the world but the hope of the world."

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Brown.

Some of the delegates may feel that there is, perhaps, too much emphasis on this question of foreign affairs. I wish I could agree. But those of us, who are in contact through various sources with what is going on, feel that there is cause for worry. I want to state very frankly that, in my opinion, this has been borne out here, not by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor alone. We heard the National Commander of the American Legion, we heard the fraternal delegates, we heard Dave Morse of the ILO, we heard Governor Stassen in his report, and now we have this report from Irving Brown. Why do we worry about this? Why do we take the chance, perhaps, of being accused of being critical for some political reason? There are no politics that I can see in this question. If Russia is able to overrun France, how long can it stand, and how long can Western Germany remain a free and independent state? If Europe goes down, with Russia controlling everything, then, perhaps from the borders of Eastern Europe all the way over to Manchuria and down into

Indo-China, what happens then to Japan? And what does it all add up to from our selfish point of view?

It means isolationism for the western hemisphere. It means the maintenance in this country of a gigantic military machine to insure our security, a military machine that will be so costly to maintain that it will, by its very nature, pull down the standard of living in this country, a condition so precarious that it is most certain to bring about rigid government controls of some kind over every phase of our life in order that we might be ready at any instant to defend ourselves in a war of extermination.

That is why we are concerned. That is why the Commander of The American Legion voiced his deep concern and was critical of the policy.

Yes, we are critical of the policy without, at the same time, being political. I am critical of the policy and hope and pray that this criticism may bring about some change that will again rally the free world under the banner of our nation, because if it is not under the banner of our nation there will be no rallying of the free world forces since we are the only nation with the material resources and the will to lead.

I say to those newspaper editors who are looking for ways and means to criticize the American Federation of Labor that there is nothing political in this situation. If we get into a war of extermination and the atom or the hydrogen bomb comes to this country, destruction will reign alike on Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and everybody else. There will be no political lines of demarcation in the effects of an atomic bomb. If we go to the other alternative of building up a mighty defense and building a ring around our country to preserve ourselves from this vicious aggressor, the standard of living goes down as a result of that, and perhaps with it some kind of dictatorial control, Fascist, Communist or something else, and will apply equally to Socialists, Republicans, Democrats, what have you.

So I plead for those who are so blinded by political partisanship not to place the welfare and security of our country in a position subservient to the welfare of any political party or any political personage.

We have a stake in this. Labor always has a stake in war. We pay the price of war along with the others, and maybe to a greater extent.

We have advanced to a better life under this system of ours, and any criticism that is made here by me of foreign policy is constructive in the hope that we can find a way to preserve that way of life under which it has been possible for us to improve conditions for the people we represent.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Organization, Brother Doherty.

REPORT ON COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: Mr. President, Delegates to the Convention, your Committee on Organization is now ready to report. The report will be submitted to the Convention by the very able Secretary of the Committee, Brother A. Philip Randolph.

. . . Committee Secretary Randolph reported as follows:

TERRITORY OF HAWAII ORGANIZING DRIVE

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate Edward J. Kovack, Central Labor Council of Honolulu.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 396.)

This resolution calls for the initiation and support of an over-all organizing drive in the Territory of Hawaii.

Your committee moves concurrence in this resolution with the recommendation that international unions be urged to cooperate with the Department of Organization and the Representatives of our affiliates in Hawaii in promoting this organizational drive.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. REPRESENTATIVE FOR CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 69 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 397.)

The resolution proposes that the Department of Organization of the American Federation of Labor increase its services to affiliates in the Canal Zone.

Your committee recommends its adoption.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION OF TECHNICAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 70 — By Delegate Russell M. Stephens, American Federation of Technical Engineers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 397.)

This resolution proposes that assistance be given to the American Federation of Technical Engineers in its efforts to organize technical employees.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be approved and urges that all affiliated internationals, State Federations of Labor and City Central bodies be urged to cooperate in promoting the organization of technical engineering, surveying and architectural employees.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION OF WHITE COLLAR WORKERS

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 398.)

This resolution proposes an intensified effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor to organize white collar workers.

Your committee recognizes there are millions of unorganized among the white collar workers. We are in hearty sympathy with the intent of the resolution. We would therefore recommend that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and necessary action.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

MONOPOLIES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates Anthony

Valente, Lloyd Kienert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 408.)

This resolution requests American Federation of Labor assistance in organizing textile mills in view of the developmnet of monopolies in the textile industry.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council which, in cooperation with the Department of Organization, is in the best position to give necessary advice and assistance to the United Textile Workers.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CHARTER METAL MINING, SMELTING AND REFINERY WORKERS

Resolution No. 118 — By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 415.)

Your committee is thoroughly in accord with the purpose of this motion to organize the maximum number of workers in the metal mining, smelting and refining fields within the American Federation of Labor. It, therefore, moves that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the recommendation that all steps necessary to expediting the organization of these workers be taken by the Executive Council.

. . . Committee Secretary Randolph moved adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: President Brownlow of the Metal Trades Department.

DELEGATE BROWNLOW: Chairman Meany and Delegates to this Convention: As the proponent of this resolution, I would beg your indulgence for a moment to urge upon the Executive Council expeditious action on the action of the Committee. We have considered for many years the problem of those who engage in the metal mining industry, and feel that it is definitely time that the American Federation of Labor took some positive position as to what they were going to do with these some two hundred thousand employees in this industry. It is only through the American Federation of Labor seemingly that a proper organization can be made available to the employees in this industry. I concur in the action of the Committee, but certainly hope that the Executive Council will consider it at the earliest possible time.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

. . . Committee Secretary Randolph continued the report of the Committee as follows:

ORGANIZATION (Executive Council's Report, pp. 67-73)

Your committee urges all delegates to read the section of the Executive Council's report on Organization. The report is particularly important because it outlines in detail the various activities carried on during the first full year in which the Department of Organization has operated on a regional basis.

We note with satisfaction the Department's Statement that establishment of offices on a regional basis under regional directors has strengthened services to International Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies. It has facilitated the work of organizing and servicing Federal local unions; it has also made possible more effective service to local unions, City Central Bodies and State Federations.

In addition to the organizational activities carried on by the Department in the United States and Canada, the Executive Council Report refers to activities and future plans for the extension of organization in Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Your Committee urges that all international unions cooperate with the Department of Organization in all activities directed at forwarding these efforts to build A. F. of L. membership in Hawaii, Puerto Rico and Alaska.

Your committee recognizes that there is an increasingly heavy load being thrown on the Department of Organization because of the passage of "Right To Work" laws in a number of states which operate to make organization more difficult. In addition, our organizers are being called upon more and more frequently to assist local unions in the negotiation of contracts, in the settlement of grievances and in the preparation of cases involving use of the facilities of the National Labor Relations Board. These increasing demands on our staff argue most strongly that the activities of the Department of Organization shall be supplemented by the efforts of the officers and membership of all affiliated organizations.

Members of your committee believe that the Director of Organization, Harry E. O'Reilly, the Regional Directors and Staff Organizers in the regional offices in the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico and Hawaii, should be commended for the work they have done during the past year. We particularly regret that Director O'Reilly is unable to be present here in Los Angeles because of illness, and extend to him our sincere best wishes and hopes for a speedy recovery.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Randolph the report of the Committee on Organization as a whole was adopted and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The following names appeared as members of the Committee:

William C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; G. E. Leighty, Railroad Telegraphers; John P. Burke, Pulp & Sulphite Workers; George Husk, Barbers; John W. Garvey, Hod Carriers; Hyman Powell, Jewelry Workers; Earl W. Jimerson, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Harry O. Damino, Doll & Toy Workers; W. J. Bassett, Los Angeles Central Labor Council; J. Belton Warren, Glass Bottle Blowers; A. Shoemake, Maintenance of Way Employees; E. C. James, Laundry Workers; J. A. Moriarty, Typographical Union; C. T. Atkins, Masters, Mates & Pilots; Jesse Clark, Railroad Signalmen; H. A. Schneider, Grain Millers; A. Philip Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters; Thomas Durian, Glove Workers; Frank G. Van Portfliet, Colorado State Federation; Frank G. Roche, Florida State Federation; James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation; Daniel E. Conway, Bakery & Confectionery Workers.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Federman.

DELEGATE FEDERMAN, FUR WORKERS: Mr. President and Delegates to this Convention, I criticized the two International unions of the United Garment Workers of America and the United Textile Workers of America for permitting their local unions to be dominated by the Communistic organization in Can-

ada and also paid officers of this organization, which were paid by the National union. I am very pleased to inform this Convention that President McCurdy of the Garment Workers of America and the President of the United Textile Workers of America came in a year ago and reorganized the entire organization and removed the Communist leadership. Today it is clean and free from Communist domination, both organizations.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the opportunity of making that statement.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chairman recognizes Mr. Tracy of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TRACY: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies is ready to report. Delegate J. C. Turner of the Washington Central Labor Union will read the report of this Committee.

. . . Committee Secretary Turner submitted the following report:

In 825 communities across the nation—in fact, in virtually every city and town where there is a sizable membership in the American Federation of Labor—there is a Central Labor Body duly chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Central Labor Body coordinates the community-wide activities of A. F. of L. affiliates in the area and represents organized labor to the community. In discharging these responsibilities Central Labor Bodies are performing a vital function essential to the success of the labor movement.

Perhaps the most important activity of the Central Labor Body is to mobilize the support of all members and affiliates of the A. F. of L. in the community to assist any local A. F. of L. union which may be involved in a strike. The Central Labor Body often seeks to obtain financial support for the union involved in a dispute where that is necessary. In addition, it often assists the striking union to make the community more fully aware of the conditions which impelled it to engage in the strike and the reasons for the justice of its cause.

As the spokesman for organized labor in the community, the Central Labor Body is called upon to select representatives of labor to serve in all sorts of community and civic organizations, both official and unofficial. Often the Central Labor Body is asked to provide speakers to address local organizations. Such occasions provide an excellent opportunity for trade unionists to convey to influential citizens in the community the aims, principles and ideals of the trade union movement.

A major activity of Central Labor Bodies is to represent labor in the legislative sphere. When important measures affecting organized labor are under consideration by city councils or other local officials, representatives of the Central Labor Body frequently appear to state the views of organized labor on the proposed measure. Such action has become increasingly important in recent years with the intensified drive of anti-labor forces to obtain local and state enactment of anti-labor laws. Our Central Labor Bodies have performed a signal service to the labor movement, and indeed to the entire nation, in arousing local citizens and officials to the dangers of such proposals.

The Central Labor Bodies, through establishment and support of local Labor Leagues for Political Education, also play an active role in the political life of the community. They have carried on successful drives among A. F. of L. members and their families to promote a campaign of registering to vote and to get out the vote on Election Day. After examining the records of local candidates for office, they have helped to coordinate the political activities of trade unionists in their community in support of the candidates most friendly to labor's aims.

Many Central Labor Bodies have also carried on very valuable educational programs. Utilizing classes, meetings and institutes, they have focused the attention of trade union members on such varied subjects of direct concern to labor as labor history, labor legislation, and collective bargaining techniques and procedures, as well as some of the critical economic and political issues of the day. Through such educational activities, large numbers of A. F. of L. members have become more effective and better informed trade unionists, ready and able to give valuable service to the labor movement.

These are only some of the important activities which are carried on by our Central Labor Bodies. It is essential that our members and affiliates give the utmost possible support to the Central Labor Bodies, in order to strengthen them in the important work they are doing in the local communities and to make them more effective in performing the valuable service they are rendering to the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committe recommends, therefore, that a communication be directed by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to all National and International Unions requesting that they urge each of their local unions to affiliate with and give maximum support to the Central Labor Body in its community. We ask also that a similar communication be directed to each Federal Labor Union, urging its affiliation with the appropriate Central Labor Body. We are confident that affiliation of every local union with the Central Labor Body in its community would give increased strength and stature to the organized labor movement in the cities and towns throughout the nation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Turner, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN TRACY: Mr. President, Delegates, this concludes the work of this Committee as approved and presented to this Convention by the 22 members of this Committee. Their names, which will be embodied in the record of the proceedings of this Convention, are as follows: D. W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; Vernon A. Housewright, Retail Clerks; Lee Lalor, Hod Carriers; A. Berkson, United Garment Workers; William Kohn, New York City Central Body; Sam Bonansinga, Springfield, Ill., C.L.U.; R. Alvin Albarino, Upholsterers; Lloyd Klenert, Textile Workers; Reuben Roe, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; Michael J. Mungovan, Theatrical Stage Employees; Matthew Dusane, Seafarers; John E. Briedenbach, Dayton, Ohio, Central Labor Union; Ernesto Galarza, Agricultural Workers; Ray Muehlhoffer, Metal Polishers; Thomas F. Murphy, Bricklayers; George L. Russ, Insurance Agents; L. A. Wilson, Amarillo, Texas, Central Body; Sam Ezelle, Kentucky State Federation; Floyd Early, Missouri State Federation; J. C. Turner, Washington, D. C., C.L.U.; Jack Goldberger, San Francisco Central Labor Union; Larry Connors, St. Louis Central Labor Union.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is

discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes President Brownlow of the Metal Trades Department, Chairman of the Metal Trades Committee.

REPORT OF THE METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BROWNLOW: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the Committee on Metal Trades is ready to make its report to this Convention, which report will be made by the Secretary of the Committee, Howard Coughlin of the Office Workers International Union.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY COUGHLIN: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, it is the recommendation of the Committee that the six items included in this report be acted upon separately.

. . . Committee Secretary Coughlin submitted the following report:

Item 1. We note in the Executive Council's Report, p. 219, reference to participation of the Metal Trades Department and the Building and Construction Trades Department in assisting the Cuba Confederation of Labor in the support of those members of that organization who are employed by agencies of the United States Government, and we would urge that this continued cooperation be extended to employees of United States agencies not only of Cuba but other sections of the West Indies where such help is requested.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Item 2. We urge continuance of organizational work of the Metal Trades Council in those sections of the country where unions with membership employed in industrial plants already exist. We further note that increases in wages of 6 cents per hour or upwards although inadequate have been obtained which is higher than the national average of industrial workers and we strongly urge that every International Union of the American Federation of Labor cooperate in the movement for the organization of industrial workers with the establishment and chartering of Metal Trades Councils where this can be of assistance to the unions concerned.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Item 3. Your committee notes that there are some 60,000 employees in the operation and maintenance of atomic energy plants at the present time Some 36,000 of these are A. F. of L. members; 10,000 are members of a rival organization and 4,000 are in independent unions not eligible for affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and 10,000 employees are not members of any union. It must be noted that a large number of the non-union employees in part are accounted for by virtue of the fact that they are in scientific or professional categories. Your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 108 before the Resolution Committee of this Convention will deal with the importance of the development of atomic energy and its relationship to the American economy. In addition, we would recommend that the American Federation of Labor maintain a close surveillance of developments as they affect labor in the Atomic Energy field. Regardless of the economic channels this new element will pursue we do have the very direct problem of the building, maintaining and operating of the plants themselves. All of these plants have been constructed by unions affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Your Committee recommends that every effort be put forth to the end that the employees in this great new industry become members of the American Federation of Labor.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Item 4. Your Committee notes with concern the rapid decline of the American Merchant Marine, also the decrease of shipbuilding and ship repairing and the steady decline of shipbuilding and ship repairing facilities. We would urge that the full support of the American Federation of Labor be given towards the reviving of the American Merchant Marine commensurate with the status of the United States among other nations of the world. We further recommend that this Merchant Marine be of sufficient size and tonnage to make the United States independent of any other nation or group of nations in the carrying of our commerce during times of peace and our troops and materials during any national emergency.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Item 5. The committee recognizes that part of the Executive Council's Report, p. 319, on the close cooperation of the Legislative Committee of the Metal Trades Department and the National Legislative Council of the American Federation of Labor on proposals designed to disturb practices of wage fixing and other legislative matters. We strongly urge the continued cooperation of the various legislative committees in the interest of safeguarding such legislative advances as have already been attained.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Item 6. Your committee notes that policies for the settlement of jurisdictional disputes between unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department have been adopted and are working. We also note that close cooperation exists between the Metal Trades Department, the Building and Construction Trades Department and other departments of the American Federation of Labor. We trust that this cooperation will continue and expand.

In concluding, your committee urges upon affiliates of the American Federation of Labor with all of the conviction at our command that organization of workers in industrial plants be carried on: that the American Federation of Labor use every effort to organize employees into their respective unions in the traditional manner of the A. F. of L. to the end that millions of workers now unorganized will become members of their appropriate unions within the American Federation of Labor.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Coughlin the report of the Committee was adopted as a whole.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BROWNLOW: Mr. President, this concludes the report of the Committee of the Metal Trades Committee. The report is signed by Chairman George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Chester A. Sample, Molders & Foundry Workers; Ray Muelhoffer, Metal Polishers; Russell

Stephens, Technical Engineers; Lawrence M. Raftery, Painters and Decorators; Anthony E. Matz, Firemen and Oilers; Joseph Lewis, Stove Mounters; Peter T. Schoemann, Plumbers and Pipefitters; A. H. Cronin, Sheet Metal Workers; T. A. Pitts, Carpenters; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Elmer E. Walker, Machinists; W. F. Bauers, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Peter Fosco, Hod Carriers; William J. Stuhr, Operating Engineers; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers; William J. Buckley, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths; Howard Coughlin, Office Workers; Edward R. Moffett, Chemical Workers; John Coleman, Building Service Employees, and Alex I. Dever, Federal Labor Union 18887.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of this Convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Gray of the Committee on Building Trades.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GRAY: The Committee on Building Trades is ready to make its report on a matter before your Convention. Secretary Rourke will read the Committee's report.

. . . Committee Secretary Rourke submitted the following report:

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT (Executive Council's Report, pp. 334-341)

The Report of the Building and Construction Trades Department to this Convention is mainly concerned with the inadequacies of the protections afforded to workers in the construction industry by existing labor standards and labor relations laws. During the past year workers in this industry have enjoyed virtually full employment but the outlook for the future, in view of the economic contraction which has affected other sectors of the economy, is at best uncertain. Even if construction workers were assured of continued prosperity for their industry, there would be every reason for our Federation to seek correction of deficiencies in existing laws in order to protect and foster high standards of wages and working conditions in the construction industry. Immediate strengthening of such laws is doubly essential in view of the possibility that the industry might suffer an economic decline.

The Department's Report sets forth in detail the many defects in the laws affecting workers in the building and construction trades. The Davis-Bacon Act, the major law intended to protect the labor standards of building trades workers, is still woefully incomplete. While it authorizes the Secretary of Labor to require contractors on federal construction projects to pay the prevailing wage as determined by the Secretary, it fails to require such contractors to conform to other prevailing standards established by collective bargaining. In addition, the law does not apply to many projects carried on with federal financial assistance, such as construction of single family homes under the FHA and VA programs. The result of these defects in the Davis-Bacon and related laws is that the federal government is providing financial assistance to projects in which the employer fails to meet the prevailing standards of wages and working conditions long established in collective agreements between unions and employers in this industry. This failure of the federal government to require adherence to minimum labor standards even where the employer is the beneficiary of federal financial aid jeopardizes the economic welfare of all workers in the building and construction trades.

The Federal Eight-Hour Law, another law intended to require minimum labor standards on government construction contracts, is also critically defective. While this law requires payment of time and one-half for hours worked in excess of eight in a single day, it does not require premium pay for overtime for more than 40 hours worked in a week. The result is that under this law employers engaged in federal construction contracts can and do force their employees to work up to 56 hours in a single week, without any payment of overtime for hours in excess of 40.

Even more serious than the deficiencies in these laws are the injustices building trades workers have suffered under the Taft-Hartley Law. The oppressive Taft-Hartley Act has actually imposed even greater restrictions and has conferred even fewer protections upon workers in the construction industry than in most other sectors of the economy. Yet all efforts of the Building and Construction Trades Department, fully supported by the American Federation of Labor, to secure remedial amendments eliminating the most unjust discriminations against building trades workers, have been rebuffed by the Congress. In the meantime, the spread of the misnamed "right to work" laws has threatened the very existence of our unions in state after state.

In the face of the glaring inadequacies in the existing laws applying to workers in the building trades, it may well be that the time has come for an entirely new approach to legislation covering workers in this industry. During 1954 fully one-third of the nation's $36 billion volume of construction will result from direct federal construction and federally-assisted construction programs. The beneficial effects on labor standards and labor-management relations in the construction industry might well be incalculable if legislation were enacted ensuring that in the strategic part of the construction industry in which the federal government is concerned in any way, there would be full assurance of decent standards of wages and working conditions and full rights to collective bargaining and union organization.

A single Federal Construction Labor Law might be enacted, replacing all other Federal labor laws now applying to workers in the building and construction trades. Such a law might contain the following provisions:

(1) Requirement for payment of prevailing minimum wages.

(2) Establishment of maximum hours of work and requirement of premium pay for overtime.

(3) Regulation of labor-management relations but only in such a manner as to be completely adaptable and workable in the building and construction industry and entirely consistent with traditional methods for achieving constructive and cooperative industrial relations in that industry. Such provisions should take precedence over all state anti-labor laws.

(4) Provisions relating to other important aspects of labor standards in the construction industry, including apprenticeship, workmen's compensation, and safety standards.

Your Committee has not had sufficient time to give full consideration and study to this proposal, but it is offered as one possible constructive and effective approach to providing an adequate solution of some of the most urgent

problems facing our members and affiliates in the building and construction trades. We ask the officers of the American Federation of Labor, in full consultation with the officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department, to give this proposal for a single Federal Construction Labor Law intensive study and consideration at the earliest opportunity. If this proposal should be adopted as part of the legislative program of the American Federation of Labor, we ask that every effort be exerted to obtain its enactment in the forthcoming session of Congress.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Rourke, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 163-164, and 169-177)

With each year that housing construction has been held down to a grossly inadequate level, the backlog of America's housing needs has become ever greater. Our Housing Committee reported to our Convention last year, and independent experts have since agreed, that the housing construction rate of a little more than one million units a year maintained during the past five years, must be doubled in order to provide for the needs of our expanding population and to replace the slums and other substandard dwellings in which millions of families are still forced to live.

But, as the Executive Council reports, an appalling lack of understanding and concern with this vital problem has been shown in the extremely inadequate and indeed retrogressive policies proposed by the Administration and enacted by the Congress. The past year has seen sensational disclosures of shocking corruption and swindles in the Federal mortgage insurance programs. These frauds have fattened the pockets of real estate developers, builders and contractors to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars. Yet the Administration and the Congress have taken only ineffective and halting measures to prevent further fraud and corruption.

Callous to the desperate need of low-income families for decent homes, Congress has reduced the authorization for low-rent public housing to only 35,000 units, with occupancy restricted to families displaced by slum clearance. In all but killing the public housing program, Congress even disregarded the President's recommendation for a token 140,000 low-rent units to be built over a four-year period. For much needed slum clearance and urban redevelopment, the Congress, upon request of the Administration, has substituted the misnamed "urban renewal" scheme which emphasizes renovation and rehabilitation of worn-out structures instead of clearance and rebuilding of the ever-expanding slum areas that blight our metropolitan centers. The requirements of middle-income families for both rental and sales housing within their means has been all but ignored. While the mandatory builder's warranty against structural defects on houses built with Federal financial assistance, long fought for by our Federation, has at last been enacted, Congress has failed to provide for other equally needed protection for the home buyer.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, under the outstanding leadership of Vice President Bates, has been in the forefront of the forces which have fought against the combined opposition of the Administration and the real estate lobby to save from destruction hard-won housing programs for the people. While the housing program has been seriously gutted, the fight for a better-housed America is by no means lost. Redoubled support of every local affiliate will give our Housing Committee new strength to lead an all-out drive for enactment of an effective large-scale public housing and slum clearance program.

As the Executive Council emphasizes, the doubled rate of residential construction, which we must have in order to meet the housing needs of our nation, could help immeasurably in the national effort to regain economic prosperity and full employment. Because the housing programs and policies developed in the past, however suited they may have been then, can no longer be adequate for the needs of today and tomorrow, our Housing Committee has wisely devoted considerable effort to development of new techniques and new programs. The necessary preliminary steps and planning are well advanced. We recommend that the Housing Committee continue its efforts so that, in cooperation with other pro-housing forces, the American Federation of Labor can recommend to the forthcoming 84th Congress an up-to-date and comprehensive housing program which will assure a greatly increased rate of housing construction and make available to all families the opportunity to obtain good homes in well-planned communities.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Rourke the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION APPROPRIATIONS

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 407.)

This resolution directs attention to the injurious effects of the cut in appropriations for the Public Housing Administration on the operation of the low-rent public housing program. It asks that the American Federation of Labor work to correct this situation.

Your Committee is in full accord with the intent of this resolution and recommends its adoption.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Rourke, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

HOUSING PROGRAM
Resolutions Numbers 59, 60, 61, 85 and 90

(First Day's Proceedings—pages 392, 394, 404, and 406.)

These resolutions forcefully direct attention to the tragic deficiencies in existing housing programs and to the inadequacy of the current level of housing construction. They call for a renewed and intensified effort to secure enactment of an effective forward-looking housing program to meet the housing needs of the entire nation.

The progressive measures recommended by these resolutions stand in sharp contrast to the utterly inadequate, and indeed retrogressive, housing legislation enacted by the Congress. The boast of an Administration spokesman before this Convention that one of the Ad-

ministration's achievements is a "dynamic public housing program" is absolutely untenable in the light of the cutback of that program to a mere 35,000 units. Indeed, the crippling of the low-rent public housing program has dealt a grievous blow to the hopes of low-income families to move out of unlivable slums into houses fit for family living.

The 1954 housing law has given new strength to the reactionary real estate lobby in its determined drive to stop new public housing construction. Not content with halting construction of new public housing, these selfish interests have launched a campaign to force cities to sell to private interests low-rent public housing projects now providing decent housing to hundreds of thousands of low-income families. This is a challenge which we must meet

Our Federation must exert every possible effort to save from destruction hard-won housing programs for the people. But even this is not enough. It is also our responsibility to take the lead in the development of new housing policies and programs to meet new needs created by new conditions.

The American Federation of Labor, led by its Housing Committee under the vigorous Chairmanship of Vice President Bates, is prepared to measure up to this responsibility, on behalf of its own members and all the American people. We ask for the full and active support of our members and affiliates to achieve the housing goals of the American Federation of Labor.

With these comments and recommendations, your Committee recommends the adoption of these resolutions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. The motion is to adopt. Is there any discussion?

I would like before putting this motion to bring a few facts on housing to the attention of the Convention.

Five years ago, in 1949, Congress recognized the danger in the deterioration of America's homes, and the fact that we still have thousands of slums that have proved a source of filth, disease and juvenile delinquency, and crime. Under the leadership of Senator Taft in 1949 Congress took a positive step towards solving this housing program, at least that part of it which affected low income groups.

Under the Taft Act of 1949 the Federal government practically admitted that the slums could not be wiped out without the assistance, at least, of a Federal Public Housing Program. This bill provided for 810,000 units of public housing over a six-year period, an average of 135,000 a year.

However, when the time came to actually authorize this building program, we find that Congress did not go through. President Eisenhower this year asked Congress to take a token step in the direction of this program—not 135,000 units per year, as the Taft law called for, but just 35,000 units per year for four years, or a total of 140,000 units. Congress adopted a public housing program for 35,000 units for one year with a number of qualifying strings and took the position that that was the end of the program after one year.

I just want this to show in the record so that we get an idea of what someone called a dynamic housing program.

Is there any further discussion?

The motion is to adopt. If there is no objection we will consider the motion adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GRAY: Mr. Chairman, this report is signed by: Richard J. Gray, Building Trades Department; Wm. J McSorley, Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; Edward A. Smith, Elevator Constructors; Victor A. Swanson, Operating Engineers; John H. Lyons, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Martin P. Durkin, Plumbers and Pipefitters; John J. Murphy, Bricklayers; Pete Yablonsky, Painters; Frank C. Riley, Electrical Workers; Homer J. Meyers, Roofers; Walter A. Redmond, Plasterers; John J. Conway, Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers; Joseph A. McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation; M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters; Costanzo Pagnano, Granite Cutters; C. D Bruns, Sheet Metal Workers; Paul A. Givens, Stone Cutters; C. W. Sickles, Asbestos Workers, and Joseph Rourke, Connecticut State Federation.

I respectfully move the adoption of the Committee's report as a whole.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT MEANY: This completes the work of the Building Trades Committee, the Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, Vice President David Dubinsky.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Executive Council's Report for the last number of years has had a most efficient and competent secretary. Her services have been most helpful, and it is my privilege to call upon the Secretary, Selma M. Borchardt to make the report for the Committee.

. . . Committee Secretary Borchardt submitted the following report:

NEW AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS BUILDING

For some time after the site for the new building was purchased, negotiations were conducted by the A. F. of L. and St. John's Church resulting in an agreement under which the A. F. of L. surrendered its holdings on the property facing H Street to St. John's Church and the Church in turn ceded a lot from its property facing 16th Street to the A. F. of L. On June 10, 1954, the transfer of the property was completed. On August 24, 1954, the ground was broken by President George Meany, and the new building is now on its way up.

The erection of the new building means far more than its material structure can tell, important as that surely is. Materially now this new building tells of the tremendous growth in power and strength of the A. F. of L. Located in one of Washington's impressive historic areas, almost directly across from the White House, this new building will tell the world that Labor's house has grown mightily.

But actually that is a minor story. The great story it will tell was said simply and tersely by one of the non-labor civic leaders of the community to a youth standing near him as President Meany shoveled out the first spadeful of earth. With a wistful smile he said: "I wish

I were as young as you are to see this building and all it stands for now later. This day tells a story in human history. It is the story of the growth to power of free men working together through an orderly process for the common good." He put his hand on the youth's shoulder and said, "This movement will grow and grow. It belongs on church property."

In the spirit of this prophecy, we rejoice in our gains, and in the call to greater service that these gains bring us.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

Brother Paul Phillips, President of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, and Brother James A. Suffridge, Secretary-Treasurer of the Retail Clerks' International Association, were named to represent us at the British Trades Union Congress, and Brother R. G. Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, was named to represent us at the meeting of the Canadian Federation of Labor.

These are all men who have long and ably led our members. They know our philosophy and our history. They have helped shape our gains and have fought to prevent our losses. Hence, we know they gave our message to our Brothers in England and in Canada as we would have it given.

Your Committee recommends that the report of their experiences while representing us abroad, as they are submitted to the Executive Council, be hereafter given to the Delegates to the Convention. The Committee concurs.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Your Committee wishes at this time also to extend thanks and appreciation to the distinguished guests sent us from the British and the Canadian trade union movement. We do, as President Meany has said, speak the same language in every way.

We recognize the closeness of our movements the more when we learn of the great sacrifices that have been made by each for the benefit of all. We would say to you, Brother Baty, that the supreme sacrifice made by your son is token of the profound message he has sent us; a message which you and your fellow trade unionists so wisely and so courageously still use to guide you and us. Your son lives in the great bond which you are still helping cement between us.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

This report points up for us 4 basic legal problems which are currently at issue.

1. There is no affirmed status in federal law of state work denial laws, generally miscalled Right-to-Work laws.
2. The federal Railway Labor Law which definitely and fully recognizes the legality and the propriety of the union shop is still unimpaired in spite of efforts to have it held to be unconstitutional.
3. The conflict of state work denial laws miscalled "Right-to-Work Laws" with the federal Railway Labor Act has, in every test case so far brought in a federal court, resulted in the upholding of the federal law, expressly protecting the union shop.
4. The fundamental constitutional right of American citizens to negotiate contracts and to maintain the conditions agreed to in such a contract is still unimpaired in federal statute or federal court dicta.

This report of the Railway Employees' Department is encouraging in reporting to us that although state courts have in a number of states held that the state laws restricting free contracts, as the so-called right-to-work laws do, are valid, the federal courts have uniformly upheld the constitutionality and the complete validity of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act.

The report further points out that the extended litigation to which the unions have been subjected through these work denial laws has to some degree retarded the achievement of further gains for improved vacations, holidays with pay and other fringe benefits.

In national legislation, however, the Railway Employees have reaped the harvest of their effective political work. Their friends were able to get action on the essential railway employee bills, even in this Congress.

Most significant in this report is their call to action in the political field. It is significant that unions which have so long and so effectively negotiated contracts have at the same time recognized that the contracts must be implemented in a world controlled by the men and women elected and appointed to office. Hence, comes their strong appeal for full political action, an appeal which we all feel compelled to heed.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EXTENDING JURISDICTION OF THE SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION (Supplemental Report of the Executive Council)

At the 1953 Convention, the Executive Council reported that the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots had asked for an extension of jurisdiction over certain licensed personnel. Certain questions arose on this question and the subject was referred back to the Executive Council for further consideration and clarification.

In the interim, certain developments occurred in this entire area of employment. A conference was then held at which the official spokesmen for the interested unions were present. As a result of this conference, and in light of certain changed and changing conditions, the Masters, Mates and Pilots withdrew their request for the extension of jurisdiction over this group of workers. This action on the part of the Masters, Mates and Pilots was subsequently confirmed by them in a letter sent to President Meany.

The Executive Council therefore granted the request of the Seafarers International Union for extension of jurisdiction covering all licensed engine room personnel on board American flag vessels, that are self-propelled, but expressly excluded jurisdiction over engineers on floating equipment which is within the

jurisdiction of the Operating Engineers, A. F. of L.

Based on the facts as above set forth, the Committee recommends approval of the action of the Executive Council.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CHANGES OF TITLE
(Executive Council's Report, p. 43)
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS OF AMERICA

The National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America was granted its request by the Executive Council to change its name to International Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots with no change in its jurisdiction.

Your Committee concurs in the Council's recommendation and wishes to this old, well-established, strong union Godspeed under its new name.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, A. F. OF L.

The International Longshoremen's Association, A. F. of L., was granted its request by the Executive Council to change its name to "International Brotherhood of Longshoremen A. F. of L." with no change in its jurisdicition.

Your Committee concurs in the Council's recommendation, and extends its best wishes to this revitalized organization.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Borchardt, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LOUIS STARK

We have spoken of our gains; we would pause now to speak of a great loss.

Last May, Louis Stark died. We have lost a great friend.

His vast knowledge, his profound wisdom, his sensitive appreciation of the meaning of events, his skillful and precisely accurate reporting of news made him a great reporter, the dean of labor reporters.

But Louis Stark was more than that. He was a leader of men. Soft spoken, modest, gentle and kind, he was a fearless champion of all that is right and good. He did not seek popularity but he earned the respect and friendship of men of good will in all walks of life. He did not seek fame, but the excellence of his work brought him fame.

He knew the labor movement well. He knew hundreds of the delegates here personally and intimately. He shared their hopes to serve the public good. He shared their secrets and never betrayed one.

He has set a standard in reporting which all good newsmen may seek to achieve He has left us a heritage—a proof that integrity, courage and kindness do repay the men to whom these virtues belong.

We mourn his loss.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BORCHARDT: The Committee concurs, and I move the adoption of this section of the report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the reading of this section of the report in regard to the passing of Louis Stark, and the motion is to adopt. Is there discussion? I am quite sure that everyone here is in agreement with the sentiments expressed in the report. Louis Stark had become a fixture more or less in the newspaper world and had attended conventions of our organization for many years. I feel that all of us miss him a great deal.

Is there any further discussion?

. . . The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN DUBINSKY: Mr Chairman, this concludes the report of the Committee on the Executive Council's report, and it is signed by the following: David Dubinsky, Chairman, Ladies' Garment Workers; Selma M. Borchardt, Secretary, Teachers; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Robert Byron, Sheet Metal Workers; Charles B. Gramling, Engineers; Leo J. Buckley, Stereotypers; George Q. Lynch, Pattern Makers; Paul L. Phillips, Paper Makers; Patrick Waldron, Hod Carriers; Daniel W. Tracy, Electrical Workers; Harry R. Lyons, Railway Clerks; Milton S. Maxwell, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; E. M. Woods, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Chester A. Sample, Molders; John O'Hare, Tobacco Workers; Ed S. Miller, Hotel and Restaurant Workers; Eric Peterson, Machinists; W. M. Thomas, Postal Transport Association, and Lyle McKinney, Railway Clerks.

Mr. President, I move the adoption of the report as a whole.

. . . The motion was seconded and carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention. Secretary Schnitzler for an announcement.

RESOLUTION REQUIRING UNANIMOUS CONSENT

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: We have one more resolution that has been submitted by Martin Durkin of the United Association of Plumbers, which has been referred to the subcommittee of the Executive Council, and requires the unanimous consent of the Convention before it can be accepted.

This deals with the establishment of a cooperative plan for the education of engineers.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The resolution calls for unanimous consent. I might briefly explain that I am familiar with the resolution. The resolution indicates a concern on the part of some of our organizations with the shortage of American engineers in this atomic age.

According to the statistics, in the Soviet Union this year there will be graduated from engineering schools more than 50,000 engineers. And strange to relate, in the United States there will be graduated approximately 17,000 engineers.

The purpose of this resolution is to inaugurate some machinery with government cooperation, with trade union cooperation, and the cooperation of other public-spirited groups, to offset this disadvantage which we are now

under due to the fact that the Soviet Union is getting more skilled engineers out of the schools than we are in this age when engineers are so tremendously important.

Is there any objection to the introduction of the resolution? Hearing none, it will be referred to the Education Committee.

. . . The resolution referred to appears at end of today's proceedings.

Opportunity was then given to various Committee Chairmen to announce meetings of Committees.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to again refer to the proceedings tomorrow morning. After the President's address, which I understand is just a word of greeting, the Convention, of course, will continue with its regular business. It has always been our custom to have our guests and the general public in the room where we meet. We have never closed the doors to any of the public who cared to come in, and we are only limited in the number who attend by the capacity of the particular hall in which we happen to be meeting. Of course, that has been true at this convention. But I must ask the guests to bear with us. This is not of our doing. This is a combination of the orders of the people who are charged with the safety and security of the President's person along with the Police Department and the Fire Commissioner of this city. They feel that they cannot allow anyone in here but delegates to the Convention.

We have arranged for four loudspeakers to be put in the spacious lobby outside, so everybody will be able to hear the proceedings of tomorrow morning. But I must ask that in respect to the President we respect the wishes of the authorities, who are charged with the security of the President, and for the local authorities, who, of course, know their business better than we. They have asked and they insist that it be limited to delegates; they say that is all they can allow in the room and properly protect the person of the President in his visit here.

I am sure we all want to cooperate, and I ask those who are guests and the public who have been sitting here to also cooperate and not try to gain entrance to the hall in the morning while the President is here. The loudspeakers will be outside and everyone will be able to hear what is said, and I ask your complete cooperation.

The President will be here at 9:30, quite early, and I ask the delegates to be here as soon as possible.

We will have a band here to play some music to welcome the President. The hall will be open at 8:30 and the music will start at 8:30. We will have a program of music that I am sure will please everybody. Brother Petrillo is selecting the music to be played.

I appreciate your complete cooperation. Of course, the President is going to leave immediately after his address, and then we will go right ahead into our business session.

At this time I have been asked by the hotel management and the Teamsters' District Council to cooperate with them; there is a dinner scheduled in this room at 6:15 tonight. They have asked if we can adjourn a little early so they can make preparations for the dinner. Our work is going along at good speed, so I think we can go along with that request.

If there is no objection this meeting shall stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9:30.

. . . At 4:15 o'clock, P.M., the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock, A. M., Friday, September 24, 1954.

. . . The following resolution, having received unanimous consent of the delegates to be considered, was referred to the appropriate committee:

COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR EDUCATION

Resolution No. 143. By Delegate Durkin, President of United Association of Plumbers.

WHEREAS, The United States could, according to competent authority, use tomorrow between 35,000 and 40,000 adequately trained engineers but during the coming year will graduate no more than 17,500 trained engineers and will, due to the Atomic Age, unquestionably need increased numbers of scientifically and technically trained personnel in the near future, and

WHEREAS, Opportunities for higher education in engineering must be created for those who are qualified but least able to afford such education, thereby conserving our resources and meeting our country's most pressing manpower needs, and

WHEREAS, Cooperative Plans for Education in Engineering exist today in many of our colleges and universities, whereunder apprentices may, on an alternating basis, devote half of each year to on the job training and the remainder to classroom instruction in engineering qualifying them both as journeymen and as Bachelors of Science in Engineering upon the completion of their period of apprenticeship and successful graduation from college, now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor wholeheartedly supports and endorses Plans for Cooperative Education, particularly in engineering, involving both classroom and on the job education and experience, and recommends that each International Union which has an apprentice training program give its full support to such plans by (1) paying the costs of tuition of qualified and deserving young students chosen by the college or university, and (2) ensuring, in cooperation with employers in each industry, the apprenticing and the varied and remunerative employment of such students in accordance with the cooperative plan, and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests the creation of a Committee on Cooperative Education, composed of the President of the American Federation of Labor as Chairman and of such additional members as the President shall designate, which shall:

1. Promote and stimulate the financial and practical participation of international and local unions in Plans for Cooperative Education through scholarships and through apprenticing students for employment under such plans;

2. Cooperate with and secure the assistance of the Government, employers and colleges and universities in accepting and establishing such plans adjusted to the needs of each industry.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Seventy-third Annual Convention

of the

American Federation of Labor

1954

Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 24, 1954

Report of

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 24, 1954

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock A.M. by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Invocation this morning will be given by Dr. Carl W. Segerhammar, Pastor of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church of Los Angeles.

INVOCATION
Dr. Carl W. Segerhammar, Pastor, Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, Los Angeles

Almighty and most Merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: We give Thee thanks for all Thy goodness and tender mercies. Help us that we may live together in peace and concord. Be Thou the strength and stay of our land. Give it grace and honor. Grant health and prosperity to all in authority, especially to the President and the Congress of the United States, the Governor and the Legislature of this Commonwealth, and to all our Judges and Magistrates. Endue them with grace to rule after Thy good pleasure.

Grant us, we beseech Thee, fervently to desire, wisely to search out, and perfectly to fulfill, all that is well-pleasing unto Thee. Give us, O Lord, steadfast hearts which no unworthy affection may debase; enduring hearts which no tribulation can wear out; upright hearts which no unworthy purpose may tempt aside.

Bless, we pray Thee O Lord, the deliberations of this assembly. Help us to see that bitter men cannot create lasting peace; selfish men cannot build a free society; morally and spiritually defeated men cannot rise above self-interest. Grant that its deliberations may not only breathe the atmosphere of problems but may, in creative devotion to what is right and good for all, seek to achieve their solution in a spirit of love and brotherhood.

Bestow upon us also, O Lord our God, understanding to know Thee, diligence to seek Thy will, wisdom to find Thee, and a faithfulness that may finally embrace Thee. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord, we pray.

Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Kindly remain standing while the National Anthem is played.

. . . The National Anthem was played at this time by David Rose and his orchestra, and the Delegates joined Miss Frances McCann, vocalist, in singing the anthem.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Ladies and gentlemen, the President.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
President of the United States

President Meany and my fellow Americans: I hope you allow me to say first that when I hear any meeting or convention, a session of a convention, open with a beautiful invocation and such a rendering of the Star Spangled Banner, you do something to the emotions of an old soldier's heart that leaves him a little bit speechless.

There are a number of reasons why I am delighted to be with you. The first is this: I would like to ask you a great favor, that as the elected representatives of a tremendous body of organized labor in this country each

of you will convey to those groups which you represent my very best wishes, my warm greetings as great Americans.

I recognize, as well as anyone else, that it is those people whose heads and hearts and hands have created so much of the wealth of this country and have done so much to give us the country of such great resources that all of us enjoy, so that I as an individual dedicated to the welfare of one hundred and sixty million people certainly include all of that great group exactly as I include every other group in my contemplations, my studies and the plans that I try to make for this country.

I can read and I do read in the papers that there are certain things in which this group as a body doesn't approve of that I do. They don't approve of some of the things apparently that I believe. I think that doesn't affect at all personal friendships, and in this room there are numbers of people who have been in my office and we have had very cordial relationships, in spite of any differences of opinion. So, of course, I know that you respect my attitude to think that possibly you are a bit wrong occasionally just as you think I am wrong. And that hasn't anything to do with what we may say to each other.

Another reason I should mention for being pleased to be here this morning is that I understand that by tradition, by history you are completely and absolutely non-political. I can't tell you what a relief it is to me to address an audience where there is nothing political expected of me one way or the other.

There is one place where I know we agree in one specific and concrete objective and purpose, and one where I think it is not out of place for me in my present office even to say I should like to commend the American Federation of Labor. Your history of absolute opposition to Communism in all its forms, in whatever way it may pose its threat, is to me a heartening thing, and at least in that we are one, and I am certain there is no difference possible between us.

I think most of you know of the efforts we have made through new legislation, enforcing of old legislation, strengthening of support for the FBI and for the Department of Justice whereby we are doing our part daily and hourly in uprooting any possible trace of this terrible conspiracy that we can find in our country. I assure you that to this body I look always in that respect for support in doing that and at the same time that we protect absolutely and with all our might every constitutional right of every individual that lives in this country.

I think there are a couple of other things on which we agree. I don't believe that you would want me to do anything to start up again the war in Korea and start the casualty list. I don't believe you would want me to oppose the Social Security expansions and extension of benefits which we have tried to put through. I am certain you wouldn't want me to raise taxes again and I am certain you wouldn't want me to increase governmental costs.

Now, I just point out as we go along that there is not everything that we are differing about. There are some few things, I think, that as Americans we can all get behind.

I have no objection whatever, of course, to listening carefully—and I have listened carefully, and I think there are numbers of people here that will testify to that effect—I have listened carefully to the measures that some of you people either individually or as an organization believe should be done about meeting obvious soft spots in our economy. And there are such, and anyone would be idiotic to deny it. But the only thing I can say is that with the complexities of government at home and abroad we are trying to meet all of these situations as Abraham Lincoln said it, "As God gives us wisdom to see the right."

Now, there is nothing sacrosanct about any views that I hold, and I have never so stated. So I just want to say this, the views of this Convention will be studied, and thoroughly and sympathetically considered just as will the views of every other great group of Americans that compares with it.

I know that at times we seem to like issues more than reforms and advancement. I saw I was challenged in one paper as to what I was going to say to this convention about my failure to redeem my pledge to get away from the union-busting provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act. Well, I can only say this: I regret that failure. If this were not a completely non-political meeting, I would point out that a solid Democratic vote in the Senate of the United States defeated me. But that is political and I shouldn't state that belief.

I am going to recommend to get rid of that provision. I also recommended and stated that I would recommend measures for making certain that people in organized labor were not compelled to take an oath they were anti-Communist, particularly when no one else had to do so. I think that is completely un-American. I will do my best to get rid of it. If I have to, I will resort in order to redeem my promises—and certainly I hope that there is no one that can say I have not made every effort that I know how to make in order to redeem any pledge I have ever made to any individual in this world as a group and as an individual—if necessary I will take those two and put them in one special package by themselves in order that I can say to you I kept that promise.

Now, you people, I know, are against vested interests, and so am I. I want to say just one thing, one of my special jobs is to see that the Federal Government does not establish such monopolies over our lives, such directive power in our communities and in our states that it becomes the greatest vested interest of all, and finally as an instrument for attacking the individual liberties of each one of us. One of my tasks is to do just that.

I have tried time and again to find a short way of stating the policy of an administration which has to deal with the most complex, the most world-wide problems that it is possible to conceive of in this day and time. Just the welfare, the local welfare of one hundred and sixty million people is certainly enough to tax the ingenuity of the greatest administration that could be put together; but when you take that and while you are trying to do that you study all of the interplay of trade and old prejudices and hatreds and every kind of antagonism between the nations of the world, many of which we must stay close to if we are to exist as a prosperous nation, then it becomes extremely complex. So it is not a simple thing to state the policy of the Administration. But I do believe this, while an aphorism, a generality, does express our hope, it is in everything where the Government deals with the individual human, be he great or be he small, or be he black or white, or whatever his race or religion, to be human, to be sympathetic, to be understanding and do our best to help him, and when the Government deals with the economy of all the people and that man's pocketbook and his money and his taxes, then by all means to be conservative.

I have searched for ways in which I could state a domestic policy briefly, and I think if you will take this, cut it to pieces, criticize it, put it back together, I do believe it represents what is in the hearts of the Administration you now have in Washington.

Now, there is one other thing and this I am sure. There is no way of my proving it and therefore my statement must either be rejected or accepted on faith. I promised in 1952 that I earnestly and consistently and persistently try to be a friend of every man who works with his hands. I need not remind you—I think most of you know it—that I was a very hard worker. Maybe I have told you. My last work year before I went to West Point was 52 weeks with each week 84 hours, and not one hour off. So I have a very great comprehension of what organized labor has done for this country. I respect it; I admire them for it. And, in spite of these differences to which I refer, I am not only friendly to that group, but to my mind they are part, a great part of the United States of America, and everything in these United States of America engages my attention and my heart every single second of my life. Thank you.

. . . The Convention stood and applauded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Mr. President, on behalf of all assembled may I express our deep appreciation for your visit and your remarks here this morning, and assure you that we will convey your greetings to the people whom we have the honor of representing. Your presence here this morning is an indication to me of the solid heritage we have here in this country that has come all the way down from our founding fathers, one that we are all Americans in time of national crisis or when the going gets tough, and an indication that you recognize, as we do, the right of free men to differ in opinion on any subject whatsoever.

Your presence here this morning, knowing full well that we have been critical on some phases of your administration—and I want to say to you that it is not 100 per cent. There are a lot of nice things too about some other phases. So the combination of your presence here telling us what you think, and we passing our resolutions, represents something that is in our Bill of Rights. It represents the right to talk, and that seems to me the most essential of all human freedoms—the right to say what one thinks. As proof of that look up the record of any dictatorial regime and you will find that it is the first thing which is suppressed—the right to express your opinion, the right to talk.

As long as we can preserve that right and as long as it is recognized by those in authority in our government, as it was so ably demonstrated by the President's visit here this morning, I think, Mr. President, with God's help America is secure.

. . . At this time the President was escorted from the convention hall.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary Soderstrom to continue with the report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom reported as follows:

PROTEST AGAINST "WIRE TAPPING BILL"

Resolution No. 7 — By Delegate James T. Marr, Oregon State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 382.)

This resolution deals with the issue of possible legislation authorizing wire-tapping under certain circumstances. A full report of this legislation and the action taken by the A. F. of L. regarding it appears at page 102 of the Executive Council's Report. Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the officers of the Federation for such action as may be required in line with A. F. of L. policy.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

Resolution No. 10 — By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 374.)

Your committee agrees with the purpose of Resolution No. 10 asking for the observance of American jurisprudence in the conduct of Congressional investigations.

Your committee, however, recognizes that the exact language of a code of congressional procedure under which must be protected the rights of witnesses appearing before such committees, must be drawn with legal precision.

Your committee therefore recommends that the first two whereases be kept but the remainder of the resolution be changed to read as follows:

> "WHEREAS, The proper and legitimate investigatory powers of the Congress have been distorted and abused by members of both the Senate and the House, most notably by the junior Senator from Wisconsin, to a degree to destroy the usefulness of the investigation itself and to discredit the dignity of the Congress itself and to repudiate the basic principles of our Constitution; now, therefore, be it
>
> "RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled condemn the abusive and irregular practices of Congressional Committees, and be it further
>
> "RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor cooperate with those in both the Senate and the House who have opposed the thoroughly un-American tactics used by a number of Congressional investigating committees, in an effort to adopt a *Code of Procedure by Investigating Committees* which would thoroughly protect the personal dignity and the civil rights of every witness appearing before such a committee."

Your Committee further recommends that the section of the resolution dealing with the activities of Senator McCarthy be combined with the report on Resolution No. 15.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Winter in the chair.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Gordon C. Preble, Nebraska State Federation of Labor and David J. Majors, Omaha Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 380.)

STATE RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 43—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 386.)

CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL EXISTING "RIGHT TO WORK" LEGISLATION AND PREVENT FURTHER ENACTMENT

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 399.)

RIGHT TO LIVE

Resolution No. 77 — By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 401.)

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 100 — By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 409.)

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates Woodruff Randolph, Ernest M. Hathaway, Wallace C. Reilly, Lewis M. Herrmann, J. Arthur Moriarty, Fred H. Brigham, International Typographical Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 410.)

RIGHT TO WORK

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 412.)

Resolutions No. 23, 43, 72, 77, 100, 104, 111, deal with the subject of so-called "right to work" laws. After carefully considering them, your committee has drafted a substitute resolution combining the best features of each.

WHEREAS, So-called "right to work" laws now cover one-third of this nation, having been adopted in the following seventeen states: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, N. Carolina, N. Dakota, S. Carolina, S. Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and

WHEREAS, This represents an increase of four states in the last eighteen months which have succumbed to the drive on the part of reactionary anti-union interests to put this vicious anti-American legislation into effect in a sufficient number of states, so it will, in practical effect, become the law of the land, even without Congressional action, and

WHEREAS, These so-called "right to work" laws are deliberately misnamed for the purpose of deceiving the people, degrading the employment standards of the workers and primarily as a device in opposition to organized labor in the attempt to discharge membership in trade unions; and

WHEREAS, Five other states — Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts and Wisconsin—have laws that restrict union security, and the legislatures in other states not yet affected have considered such legislation, and

WHEREAS, It is quite apparent that large national anti-labor groups are pushing a systematic program of attacking organized labor through the various state legislatures, and have already succeeded in crippling the effectiveness of the trade union movement in those states which have passed "right to work" laws, and

WHEREAS, "Right to work" laws have been properly branded as "right to scab" laws, because they prevent unions from negotiating any form of union security, guarantee the right of free riders to work in unionized shops, and ultimately break down union conditions, and

WHEREAS, The powerful anti-labor organizations that are spearheading this campaign in the state legislatures have taken on the trade union movement in those states where organized labor is weak, and these groups have already been so successful on the state level that they are virtually decimating the labor movement through these tactics and are succeeding in an insidious national plan to destroy organized labor by means of the state legislatures, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor launch at the earliest possible opportunity a full-scale drive to obtain repeal of all so-called "Right to Work" laws and to block enactment of any further laws of this type, and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to implement this resolution, the American Federation of Labor take the following action:

1. Undertake an immediate study of the existing legislation and keep abreast of efforts of various state legislatures to enact such legislation.

2. Consider the calling of a special conference of state and local union officials to mobilize the full support of all affiliated groups for this campaign, and

3. Launch a full-scale campaign in each state to prevent enactment of such legislation, or to fight for its repeal by action of the respective legislatures or by referendum vote of the people.

4. Make a special effort to secure repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law which gives these state laws priority over federal law relations legislation.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: The motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks?

DELEGATE J. S. SMITH, Virginia State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I am fully in accord with the recommendations of the Resolutions Committee. This subject of open shop legislation, or so-called right-to-work legislation, is a deep subject with me and my colleagues in Virginia. This subject is a subject that gives us considerable concern. If you recall, many of you who are here, in 1947 a special session of the Virginia Legislature was called by the Governor and during that session the first open shop law in Virginia was passed. At the recent session, concluded on March 15th, 1954, the open shop law in Virginia was amended, and today that law, in our estimation, is the most vicious open shop law in the United States.

I might digress just a moment, Mr. Chairman, to point this out to you. This subject is of such importance to me, and I am so enthused and so interested in discussing it, that I may exceed my limit, and if you call me at the expiration of ten minutes I won't be offended.

I would like to refer for just a moment to the opening remarks of President George Meany in his wonderful address on the opening day of this Convention. In those remarks he said, "Well, how do you get legislation and stay out of politics and refrain from political action?"

In our opinion the answer to repeal or to amend this kind of legislation is through political action. In order to have that kind of success in a state like Virginia, we must have complete cooperation from every international union that operates in our State of Virginia. I know that same thing is true in the other states who may be confronted with this same legislation during the legislative sessions of 1955. And I would like to call your attention that about two-thirds of the state legislatures will meet in 1955.

During the 1954 session of the Legislature we put up a tremendous fight in Virginia to defeat these open shop amendments. I am not going into all of them. I have several copies here in my briefcase I will make available to any persons from the various states who are interested in the type of law that has been imposed on us, so that they may see what they may be confronted with in 1955.

During this 1954 session we did something in Virginia that is unprecedented. We employed a court reporter to take down the debate on the open shop amendments on the floor of the House, and that was called to our attention. One of our enemies in the Legislature even pointed it out as intimidation. But we were so interested in what people were going to say, what those representatives were going to say, we wanted a reported record. We have that reported record, and I would like to read from that reported record one or two statements by our friends, and one or two statements by some of those who are behind this move, and those who are working with this move to impose open shop legislation, not only in Virginia, not only in those seventeen states that already have it, but they are working with these groups, groups such as Jobs, Incorporated, who are attempting to impose this type of legislation all over in every state of these United States of America.

The Majority Leader of the House, when he introduced these amendments, had this to say:

> "I do not believe I would be so naive as to think I could stand here and say something to you about this bill that you probably have not already heard about it. This bill has been widely discussed. Many things have been said about it, and I am afraid that there has been something misleading. I believe today there are 15 or 16 states that have such a law. I want to say again here, as was said in 1947, that this Act is not a pro-employer act, nor is it an anti-union act. This is an act to guarantee the right to the individual, guaranteeing to him that he may work for a living, that he may have a job, and be able to get a job whether or not he is a member of any organization."

Now, that is the kind of propaganda that is being passed out in these states where Jobs, Incorporated, and other organizations are pushing this type of legislation.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: Are you going to quote more?

DELEGATE SMITH: Just one more statement, Mr. Chairman, a quotation from a friend of ours. He had this to say:

> "Gentlemen, when the gentleman from Nelson stated that the parentage of this bill was questionable, I think that he was absolutely right. I say to you with all sincerity that this bill was born a bastard, that it was later legitimitized, but now I prefer to call it by its original designation."

Mr. Chairman, the thing that caused us so much concern was that we lost our fight on these open shop amendments because we lost those representatives in the House of Delegates from the highly industrialized centers of Virginia. In the city of Richmond there are seven members of the House. We did not get a single vote from any of those seven representatives, and we lost our fight by twelve votes, which is an indication that much work needs to be done in the industrial centers. We are not afraid of the rural districts of Virginia. We have many friends in the rural districts of Virginia, where there is not an organized labor vote, not a single one, but the work must be done in the industrial areas. That is why I appeal to every International union present, the officers of the International unions present here to give Labor's League, the State Labor's League, the Local Labor's League all the cooperation that they can. In passing, I do not want to detract from the cooperation that we are getting from certain International unions. There are International unions with whom we have no axe to grind. Those Internationals have worked with us diligently. Their representatives are in there consistently. They are in there month after month, spending their time helping us to organize, and I want to point out that this thing in Virginia is so important that from thirty to thirty-five thousand additional organized votes, votes coming from organized workers and their families, can completely change the political structure in that state.

I recall in 1949, with an additional 25,000 organized votes from organized working families, we would have elected a liberal governor. That is all it takes in Virginia, and that is why it is so important that we have this cooperation and that this job be done. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: Are there an further remarks?

. . . The motion to adopt the report of the Committee carried unanimously.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom resumed the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate Joseph Stefani, Cambridge Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 384.)

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Officers of the AFL for inquiry. I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

CHAIRMAN WINTERS: The motion is to adopt. Are there any remarks?

JOSEPH STEFANI, Cambridge, Mass., Central Labor Union: Mr. Chairman, as the introducer of that resolution, this resolution was presented through the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and it was acted upon favorably. In Cambridge, we have proportional representation, Mr. Chairman, and we have had it for quite a few years. We are feeling the effects of proportional representation. Many of you who do not know what proportional representation is, I will try to explain it to you as a layman. I am not a professional or expert on it. Number one, we vote for first, second, third, fourth and so on, and all the votes that you vote, first, second and so forth, are turned over to somebody else, and some of your votes are gone completely. Mr. Chairman, it is a dictatorial setup where they hire a manager, preferably from the same city, preferably from the same state or another

state, to run the business within that city. Then they have a mayor, who is a counselor which is elected, but in Cambridge, I do not recall how many votes were taken by the Council before a mayor was elected. Then when he is elected, Mr. Chairman, he is only a receptionist of the city of Cambridge and it gives dictatorial powers to the manager and we do not like it. We do not like to see it spread. The Communists like it, Mr. Chairman, and in many states of Europe countries have gone over to dictatorship because of such representation. We want the two party system. We want to know who we vote for and not have our votes turned over elsewhere. I hope the Executive Council will see fit to concur with the resolution.

CHAIRMAN WINTER: Are there any further remarks?

. . . The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

NATIONAL DEFENSE
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 114 and 258-263)

Defense Needs

This section of the Executive Council's Report should be read in the light of the discussion of "The Present World Situation" (p. 176). For this question of national defense becomes important only because of the critical world situation in which we live.

So long as the globe is divided between the free and the slave, so long as the slave world seeks by force to impose slavery upon the free, just so long does the free world require a strong effective defense program.

America now has an armed force of more than 3 million men and is spending on national security programs $45 billion a year. The size of this armed force and the amount of these expenditures may appear completely out of line with the requirements for a peace-loving nation. Yet America's armed strength is but a small fraction of the Soviet might, and the nation today is devoting only 13 per cent of its total output to defense expenditures, compared to more than 40 per cent in 1944.

The present Administration, as the Executive Council points out, has fostered a policy of gradual reduction in the armed forces and in expenditures for military equipment. This policy has already had its effect on the country's defense budget. Today's expenditures on national defense are at an annual rate of almost $10 billion less than the rate a year ago.

In view of this policy, we feel compelled to raise this difficult question. Are America's armed forces today sufficient to permit this great nation to fulfill its rightful commitments as the leader of the free world? While the size of the nation's present defense program may seem impressive, it must be realized that at stake is the freedom of liberty-loving people all over the globe from Korea and Southeast Asia to Germany, Greece and the Middle East. Are we prepared to measure up to this challenge?

We must recognize that this nation faces an adversary whose chief stock in trade has always been the sheer force of naked power. We cannot expect that such an adversary will be swayed simply by slogans emphasizing "massive retaliation." Only actual fighting strength supported by the will of free people everywhere can deter the Soviets from their aggressive intentions.

While this nation has maintained its superiority in atomic and nuclear weapons, this must not create a false sense of security. We must of course press forward with this program, but at the same time our armed forces must be equally well prepared with so-called "conventional" weapons. Otherwise, the Soviets can readily manufacture a situation in which the use of nuclear weapons becomes either militarily impractical or politically unwise.

Your Committee recommends vigorous approval of this section of the Executive Council's Report. We further ask that the Joint Chiefs of Staff conduct a special review of America's defense needs to make certain that this nation is adequately prepared to fulfill its commitments throughout the globe.

Administration of the Defense Program

The Executive Council reports continued cooperation with the Office of Defense Mobilization, the federal government's over-all mobilization agency.

Organized labor has been accorded a consultative status in the administration of this program. Joseph D. Keenan, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is currently serving as Assistant to Arthur Flemming, ODM Director.

The work of the ODM has received relatively little attention. Perhaps this is only natural since this country is no longer engaged in a shooting war. Yet the importance of our preparedness for another emergency is no less vital than the specific actions which are taken, once that emergency is upon us.

We believe that the ODM itself should undertake a more energetic program to win greater support for a preparedness policy. It must enlist the cooperation of organized labor and other public-spirited groups to make certain that the people of America understand the government's mobilization program.

Manpower

The single most important achievement in the field of manpower policy during the past year has been the publication of a special report prepared by the Labor-Management Manpower Policy Committee to the Office of Defense Mobilization.

This report, entitled "A Manpower Program for Full Mobilization," sets forth a comprehensive program of the many different types of measures that will be required to deal with the manpower problems in the event of another emergency. The report is the unanimous product of a fourteen-man Committee on which the American Federation of Labor has actively participated.

Central to this report is its emphasis on voluntary manpower measures. The Committee unanimously rejected the use of compulsory manpower controls which would require workers to accept or maintain specific jobs.

Publication of this report has not settled the controversy that has been raging over the question of voluntary vs. compulsory manpower measures. On the contrary, it has become clear that many government officials would like to institute some type of national service legislation rather than rely on voluntary measures in the event of another emergency.

We reaffirm the A. F. of L.'s emphatic position in favor of voluntary manpower measures. We commend the Committee's report to the attention of all A. F. of L. members. We sug-

gest that copies of this report be circulated among our affiliates so that the greatest possible support can be obtained for the voluntary program.

Universal Military Training

The American Federation of Labor has opposed enactment of any system of universal military training, while upholding the present operation of the Selective Service System. Congress has also rejected the various proposals which have been made for a U.M.T. system.

In recent months, reports in the press indicate that the Administration is currently discussing various proposals to strengthen the military reserves of the nation. At a press conference John Hannah, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, stated that the Administration has endorsed a proposal that in effect would constitute a system of universal military training. While the Administration was quick to deny this implication in Hannah's remarks, no clear-cut statement has been issued giving the details of the proposal which the Administration is now considering.

The American Federation of Labor will naturally cooperate in any genuine effort to improve the quality and standards of the nation's reserve forces. Any new proposal in this direction will be examined very closely. It is clear, however, that any proposal for U.M.T. could not be an effective instrument for improving the nation's security.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ATOMIC ENERGY (Executive Council's Report, pp. 91-93 and 253-265)

In these two sections the Executive Council provides a full report giving the details of the passage of the 1954 amendments to the Atomic Energy Act as well as a summary of the year's developments regarding the administration of the atomic energy program.

During the past year, this country has made progress in both the military and peacetime uses of atomic energy.

Because this nation must remain vigilant against the possibility of Communist aggression, the A. F. of L. must continue to support in full the program to develop and expand the military uses of atomic energy, including the necessary additions to the nation's stockpile of atomic and other nuclear weapons.

At the same time, we must press forward with the peacetime development of atomic energy. We must demonstrate to the world that the atom can become the servant of man, not the means for man's destruction.

As the Executive Council points out, the most important peacetime use of atomic energy will be as a new source of power. The Atomic Energy Commission has speculated officially that at the end of the next 20 years it might be possible for over 10 per cent of the country's total requirements for electricity to be met by nuclear power.

Previous Conventions have outlined in detail the A. F. of L. policies regarding the manner in which this new power should be developed. We wish to reaffirm most vigorously the basic philosophy upon which these policies are based.

This new source of power has been the direct result of the investment, through taxes, of more than $11 billion by the American people. It is thus the American people, not any individual or corporate enterprise, whose interest must remain paramount as this nation proceeds to harness the atom for electric energy.

This does not mean that the door must be closed to private commercial development of the atom. On the contrary, we believe that private initiative, investment, and management can operate in this field to the benefit of all, provided ample safeguards are assured through legislative and administrative action to protect the public interest. Arrangements regarding granting of patents, ownership and managements of generating plants, and the distribution of the resulting power, are particularly critical issues since the manner in which they are handled may determine whether a monopoly of one, or at most a few, firms is permitted to develop in this giant industry of tomorrow.

The Congressional debate on amendments to the Atomic Energy Act provided full opportunity for a discussion of several of these critical issues. Legislative action on the Administration's bill featured debate in the Senate where the A. F. of L. along with other public interest groups, fought vigorously for a law that would prevent the development of any possible monopoly resulting from the use of atomic energy.

In the end, the A. F. of L. point of view generally prevailed, but only because the Federation and like-minded organizations were successful in persuading the Senate to take the rare step of rejecting a Conference Report which lacked certain essential safeguards. As a result, the language in the bill was changed to meet in large measure the A. F. of L. recommendations.

The principal points at issue concerned (1) the extent to which private patents would be permitted on processes involving the production of atomic power, and (2) the extent to which public bodies and cooperatives would be given preference in the sale of any atomic power. The law as finally adopted provides for cross-licensing of patents for the next five years, thereby denying any one individual or firm exclusive rights over any atomic energy production process. It also gives the public bodies and cooperatives an absolute preference in the sale of any atomic power.

The American Federation of Labor has a special interest in the atomic energy program, since it is A. F. of L. members who have built and who now operate the great majority of atomic energy installations. We are proud of the invaluable contribution they have made to the success of the nation's atomic energy program. We also commend the successful efforts our affiliates in this industry have made to establish high standards of wages and working conditions, as well as their constructive approach to labor-management relations in this new and vital industry.

The workers in the atomic energy industry are placed in a difficult position because security requirements frequently prevent the full expression of collective bargaining. Because of these special conditions, we reiterate our previous recommendation that a Labor-Management Advisory Committee be established to advise the Atomic Energy Commission on all aspects of labor relations.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, I would like to interrupt the Committee for just a second and recognize at this time Vice President Hutcheson.

MESSAGE TO FRANK DUFFY

VICE PRESIDENT HUTCHESON: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I have a message to deliver from our Secretary Emeritus, Frank Duffy. He has asked that his best wishes be extended to all his friends and delegates. As you all know, Mr. Duffy attended fifty-one consecutive conventions of the American Federation of Labor. This is the first convention that he has missed in fifty-two years. So I would like to make a motion that this Convention send him a wire expressing their best regards.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion. All those in favor of the motion please rise.

The motion is unanimously carried that we convey to our good, old friend, old soldier, Frank Duffy, the best wishes of this Convention.

(Vice President Hayes in the Chair.)

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued the report of the Resolutions Committee as follows.

ATOM AND H-BOMB CONTROL

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 371.)

In view of the action taken on the Council's report and on Resolution No. 108, no further action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNAL SECURITY (Executive Council's Report, pp. 115-119)

This section of the Executive Council's Report presents a full account of the A. F. of L.'s views and actions regarding a particularly difficult legislative issue, the protection of the nation's internal security against Communist subversive activities.

There can be no doubt that both has individuals and through group action Communists will continue to exert their fullest efforts to subvert the nation's internal security. One form of such action is through the activities of any labor union which they may control.

The American Federation of Labor has fought vigorously against Communism and all types of Communist infiltration. This organization is proud of the record it has compiled, both here and abroad, in helping to make the American labor movement the most effective bulwark against Communism.

Largely because of the A. F. of L. efforts, unions in America under Communist domination have in recent years declined substantially in strength. However, it must be recognized that so long as these unions include active members in such vitally important industries as West Coast longshoring, electrical manufacturing, metal mining and communications, they present a threat to the internal security of this country.

What is the most effective manner in which action can be taken to deal with this Communist danger? While the A. F. of L. naturally wishes to take every possible measure to stamp out subversion, we insist that such action be taken without violating any of the nation's basic civil liberties. To accomplish this objective is a crucial test for American democracy.

The recent session of Congress took action on a number of bills directed at this problem. Two of them in particular affected the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

The first was a bill directed against Communist-dominated unions. This legislation proposed to invoke the procedures of the Subversive Activities Control Board to declare certain unions Communist-dominated, following which they would lose certain rights accorded them under national labor relations legislation. This is the bill which subsequently was rewritten on the floor of the Senate to include provisions which in effect outlaw the Communist party of the United States.

As the bill was originally introduced, there was danger that the bill could be readily utilized by an anti-union administration against legitimate labor organizations. The American Federation of Labor was successful in obtaining Congressional approval, by a vote of 87-1, of a provision which improves the legislation by declaring that the American Federation of Labor and other strongly anti-Communist unions are "prima facie" not Communist-dominated.

The second major bill on this subject would have denied access to defense plants to suspected subversive individuals. The A. F. of L. naturally is heartily in accord with the objectives of this measure, but insisted that any legislation fully protect the rights of any individual against unwarranted charges. Such a procedure, for example, is included as part of the administration of a separate statute dealing with the employment of possible subversive individuals in the maritime industry.

The A. F. of L. proposed that this bill be shelved in favor of a substitute bill establishing a joint labor-management commission to investigate this problem and submit a report by January 1955. While the House Committee adopted the A. F. of L. proposal, it was never brought to a vote on the House floor. Since no legislation was adopted, it is likely to arise again in the 1955 session of Congress.

The detailed report of the Executive Council makes it clear that on this difficult issue our representatives have developed a program which does not minimize the threat of Communist subversion, but which at the same time keeps inviolate America's traditional insistence upon individual liberty. This must continue to be the goal of our policies on this issue.

The American Federation of Labor has a responsibility to develop an effective program against Communist subversion. Part of this program must include a careful review of both pending legislation and the administration of laws already on the statute books. We suggest that this issue be given close attention during the coming year.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR UNITY
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 54-61)

In the year that has passed since our 1953 Convention, the two major labor federations have taken great strides forward toward the goal of a united labor movement.

The major achievement has been the ratification and signing by a substantial majority of the affiliates of both federations of a two-year no-raiding agreement. This pact became effective on June 9, 1954.

The detailed provisions of this historic agreement were fully reported at last year's Convention. Basically each A. F. of L. union signing this agreement agrees that neither it nor any of its locals will

"(a) organize or represent or attempt to organize or represent employees as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists with the Congress of Industrial Organizations or with any union which is signatory hereto affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations (including any of the locals of such union);

"(b) seek to represent, or obtain the right to represent, such employees or to disrupt the established bargaining relationship; or

"(c) engage in any cessation of work or refusal to transport, install or otherwise work on or with materials or any other form of concerted activity in support of an attempt to organize or represent such employees by a union other than the union which has the established bargaining relationship."

The agreement provides for the following four-step procedure in the event of any alleged violations: (1) notification of the alleged violation to the other union concerned, as well as to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation with which the first union is affiliated; (2) direct consultation between the unions directly involved; (3) consultation if necessary between the respective Secretary-Treasurers of the two federations; and (4) if necessary, submission of the dispute to an Impartial Umpire whose decision shall be final and binding. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement, Mr. David L. Cole has been selected as Impartial Umpire.

A total of 70 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and 29 unions affiliated with the CIO have already become signatories to this historic pact. Many of the remaining unions are in industries and trades which do not bring them into any direct conflict with unions of the other federation. We have every confidence that as experience demonstrates its value, the remaining unions will affix their signatures to this pact.

This Committee wishes to point out that the signing of the agreement represents only the start of a union's responsibility on this issue. Each union must now make certain that the new agreement is clearly understood by its entire membership. Each union must be willing to utilize and abide by the pact's enforcement machinery.

The test of this agreement will come in the event that alleged violations occur. Up to this moment, our attention has not been called to a single alleged violation of this agreement.

The agreement itself is of tremendous value, even though it is only a first step. Our goal is a united labor movement. This has always been the goal in the hearts and minds of all trade unionists. The cost of division in the ranks of labor is immeasurably high. It is evident every day in the wasted time, efforts, and activities of one union which rival or duplicate those of other unions.

It has long been evident that the present division in labor's ranks serves the interests of only one group, the enemies of labor. A united labor movement would mean more effective action, both at the bargaining table, and in the federal and state legislatures.

Your Committee reaffirms the American Federation of Labor's deep-seated desire to cement a united labor movement. Now, for the first time in many years, the road has been opened toward this goal. The more peaceful atmosphere resulting from the no-raiding agreement should permit negotiations for unity to move forward with dispatch.

The no-raiding agreement was negotiated by the respective unity committees of the A. F. of L. and CIO. These committees remained constituted to work out the necessary steps for organic unity. As an indication of the growing feeling for unity, your Committee heartily welcomes the precedent-making letter of fraternal greetings which President Walter P. Reuther of the Congress of Industrial Organizations has sent to this Convention.

By its terms, the no-raiding agreement is to be in operation for two years. This period expiring June 9, 1956, represents a truce during which negotiations for organic unity will be conducted.

When the new agreement became effective, the joint A. F. of L.-CIO statement included the following statement, "We are confident that this goal, so beneficial to the workers we represent and to the nation as a whole, can be accomplished before the truce expires."

Your Committee expresses the earnest hope that future events will confirm this confidence in labor unity.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN A. J. HAYES: The motion is that the Committee report be adopted. Is there any discussion?

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Convention, President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am not going to take a great deal of time. I just want to point out that this agreement is working, not perfectly—and I do not know anything that we can do that would be perfect—but it is the best we know how to do. I think it has been entered into in good faith. There is one case in the hands of the umpire at the present time, and the question before him is not a question of an outright violation of the pact. It is a question of whether the set of circumstances brings the particular case in under the pact, the technical question that he has had to decide. There have been a number of other cases that have been settled by the secretaries of both organizations without ever getting to the umpire or referee.

The agreement runs—the Committee is in error—the agreement runs to December 31, 1955, although it was signed on June 9, and under its terms, which could not be changed, the terms having been the same terms set forth by the Committee last year and approved by conventions of both organizations, did not allow that date to be changed.

I wish also to point out that not a single word in this agreement can be changed, even if it were obvious that some change is necessary, without circularizing each and every signer to the agreement and getting the consent of that particular organization. I think it is a step forward that we can hope from this agreement an atmosphere that can be developed, and I think that atmosphere is developing where the two organizations, the two trade union centers of this country, can sit down, approach and solve the problem of organic unity in an atmosphere of peace. I think we can very well congratulate the committees of both organizations that worked on this agreement and brought it about.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: Is there any further discussion?

DELEGATE FRANK TURCO, Newsboys Union of Seattle: I am only a small fry and a delegate of a small union, and I have been interested in unity for many years. I have been a member of the union for 45 years. I am very glad that a lot of progress has been made in unity for the CIO and the AFL. But I can't see for the life of me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, how you can have unity in the AFL and the CIO and have a Vice President of the Federation of another union, a member of the CIO organization and also the United Mine Workers of America. With me personally I don't blame Lewis and I don't blame the United Mine Workers because I don't think they were—if I misunderstood I want to be corrected—I don't think they were invited for unity. But I can't see for the life of me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, how you can have unity when you have a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, a man who represents so many million workers, and also a member of the CIO, which is now on the verge of pulling its members out of the CIO, sign that unity agreement. I can't see for the life of me, brothers. You can't have unity. We gave freedom to Ireland earlier in the week. You give unity to the Italian workers. Let us have some unity ourselves. Until our own hands are clean, until we can do something and be honest to ourselves, let us abide by the rules of the Federation.

As I understand the rules of this Federation, when we have voted upon a certain resolution or subject, each member thereof should abide by that. I have. I don't see why, because a man is Vice President of the Federation, representing a million workers, he should not also, for to my estimation, Brother Chairman and delegates here today, no member of the Council, no member of the Federation, can live with one label on one side of the table and on the other side represent labor and capital at the same time. To my estimation, Mr. Chairman—and I hope you will take it in the way I am telling you—I am for unity. United labor means united victory. United labor, the same as I told you in New York, means victory. In St. Louis last year I told you that you should keep the Longshoremen in and you did not. What happened? Turco's word came through. I only hope if you vote upon this question that you will vote unity, not only unity for a few, but unity for the workers of this country.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: Is there any further discussion?

DELEGATE GEORGE LYNCH, Pattern Makers: Mr. Chairman, when this matter was voted upon at the St. Louis Convention I was not present. Shortly after the convention, I attended a hearing before the National Labor Relations Board, and the Counsel for the CIO union raised a question about the sincerity of the President of the Pattern Makers League by reason of the fact that he was seeking to preserve the rights of crafts before the Board and at the same time attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor and voting against carving out such crafts. And because he was technically true on the ground that the Pattern Makers had not raised any objection for the reasons I have mentioned, not being at the convention, it becomes necessary for me now not to enter into a controversy as to the merits or the demerits of the proposal being worked out by the President of the American Federation of Labor, but simply to preserve my right to appear before the Board under Section 7 of the Act to protect the Pattern Makers of this country who desire to belong to the Pattern Makers League. It is for that reason, and the reason that I want to preserve the rights of every worker of this country as they are expressed in Section 7 of Public Law 101. That to me is just as important as unity. After all, we have unity in some places. I have heard here all this week that they have a united labor movement in Russia. Unity itself is not particularly a virtue, but preserving the rights of the individual, preserving the rights of small units of our population is a very, very important thing to do. It is that thing, more than any other, that differentiates America from the other governments of the world.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: For the purpose of correcting the record, the President of the American Federation of Labor did not work out the no-raiding agreement with the CIO. The no-raiding agreement was worked out by a sub-committee of the AFL Executive Council and subsequently adopted by the entire AFL Executive Council and by this convention.

Is there any further discussion?

. . . The motion to adopt the report of the Committee was carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Your Committee felt it was desirable and wise to consider two resolutions together that deal with the subject matter of this section of the Executive Council's report.

ENDORSING NO-RAIDING PACT BETWEEN A. F. OF L. AND C. I. O.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 405.)

In view of the action taken on the Executive Council's report, your Committee recommends that no action is needed on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the Committee was adopted.

A. F. L. - C. I. O. UNITY

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates Alex Rose, Marx Lewis, Samuel Hershkowitz, Abraham Mendelowitz, James V. Novaco, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 404.)

In view of the action taken on this subject by the Executive Council, no action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: This completes the partial report of the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIRMAN HAYES: Delegates to this Convention, at this time I want to introduce to you the Executive Director of the City of Hope, National Medical Center, one who has been associated with the organized labor movement for the past 25 years, for a presentation. Mr. Ben Horowitz, Executive Director, City of Hope Medical Center.

BEN HOROWITZ
Executive Director, City of Hope National Medical Center

Ladies and gentlemen, fellow delegates to this great American Federation of Labor Convention: I come here on behalf of the City of Hope, a national medical center treating patients suffering from catastrophic diseases such as cancer, tuberculosis, leukemia and heart disease, conducting research and medical education in these diseases. If the City of Hope was merely an institution, I would not be appearing here before you today. The City of Hope in a sense is a way of life, intimately associated with the labor movement, serving the labor movement for the past 40 years. What is unique about us is the fact that at all times we have attempted to serve the labor movement, not in a spirit of the cold handout of charity, but in the spirit of fraternity, in the warmth and friendship of the labor movement. The reason for that is that trade unionists founded the City of Hope, built the City of Hope, and expanded it to the gigantic miracle center it is today. We have always believed that if service to the patients is to be given, it is to be given on the basis of human dignity and individual worth. A patient is not a second class citizen just because he is ill. He is entitled to get that care as a matter of social justice. Certainly we have built this medical center as a people's movement. Those who have made it possible control its destinies. That is the reason why the State Department of the United States has sent the story of the City of Hope throughout Europe, to the satellite nations, to those nations subjugated by totalitarian estates and totalitarian governments, because here is an example of democracy in action.

We have had it emphasized that, just as the labor movement takes in all regardless of race, creed or color, the City of Hope does the same thing. No patient has ever paid one cent at the City of Hope. He or she couldn't even if that individual wanted to pay for the care given to him, because it is our conviction that in the case of catastrophic diseases, the average wage earner in America cannot afford to pay for the care involved.

Some of you, as a matter of fact the majority of you, were at the City of Hope this past week. You saw the kind of institution it is, and when I say "institution" it is almost with tongue in cheek, because we pride ourselves on the fact that we don't institutionalize patients; we personalize their care. We see to it that they are made to feel that they are at home. As you look around those 75 acres, with its 40-odd buildings, you realize the tremendous scope of our work. But more important than the thousands of patients who come through our door each year is the research institute which we have built into one of the largest in America, a research institute which only in the past few months has given to the medical professions some of the most startling techniques medically in medical treatment. At the last American Medical Association conference 13 doctors of the City of Hope presented papers giving these latest techniques. You men and women of the labor movement should be proud of the work you have done with the City of Hope, the work you have done with every phase of America.

We of the City of Hope are proud to be associated with you, because it has been your principle that nothing human is alien to you, and the City of Hope is one of the humanitarian movements in America. That is the reason the National Labor Council was organized in order to mobilize the support of unions in America behind this national medical center. We have given millions in care to the international unions of America, but I say to you, frankly, not one international union has given us the kind of support commensurate with the care we have given. But we don't care, because, as far as we are concerned, every trade unionist is entitled to his care, and we stand ready to give it to him.

President George Meany has graciously consented to be the National Chairman of the National Labor Council of the City of Hope. We of the City of Hope feel this is another indication of a real labor statesman, one who feels he can make a contribution to America through his leadership of the labor movement, through his leadership of all worthy causes. Therefore I have been asked by the City of Hope to present this scroll. It reads:

"The City of Hope hereby designates George Meany as National Chairman of its National Labor Council. In doing so we express our conviction that he will give active counsel and assistance in making possible the maintenance and expansion of this national medical center. The City of Hope is continuing an all-out assault on catastrophic diseases through its hospital research and medical training facilities. Communities in every corner of the nation are benefited by this crusade for the health of the American people. The National Labor Council is playing an outstanding role in enlisting the organized and financial resources of international unions on behalf of the City of Hope. Organized labor has a vital stake in the national medical center which makes possible free medical care to an average-income wage earner afflicted with the dread scourges of tuberculosis, cancer, leukemia and heart disease."

Therefore, President Meany, on behalf of the Board of Directors of the City of Hope, it is a privilege for me to give you this scroll and to thank you for the splendid work you have done for us during the years.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We appreciate this scroll given by Mr. Horowitz, and accept it as a token of appreciation for the work done by the various American Federation of Labor unions at the City of Hope.

I have been familiar for many years with the work of this hospital, and also can bear testimony to the fact that it is a personalized institution in the sense that it gives personal and special care to each and every one of the people who are unfortunate enough to have to go to the City of Hope.

A good many years ago I was the chairman of a committee that raised some money in the City of New York, at least 18, 19 years ago, and I am familiar with the work. I didn't have the opportunity to go out there on this trip, but I went out a few years ago and I can say to you that this organization, in my opinion, is worthy of the support that has

been given to it over the years by many unions in the American Federation of Labor.

Thank you, Mr. Horowitz, for this honor, and for your presence here this morning.

PRESENTATION OF MEMENTOS TO FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to perform a pleasant duty which is an obligation placed on the president of the American Federation of Labor each year, and that is to present to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and from Canada a little memento of their visit with us here in Los Angeles, something which they can take with them as a tangible reminder of the time they have spent in attendance at the Convention and in making the acquaintance of the many delegates and friends of our organizations here in the United States.

The relationship between the American Federation of Labor and both the British Trades Union Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has been a very enduring relationship. I think it is of tremendous importance that it continue on into the future.

It is with a great deal of pleasure that I present to these delegats these little mementos of their visit and the time they have spent with us here.

Will Delegate Tiffin come to the rostrum?

I take pleasure in presenting to Delegate Arthur Tiffin, who likes to be called "Jock" this very lovely Hamilton watch, very appropriately inscribed on the back as a memento of his visit with us during this Convention.

DELEGATE TIFFIN: Mr. President Meany, and Delegates: I joined the trade union in 1911, and during the course of my career I have addressed audiences, both in the open air and in halls, varying from two men and a dog to two hundred thousand. But on this occasion I find it indeed difficult to find adequate words to express my appreciation of this very generous gesture from the American Federation of Labor.

President Meany, I can assure you that when we return to our own misty island across the waste of seas this watch will be treasured by me, treasured very carefully, and when I look at it, it will remind me of the brotherhood that is here in the United States, that you are friendly—that I have had ample proof of during this visit.

Now, if you will excuse me by just saying thank you indeed, very, very much.

PRESIDENT MEANY: And to Jock's good wife, very lovely Mrs. Tiffin, I wish to present also a beautiful little watch as a memento of her visit with us. Mrs. Tiffin.

MRS. TIFFIN: Mr. President and all, thank you very, very much indeed. It is a lovely gift and I am very, very grateful to you for making me welcome in this lovely country of yours. I am grateful to have the opportunity to see you all and I shall take home very many happy memories. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, Mrs. Tiffin. I can see Jock doesn't do all the talking at his house.

Now, at this time I want to call on Brother Jim Baty, and present him with a similar gift on behalf of the delegation in attendance at this Convention. Because his good wife could not come here with him, we are going to entrust him with a little memento to take back to her when he gets home. Brother Jim Baty.

DELEGATE BATY: President Meany, and friends: I want to say how deeply I appreciate this very brotherly, fraternal and kindly gesture. I regret very much that my little partner was not able to come with me. I did refer to an incident that occurred ten years ago. Since then she has not enjoyed the best of health, and if I might say so, I value the present to her more than words can convey, because in my judgment there is nobody who can solve our movement without the active support, cooperation and collaboration of his good wife. In our movement, unfortunately, the man gets the limelight and the lass at home is always giving the inspiration. So thanks, George, and thanks to the Convention for the kindly gesture so far as my dear wife is concerned.

Might I let you in on a secret? You almost lost your President during the week. There have been one or two celebrations and when we went over to Hollywood he and another beautiful singer were offered a contract. It was going to be a big success. The headlines were going to be "The Boys with the Golden Voices."

My modesty prevents me from saying who the other person was in addition to George. The only salvation, however, was from the standpoint of the A. F. of L. The contract that George and the other modest person was to have—it was a wonderful contract—but the union objected, because neither George nor I had trade union cards, so that George is still with you.

Well, President Meany, and friends, as a locomotive man I want to say to you that a watch is always a valuable asset. This watch I will treasure for the rest of my days. Please accept from me that every time I look at it I will think of the very good time I had in Los Angeles amongst you.

With that, George, I will say finally, we have enjoyed every minute of our stay with you, and I will leave Los Angeles confident in the knowledge that the friendships made now have become so cemented that it will be everlasting. Good luck to you, and thanks most sincerely.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Likewise I want to present to our good friend, Brother Vern Metheral, representing the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, a similar memento of his visit with us here in Los Angeles. Brother Metheral.

DELEGATE METHERAL: Brother George Meany, Delegates and Friends: Today was a tremendous day for me, as was Tuesday, August 24. One month ago today the 692 delegates gathered in the City of Regina saw fit to elect me by ballot as the fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to attend your Convention. I might say that I was positively overwhelmed. I believed some man should go from Canada who had 25 or 30 or 40 years' trade union experience. I told the people who approached me that I had been a trade unionist for only ten years. Unfortunately for 13 years before then I was a federal employee where we had no bargaining powers, and we had nothing but a glorified athletic and social club, and I think we were possibly among the most exploited workers in Canada.

I said at that time, if I recall my words correctly, I am looking forward with great anticipation to my visit to the American Federation of Labor Convention. I have always admired the leadership, the strength, the men of courage who lead the American Federation of Labor. I have appreciated in the past what you people have done in electing men to Congress and the Senate and your various state

houses, both the Republicans and Democrats, who espouse the cause of American labor. I said I hope that as a young man I will be in somewhat different position than some of your previous delegates in that I shall go there intensely interested to learn about your great movement that I may bring back to Canada valuable information which I may use during the next 25 years during which I still hope to be a dues-paying union member and I still hope to be serving in my own union as a member of that Negotiating Committee.

The final thing I did say was I intend to take my wife.

Now, that, I think, is my quotation as near as I recall.

After spending this time with you I think I am safe in re-echoing everything I said one month ago in the City of Regina at that time. It has been a tremendous pleasure for me to be here to meet my fellow citizens of the North American continent, fellow world citizens, because today we are all citizens of this world. It might have been a few years ago that you were Americans and we were Canadians and somebody else were Britishers, but today we are all world citizens.

It also gave me a tremendous pride to meet possibly your largest union and the men who were in my fair city three days prior to the opening of the 69th Congress. I have had an opportunity here of renewing acquaintances with some eight or ten members of the International Teamsters, and I did have the great pleasure of listening to their President, Mr. Dave Beck, last night.

In conclusion I do want to say that I enjoyed my visit tremendously. You have been most hospitable to me and my wife. I want to say that I certainly look forward if ever given the opportunity of again returning to your nation as a fraternal delegate from Canada.

Thank you very, very kindly indeed.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now I want to present the very lovely lady at the end of the table here, the wife of the fraternal delegate from Canada, Mrs. Vern Metheral, and present her with a memento.

MRS. VERN METHERAL: President Meany, brothers and sisters: I want to say very briefly that mine will be the shortest speech. My visit here has been both educational and enjoyable. I shall always treasure it and the very fine people I have met.

Thank you again from the bottom of my heart.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair now recognizes Chairman MacGowan of the Committee on Legislation.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: The Committee on Legislation has had referred to it a total of 96 subjects, matters of the Executive Council report and many resolutions. I was rather interested in hearing President Meany say the other day that some of our people say we shouldn't get into politics. When you see the mass of stuff involving national legislation alone you wonder how anybody can entertain the idea of staying out of politics.

The report of the Committee will be submitted by its very capable Secretary, Brother Joe Keenan.

. . . Committee Secretary Keenan submitted the following report:

NATIONAL LEGISLATION
(Executive Council Report, pp. 88-89)

This section of the Executive Council's report points out the fact that there was great delay during the session due to the McCarthy investigations, the filibuster on Atomic Energy Bill as well as the filibuster of several days on the Flanders Resolution to censure McCarthy. This constituted a log jam and all the legislation was passed in the last few weeks of the session with very few hearings and very little consideration being given to the legislation by the committee. Also, there were a large number of bills passed, many of which were little good to the farmer, the tax payer in the lower bracket and the consumer. The Taft-Hartley Act received no favorable action.

Your committee concurs.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

THE GROUND RULES FOR LEGISLATION
(Executive Council Report, p. 89)

We note that when Congress adjourned, legislation was pending to strengthen the statutes governing lobbying. The American Federation of Labor has always supported legislation requiring full and complete disclosure of income and expenditures to cover legislation. We believe it is desirable that not only should lobbyists representing private organizations be compelled to register and disclose income and sources of income and expenditures, but the same law should be applied to all governmental bodies engaged in lobbying.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY
(Executive Council Report, p. 97)

Detailed report has been made on the Social Security amendments passed during this Congress in another section of the report.

We note with pleasure that the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the National Legislative Committee played an instrumental role in making important improvements in the Social Security Law.

We urge that these efforts be continued and that the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor for disability insurance and improved benefits be presented forcibly to the next session of Congress.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

MARITIME
(Executive Council Report, pp. 98-100)

The report of the Executive Council on pages 98 to 100, and the several Resolutions which have been introduced on the general subject of our maritime policy as a free Nation, presents the highlights of the deplorable destruction of

(1) Our Merchant Marine
(2) Our shipyards
(3) The dissipation of a substantial army of skilled and competent workers.

It is inconceivable that our Nation has permitted these vast resources to disintegrate to the degree that they have.

For centuries the rallying cry of the British Empire was "Britannia Rules the Waves."

She not only ruled the waves with combat vessels, but with a far flung array of merchant ships.

The above slogan was an inspiration to every citizen of Great Britain.

In the light of these facts and supporting history of other maritime nations, how can we expect to continue to command the respect of the free world when the Stars and Stripes are so infrequently seen in foreign ports?

Moreover, a capable merchant marine is the second arm of our military strength in the event of any emergency.

Furthermore, we have had two costly experiences in both World Wars, when hundreds of thousands of people were called into shipbuilding without any previous knowledge, and in many cases, without any mechanical skills of any kind, which resulted in the expenditure of billions of dollars which was virtually wasted, and could have been avoided if a far sighted and long range program had been in effect.

This vast sum of money is now being dissipated because of the virtual abandonment of ship construction and the forces of management and the skills of experienced labor are being diverted into other channels, with the result that if an emergency should again occur, we would have to go through the delaying and expensive period of recruiting and training personnel to construct, maintain and repair ships.

No other subject is of greater concern to our Nation than the maintenance of facilities and skilled workmen in sufficient numbers to fill key positions in the event of a national emergency and also to keep our Flag flying in every maritime port of the world.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION
(Executive Council Report, pp. 102-103)

Resolution No. 115—Submitted by Delegate Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 414.)

We regret that the Eighty-Third Congress did not take steps necessary to strengthen our unemployment compensation laws. While progress was made by extending coverage to employers of four or more and federal employees, no positive action was taken to increase benefits or extend duration of payments.

We recommend that every effort be made by the officers and legislative committee to enact legislation similar to HR9340 and S3553.

The enactment of the Reed bill (HR 5173) is a serious weakening of existing unemployment compensation legislation.

We recommend that every effort be made to substitute a genuine reinsurance bill for the weak loan provisions of this law.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION
(Executive Council Report, p. 106)

The Executive Council reports considerable progress in appropriations for the construction of new highways during the last session. The Administration has announced its intention to push an even greater program during the next session of Congress.

We urge the officers of the Federation to take all possible steps to procure increased appropriations for this purpose. There is an obvious need for building many new highways and improving existing ones.

We note that the current law does not carry a Davis-Bacon provision on grants to the several States for highway construction. We recommend that steps be taken to add Davis-Bacon provisions to the legislation governing highway grants.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

POSTAL SAVINGS AND IMPROVEMENTS
(Executive Council Report, p. 110)

We commend the officers of the Federation of Labor for taking the lead in killing legislation designed to abolish the postal savings system. We are convinced that the postal savings system plays an important role in providing a depository for tens of thousands of our citizens who prefer to have their money held by the Government. The system also provides banking facilities in some areas where no other bank is available. We regret that the Administration has seen fit to curtail the number of depository facilities and recommend that proper presentation be made to the Post Office Department to restore facilities which have been closed.

We want also to point out that the amount of savings in the banks has been reduced by well over $1 billion and to correct this reduction, it is suggested that the limitation of individual deposit of $2,500.00 be increased.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

PUBLIC DOMAIN AND NATURAL RESOURCES
(Executive Council Report, p. 119)

Your committee commends the officers of the Federation for their unceasing efforts to protect our natural resources and the public domain. We urge they continue to protect the natural forests and the public grazing lands. We further urge that the officers and the National Legislative Committee maintain a close watch on all legislation affecting the development of our water resources.

We note that the fight to erect a multiple purpose dam at Hell's Canyon is still continuing and urge continued support by the Federation for this project.

Your committee believes there is nothing more serious confronting this Republic than the conservation of natural resources. With the tremendous expansion of the population a great deal of thought should be given to this problem so that we will not become another China with many starving when we have so many natural resources that can be developed to take care of the increasing population.

There are many square miles of land between the Mississippi and the Pacific wholly unproductive now and we are going to have to put that land in production to take care of future generations. In some parts of the country where the water supply is diminishing, citizens are fighting the establishment of new industry due to this shortage, while in those areas many rivers and their tributaries are dumping billions of gallons of water into the ocean.

We believe in private enterprise but there are some things which private enterprise cannot do.

The altruistic program of the AFL on conservation is thoroughly approved and steps should be taken to guard against any give-away program on this very vital issue of conservation of the public domain and natural resources.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan this section of the report was adopted.

NATURAL GAS ACT
(Report of Executive Council, p. 110)

The Henshaw Bill (H. R. 5976) which will raise the gas rates for consumers was rushed through the Senate this year without a hearing and is now Public Law 323. An effort to recommit this bill for a hearing was defeated by a vote of 25 to 52.

Your Committee recommends that steps be taken to have H. R. 5976 repealed. This legislation is now Public Law 323, which raises gas rates for consumers in exorbitant amounts, and places an unfair burden on consumers.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

"PIRATING" OF INDUSTRIAL PLANTS
(Executive Council Report, pp. 111-112)

(Resolution No. 46—Submitted by Delegate Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 387.)

This part of the Executive Council's report deals with one of the most serious problems facing the industrial workers of this country. There are numerous States which have set up organizations for the "pirating" of industry into low-wage areas with concessions of every kind being used as an inducement. This leads to unfair competition, a dislocation of people and a very serious consequence to the whole economy.

We recommend that every effort be made for laws to close loopholes which allow tax concessions and other means which in the end set up unfair competitive conditions.

The Committee agrees with the purport of the resolution of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor but wishes to make clear that the only bonds which should lose tax exemption are those issued for the specific purpose of building industrial establishments. We do not desire to take away tax exemption from legitimate municipal bonds.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

WIRETAPPING LEGISLATION
(Executive Council Report, p. 125)

Your committee notes that a strenuous effort on the part of the Administration to enact legislation to legalize wiretapping was defeated. The Federation took a position in support of a bill to legalize wiretapping in cases involving the national security but insisted on stringent safeguards. The Federation further insisted that all other wiretapping should be outlawed and made a criminal offense.

We recommend that this policy be pursued in the future.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

(President Meany in the Chair.)

PRESIDENT MEANY: I will interrupt this Committee, since it is getting near the adjournment hour and we want to have a few announcements before we adjourn.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Stephens of the Credentials Committee.

SAFETY

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 413.)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN STEPHENS: President Meany and Delegates: The Credentials Committee has completed its work. The final report of the Committee will be rendered by our very able Secretary, Delegate Elmer P. Meinz.

. . . Committee Secretary Meinz submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials wishes to report that we have examined the credential of Edwin M. Greenwald, representing the Pomona, Calif., Central Labor Council, and recommend that the delegate be seated with one vote.

In accordance with the request of President Paul Dullzell of the Associated Actors and Artistes of America, we recommend the seating of Richard H. Gordon in his place, on the delegation representing that organization, with 65 votes.

Your Committee on Credentials wishes to report that this is the final report of the Committee. We received and examined the credentials of 660 delegates, representing 100 National and International Unions, 4 Departments, 42 State Branches, 154 Central Bodies, and 45 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 3 Fraternal Delegates.

Respectfully submitted,
RUSSELL M. STEPHENS, Chairman
MILTON P. WEBSTER
ELMER P. MEINZ, Secretary
Committee on Credentials.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Meinz, the supplemental report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We will adjourn now until 2:00 o'clock this afternoon.

. . . At 12:00 o'clock noon the Convention recessed until 2:00 o'clock p. m., Friday, September 24, 1954.

FIFTH DAY—FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 2:20 o'clock p. m. by President Meany.

RADIO FREE EUROPE

PRESIDENT MEANY: Before continuing the work of the Convention this afternoon I would like to make a special announcement at this time.

Radio Free Europe, which is a division of the Free Europe Committee, has set up their recording machines in this hotel and they are looking for delegates to this Convention who can speak the languages of the satellite countries. They would like to record on tape a greeting from any of these delegates who can speak these languages to be broadcast over the facilities of Radio Free Europe to the workers and people behind the Iron Curtain. They have set their recording machines up in Room 241 of this hotel and are ready to take any of these readings at any time this afternoon. The languages they can use are Polish, Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, Rumanian and Bulgarian. If there are any delegates here who can speak any of these five languages they would like them to come to their room so that they can broadcast a message of greeting. I therefore request any of our delegates who can speak these languages to try and cooperate so that these messages can be sent across to the workers behind the Iron Curtain.

PRESENTATION OF GAVEL TO PRESIDENT MEANY

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to introduce one of our regional directors, Brother John Schreier, located in Detroit, who has a presentation to make, on behalf of one of our Federal local unions.

REGIONAL DIRECTOR SCHREIER: Officers,, Delegates and President Meany: On behalf of the members and officers of Federal Labor Union 19635 whose members are employed by the Brunswick-Balke-Collander Company in Muskegon, Michigan, I have the honor of presenting to you this solid ivory gavel which was hand-crafted by the members of our Federal Labor Union and appropriately engraved with a sterling silver band. This gavel is being presented to you as a memento of the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor now being held in this hospitable city of Los Angeles. There is only one other similar gavel in existence and that is the one that was presented to Mr. Harry S. Truman when he became President of the United States.

On behalf of the officers, I extend to you their best wishes for a successful Convention.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you. I ask Brother Schreier to convey to the members of our Federal Local Union in Muskegon my personal appreciation and also the thanks of the Convention for this very lovely gavel presented to us here today.

At this time I recognize Secretary Schnitzler for announcements.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

George Meany, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Best wishes for success to the Convention of the hard fighting American Federation of Labor. Though in exile I keep the same interest I had when being President of Venezuela for the activities of organized workers thinking that the best guarantee of democracy and human freedom rests on the shoulders of the free workers' union. Latin America hopes that the American Federation of Labor would confirm in Los Angeles Convention the protest against violation of human rights and union freedom by military dictators in the Western Hemisphere. The Soviet challenge will never be stopped by a continent where the majority of governments are as totalitarian and hostile to man's freedom as those organized under the Russian hegemony beyond the iron curtain. The organized union workers of the United States must always show its militant solidarity to the oppressed people of Latin America, thus helping our continent to be a place of liberty and hope for humanity.

Cordially,
ROMULO BETANCOURT.
PARIS, FRANCE

George Meany
AFL
Washington, D. C.

In the name of French workers affiliated to Force Ouvriere we send fraternal greetings to you and AFL convention and wish you great success in your work in defense of the interests of American workers and the progress of free and democratic unions throughout the world.

ROBERT BOTHEREAU

ANNUAL LABOR MASS

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: I have an announcement to make. There will be a special Labor Mass this Sunday, September 26th, at St. Basil's on the corner of Wilshire Boulevard and Harvard Street at 10:00 a. m. I understand that Harvard Street is just six blocks up Wilshire Boulevard.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present to the delegates the Director of Labor's League for Political Education, who is busily engaged, as you know, working with the State Leagues, various National and International Unions, carrying on a campaign for the election of the proven friends of labor who are aspiring to seats in the coming Congress. I do not have to tell you that is the only basis upon which our support is given. The League is dedicated to the idea of supporting labor's friends, defeating labor's enemies without regard to political label. The League is carrying on its work in strict conformity to that policy and that tradition of the American Federation of Labor.

I would like to present to you for a short address in regard to the work the Executive Director of Labor's League for Political Education, Brother James L. McDevitt.

JAMES L. McDEVITT
Executive Director, Labor's League for Political Education

President Meany, distinguished guests, Officers, Members, and friends of the American Federation of Labor: I am once again report-

ing to you very briefly on the activities of your League and what we hope to accomplish in this year of 1954.

In looking over the campaigns that we have engaged in, including the early summer primaries, we are rather encouraged with the developments up to this hour and entertain the feeling that with the united cooperation of all of our organizations we can be successful in returning to the Congress and the United States Senate those men who have championed our cause over the years in those legislative bodies. I believe we have a possibility of increasing the number of liberal representatives there, all of which will be gauged more or less on our ability to secure sufficient dollars to help these representatives wage a successful campaign.

We are not trying to match the dollars of big industry on behalf of the reactionary candidates. We are merely attempting to secure sufficient money to enable them to purchase their literature, secure radio and television time, if necessary, and the other little details necessary to a successful campaign.

We have had tremendous response from most of our national unions and their employees. I am hoping that we will be able to enlist the aid of all of our organizations, because these are the hours that are going to determine the extent of our success.

If we secure enough help financially, you may rest assured that we will have a majority of friends in the House and in the Senate as well. There is a great deal of talk now on the part of our friends, the analysts and others, as to what might develop in this campaign; but irrespective of whether we agree or disagree with their analysis, the cold, hard facts remain that up to this hour there seems to be a tendency on the part of the people to make some changes here and there. That is certainly indicated in the contests that have been waged so far.

So with that we are somewhat encouraged and want to once again make an urgent appeal to you to check to see whether or not your local unions have made returns, and if not, to see if you cannot stimulate them to do so. If we are to talk in terms of those little dollars, they must be in the hands of those who want help prior to the close of the campaign. In order to secure these facilities necessary for their scraps, as it were, they have to have their money in advance in order to get time committed for radio and television and even newspaper advertising. That is what is required for all political advertisements. So once again see what you can do, please, to help us get in those much-needed little single dollar bills.

May I in conclusion express to all of you that you have given us so much encouragement our sincere appreciation. Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, Labor's League for Political Education has been organized on what I think is a more efficient basis than the previous years. We have divided it up into regions. We have regional directors, and we are getting a great deal more local cooperation. In addition, at the recommendation of the Administrative Committee of the League a year ago we set up a Women's Division of the League. It became quite clear two years ago in the election of 1950 that a certain proportion of the trade union vote was canceled by the vote of the trade unionists' wives, who felt that they could vote on something other than the bread-and-butter issues in which we are interested, and we felt something should be done in regard to that. We have set up a Women's Division in the League. We have a very, very capable director of that Division who is doing a splendid job and whom I would like to present just to say a few words to you this afternoon. I want to present Mrs. Margaret Thornburgh, the Director of the Women's Division of Labor's League for Political Education.

MRS. MARGARET THORNBURGH
Director, Women's Division, Labor's League for Political Education

President Meany, Officers and Delegates: First I want to take this opportunity to thank President Meany, Mr. James McDevitt and the Executive Committee for placing so much confidence and trust in me as to appoint me Director of the Women's Division. I realize that there is a great need for women to become educated as to the problems confronting organized labor today. I was amazed after the election in 1952, when I realized that women had been falsely informed. So I was sincerely thankful when President Meany and Mr. McDevitt called me in and gave me the opportunity to work with women.

I have been interested in politics for a great number of years and I have realized how necessary it is to have good representatives in the Congress of the United States. I am going to work faithfully in the Women's Division and I am going to give an all-out effort to make it successful. But I say to you, the Delegates seated here today, the success or failure of my Division rests heavily in your hands. If I can get your all-out support and help and cooperation, it will be a success. If not, we will go down to defeat. So today I make a plea to you to give me an opportunity to do something for organized labor in some small way so that I can carry the banner that will enable our families to have a more secure future.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions.

(Vice President Hutcheson in the Chair.)

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE
(Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom submitted the following report on behalf of the Committee:

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF LONGSHOREMEN—A. F. OF L.
(Executive Council's Report—pp. 50-54)

After carefully reviewing the important events recorded in this section of the Executive Council's Report, your Committee submits the following report.

At this convention, the American Federation of Labor welcomes for the first time its newest international affiliate, the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—A. F. of L.

The International Brotherhood of Longshoremen—A. F. of L. was chartered by the 72nd Convention one year ago in St. Louis. That charter was issued after the racket-ridden International Longshoremen's Association was ousted for its failure to comply with AFL Executive Council directives to rid itself of

underworld elements which had destroyed the ILA's effectiveness as a trade union.

This new union experienced a stormy first year in a hard fight in behalf of the highest principles of the American Federation of Labor against underworld racketeers, entrenched employer interests, Communists and public apathy.

At the time of its first constitutional convention held last July in Chicago, the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L. had won approximately 10,000 per capita members.

The Executive Council notes that it is growing steadily in strength, and that its influence and prestige will expand as its membership increases. The American Federation of Labor has contributed generously of manpower and finances to help the new union establish a strong foundation.

We urge that the International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L. now press forward with all its new vigor to the end that every longshoreman within its jurisdiction, on all coasts, will soon again be represented by the American Federation of Labor in this union dedicated exclusively to the improvement of longshoremen's working conditions and the standard of living completely free of those unsavory elements which attached themselves to the old ILA—and which are still calling the tune in that organization. We call upon all our affiliated international unions, state federations and city centrals to help wherever possible in building the IBL-AFL.

Our greatest disappointment this first year was the slight margin of 263 votes by which longshoremen in the Port of New York rejected AFL affiliation. The International Brotherhood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L. under the leadership of President Meany and his four AFL co-trustees waged its most intensive organizing campaign in the Port of New York extending over eight months. Our efforts have changed many things there for the better, and today offer the forces of clean and honest trade unionism and good government their greatest opportunity for a final victory in the campaign to clean up the New York waterfront.

The new union tried hard to win the election but the combined opposition of underworld forces, their threats and money actively assisted by the New York Shipping Association and the Communists proved just strong enough to give the old ILA a government certification as bargaining agent for the next two years. That means the old ILA will be in control for the next two years. There is no doubt that their friends, the employers, will give them the union shop. This means that AFL members and supporters in the Port of New York will find it necessary to pay dues to the old ILA in order to get work and hold jobs.

The A. F. of L. must count on its loyal supporters to exercise an effective reform role to help make New York a cleaner port. The New York Times of September 6, 1954, in a page one article, points up the importance of the AFL contribution to a waterfront clean-up in the past years in these words:

"The real progress toward reform has been less in the enforcement of the new pier laws than in the display by the longshoremen themselves of their resentment against the corruption that turned their union into an instrument of exploitation."

Except for the AFL campaign the longshoremen's resentment never would have been revealed.

New York has seen only the first round of this fight.

The American Federation of Labor will continue to render full assistance to this new international union until it succeeds in its objective of organizing the working longshoremen of the nation. That includes without reservation the longshoremen employed in the Port of New York.

We warn, however, that state and local officials of New York and New Jersey must do their part in the administration of the public laws to prevent racketeers, bribers and thieves from again threatening, intimidating, beating and killing longshoremen in order to subvert the longshoremen's union for selfish and corrupt power.

We commend President Meany, his co-trustees and the members of the Executive Council for their leadership and efforts in this fight for clean and decent trade unionism. The record has been written for all to see, and was reported by press and radio for all America to read and hear. That record reaffirms the stand of the American Federation of Labor that it must not and will not lend the cloak of trade-unionism to organized lawlessness or dignify with its affiliation persons and practices alien to our movement.

With these comments, your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Delegate Walinsky.

DELEGATE WALINSKY, Handbag and Luggage Workers: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, I want to make but one observation in connection with the report. The Prime Minister of England, Mr. Churchill, says that the biggest word at the present time and the biggest problem is co-existence. I want to state that it is now our shame and sorrow to see the large corporations of America ready to co-exist with gangsterism, hoodlumism and Communism, but they do not want to exist with clean, legitimate unions like those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

At a recent conference in Washington before a committee dealing with the subject matter of minimum rates under the Walsh-Healey Act the attorney for the luggage manufacturers in the City of Chicago stated: "We are dealing in business with the Fur and Leather Workers Communist Union. It is a fine union. We have no quarrel with that Union. All they want is union dues deductions."

The General Electric Company and the Westinghouse Company have concluded agreements with Communist-dominated unions for years and their dues for the Port of New York and the Longshoremen. It has been established during the investigations that the gentlemen running our shipping in our ports want to live with gangsterism and hoodlumism and not with the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore I say that the time has come that we should not only hail the leadership of the American Federation of Labor for what they have done last year, but we must proclaim in no uncertain manner that while the great industrial combines have made peace with Communism and gangsterism and preached co-existence, the American Federation of Labor will never, never co-exist with Communism, gangsterism and hoodlumism.

DELEGATE TURCO: Newsboys, Seattle: You probably recall I got up in defense of the Longshoremen at the St. Louis Convention. I was not defending Communism: I was not defending Ryan. I realized that Ryan was no good, and also if you read the proceedings of the St. Louis Convention, they have members of the Executive Council on that committee whose hands were not clean. I want to call to your attention that you should not call everyone Communist just because he disagrees with you. We have a lot of good Americans with the Longshoremen and over the United States of America. Anybody that disagrees with you is not a Communist, and I am not a Communist. But I will tell you delegates here, men and women, the Longshoremen of New York and the Longshoremen of the West Coast will never jump from the frying pan into the fire. With all the respect in the world that I have for Brother Meany, if he had left off of the committee one who has no respect for the Longshoremen, or the Longshoremen for him—Brother Beck—he should have resigned from that Committee. If he did you would have the Longshoremen of New York and you might have had the Longshoremen of the Coast.

Our hands are not clean and their hands are not clean, and anybody that disagrees with you, please don't call him a Communist. My friends, you are the Communists of tomorrow, just as soon as they get rid of those elements which they call Communists, like they did with the "Wobblies" and did with the rest of them in World Wars I and II. My friends, you will be called the same thing.

I recall when the four L's was organized on the West Coast after they destroyed the "Wobblies." Believe me, you are the next one they are going to pick on. You are going to be called the same dang thing they called them. So don't call everybody Communists; don't be a fool.

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee carried.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT
(Taft-Hartley Amendments, pp. 89-91)

In reviewing the report of the Executive Council on the Taft-Hartley Act, your Committee believes that it would be desirable to consider briefly the history of legislative efforts to give once more to the public and to wage earners and employers a fair labor law.

For seven years the Taft-Hartley Act has been the law of the land. Despite the repeated and excellent presentations made by the American Federation of Labor to the Congress showing the basic unfairnesses of the statute, only one minor amendment has been enacted into law. This amendment repealed an unnecessary and costly requirement for union shop authorization elections but left untouched the areas of deepest controversy under the Act.

In 1949, when an effort to correct these areas ended in failure, even the late Senator Taft recognized a great many shortcomings in the statute and proposed to change at least some of them. In 1954, the Smith Bill (S. 2650), referred to by the Report of the Executive Council as "so objectionable that it was necessary for us to oppose it in its entirety," contained few of the 1949 proposals of Senator Taft and would have added to the Act other features conferring upon each State new authority to meddle in its own way with union activities in industries covered uniformly by the Federal law.

The Smith Bill (S. 2650) came as a great disappointment, not only because it fell so far short of other prior Republican proposals, but also because it ran directly contrary to the solemn campaign commitments of President Eisenhower to this convention in 1952 when the President was appealing to the American people for their support in the election. It is fitting to quote here the words of President Eisenhower:

"I believe your own Executive Council has stated that it was prepared to take what it called a 'realistic' view of amendments to the law. And that is my position too. I give it to you simply and clearly. I am not in favor of repealing but amending the law.

"I will not support any amendments which weaken the rights of working men and women. In seeking desirable amendments I will ask the advice and suggestions of all groups—public, management and labor. * * * In my own mind, I have complete confidence that this job of amending the law can be worked out so that no fair minded member of your group will consider the results unreasonable. * * *

"I have talked about the Taft-Hartley Act with both labor and industry people. I know the law might be used to break unions. That must be changed. America wants no law licensing union busting."

Encouraged by the stand taken by President Eisenhower, the American Federation of Labor presented to Congressional Committees in 1953 its views on revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. President George Meany then declared:

"The present Congress of the United States has embarked upon an extensive review of the Labor-Management Relations Law on the statute books. It is reasonable to expect that the study given to the operation of the existing national labor law by this committee and by its sister-committee on the House side, will result in recommendations for a substantial revision of the Taft-Hartley law.

"I appear before this committee on behalf of the American Federation of Labor to urge the enactment of substantial changes in the present statute. I believe I can demonstrate to the committee, or to any group of reasonable and judicious men, that in many respects the present law is not a good law. Evidence is plentiful that, in many of its provisions, the present law is unjust and wrong headed, in addition to bring tremendously cumbersome, not conducive to good and peaceful industrial relations and just plain ineffective."

President Meany then analyzed the five titles, 46 major provisions, 102 basic subsections and numerous additional specific provisions of the law. He presented 40 specific proposals for revision. This analysis and these proposals are presented in detail in the 1953 Executive Council Report and the proceedings of the 1953 Convention. They are as valid today as they were then.

The course of events following these Congressional hearings is now a familiar story to the delegates to this Convention. In the late summer of 1953, after months of extensive review and detailed negotiations between the White House and the Congressional leaders, President Eisenhower repudiated even the modest 19 points for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to which administration officials had obtained the consent of former Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin and which the President promised Mr. Durkin to support.

This event and the inevitable resignation of Mr. Durkin produced the Smith Bill as a logical course of legislative action consistent with a policy of appeasing and pleasing the right wing of the Republican Party and of ignoring the welfare of American working men and women.

The Smith Bill, which fortunately failed of passage, has not, however, been the final example of the radical disparity between campaign promises and Administration policy hostile to workers' rights. Two other trends must be clearly presented to the delegates to this Convention and to the public.

Not content merely with retaining the Taft-Hartley Act and strengthening by legislation its restrictive effect upon workers, the Administration has embarked upon a further policy of carrying out this very objective by changing the law without going to Congress. This is being done through the decisions of the newly appointed Republican majority on the National Labor Relations Board.

Since the newly reconstituted Board began operating effectively in December of 1953, it has been deliberately reexamining, case by case, the entire structure of Board interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act and of its predecessor, the Wagner Act, of which the Taft-Hartley Act is, for the most part, an extension and amendment. Even in the short period that this process has been in operation, the results have been alarming. Time-tested applications of the law developed during 15 years of experience in safeguarding the rights of workers to choose their own unions and act for their mutual protection have been abandoned. Instead, the Board has devised new policies which can only give further aid and assistance to management in resisting the organizing efforts of workers, in frustrating their effectiveness at the bargaining table and in impairing their ability to act in concert for protection or attainment of their legitimate rights and objectives.

This process is still going on. Daily it is producing new decisions and new law, apparently with the acquiescence and approval of the Administration and certainly with the blessing and gratitude of politically effective segments of our national business community, marshaled by the National Association of Manufacturers and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce.

Here are some of the major changes during the past year:

1. **"Free Speech" in Elections.**

The Board has changed its rule so as to permit veiled threats by employers in representation elections such as "If the union wins the election, we will be forced to move the plant." This type of statement is now held to be protected by the Taft-Hartley Act even though the provisions of the law do not say so. In ruling this way the Board has carried out an amendment contained in the Smith Bill (S. 2650) even though Congress failed to pass the amendment.

2. **The Captive Audience.**

The Board has now ruled that generally employers are free to force workers to listen to anti-union tirades on company time and property without giving the union an equal chance to reply.

3. **Lockouts.**

The Board has now ruled for the first time in history that a mere strike threat can justify a lockout shutting down the job and depriving union members of employment.

4. **Strikes During the Contract.**

The Board has now indicated that a strike during the contract term, to enforce wage demands under a wage reopening clause, is outlawed by the Taft-Hartley Act. This ruling automatically writes a "no strike clause" into the contract even where the parties reserve the right to strike.

5. **Narrowing Board Jurisdiction.**

During the past year the Board has drastically limited the types of cases it will consider. The result is to deprive millions of workers of any protection of their rights to organize and bargain collectively, even though these workers are entitled to protection under the Federal law. These are the rights guaranteed by the original Wagner Act.

Now losing their protection are workers in retail stores, power stations, TV and radio stations, daily and weekly newspapers, utilities, defense plants, service companies, and in every type of small business covered by the Federal law.

6. **No Relief for the Construction Industry.**

Even though the Board has deprived millions of workers of their "Wagner Act" rights, it refuses to use the same authority to grant relief to the construction industry. This authority was used in effect to exempt the construction industry from the Wagner Act before the Taft-Hartley Act was enacted and could still be used for this purpose today.

Furthermore, the declared policy of the Eisennower administration has been to favor and foster the rights of the states to the detriment of recognized Federal power and authority. There is nothing new in this idea. It has been given new emphasis, however, as a guiding rule of government in broad fields, with resulting detriment to the welfare of wage earners and to the public interest. Of immediate concern is the use of this policy to encourage states to regulate legitimate union action on a more severe basis than that provided for interstate industries under Federal law. This is especially true respecting state "Right to Work Laws."

The Taft-Hartley Act established a uniform Federal rule permitting the "30-day union shop" in industries affecting interstate commerce. It then gave permission to the States, under Section 14(b) of the Act, to apply any more restrictive state legislation prohibiting insistence upon membership or non-membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment. President Meany, in his testimony before Congressional Committees, referred to above, pointed out the inconsistency, hypocrisy, and the disrupting effects of this provision. He asked for its repeal.

Section 14(b) has not been repealed. It has been perpetuated. The key provision of the original Eisenhower legislative program for amending the Taft-Hartley Act contained in the "19 points" was the repeal of Section 14(b). After this program was repudiated, the Smith Bill (S. 2650) carefully left the section untouched. Since this bill was the Administration's most recent program for revision of the Act, it is reasonable to assume that the conscious policy of the Administration is to preserve Section 14(b).

This trend has not been limited to Section 14(b) and State "right to work" laws. It has covered the entire area of Federal-State action in the field of labor relations.

The trend has not stopped with the Smith Bill. It has found even more extreme expression in the NAM-sponsored Goldwater amendment to the Smith Bill which would have given

to the States blanket authority over all areas of labor relations covered by the Federal law. As examples of the lengths to which this proposal would have gone, Senator Goldwater admitted, in questioning on the floor of the Senate, that his amendment would permit the states (1) to "pass a law forbidding collective bargaining in manufacturing" (2) to require "compulsory arbitration in all disputes as a substitute for collective bargaining" and (3) to require "union membership by 95 per cent of the employees eligible for membership in the union, before it would be recognized."

Thus the record of the past seven years is a chronicle of frustration and defeat for working men and women of America in their efforts to convince our Government of the justice and fairness of their position against the Taft-Hartley Act and against the forces which have created and perpetuated that law. Ultimate success seems only to lie in defeating at the polls those who oppose justice and fairness and in electing to public office at every level men and women who will listen to truth and reason and will act with courage unfettered by selfishness or bias.

Meanwhile, as the full meaning and harmful effects of the Taft-Hartley Act become more clear each day and each year, we must continue with vigor to press for very substantial amendments to that law with confident hope of success and with faith in the justice of our cause.

With the foregoing comments and recommendations, the committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN HUTCHESON: The Chair now recognizes Secretary Keenan on the Legislation Committee's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Committee Secretary Keenan submitted the following report:

CIVIL SERVICE EMPLOYEES

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 127-142)

The Executive Council's report on government employees' legislation is thorough and complete and deserves the attention of all delegates.

The report points out that some important forward steps were made such as the modification of the Whitten Rider and the establishment of a life insurance program but that these gains were completely overshadowed by the Presidential veto of the salary increase bill. This bill was passed by the courageous fight of our Government Employees' unions backed by the officers and the Legislative Committee of the Federation who were confronted with the full opposition of the Post Office Department and the White House.

We deplore the veto and recommend that the Federation give every possible support to the fight which the Government Employees are initiating in the beginning of the next session of Congress to obtain a justified wage increase for all Federal Government employees. We are not impressed with the arguments raised by the Administration.

We further recommend that the Legislative Committee be instructed to assist the Government employees' unions to resist attacks being made on career service.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue its support to the Government employees organization in securing satisfactory legislation particularly the enactment of a genuine union-recognition act strengthening the Lloyd-LaFollette Act and repeal the amendments to appropriation bills seriously affecting Government employees adversely.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, this section of the Commitee's report was adopted.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' SALARIES

Resolution No. 45—By Delegates of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 387.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM, GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employees International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and

Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 387.)

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—AMERICAN FEDERATION OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates James A. Campbell, Henrietta E. Olding, I. W. Kirkpatrick, American Federation of Government Employees.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 409.)

Resolution No. 47 on page 387 and Resolution No. 99 on page 409 of the first day's proceedings are very similar.

Your committee recommends concurrence in both.

. . . The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN HUTCHESON: The Chair recognizes Delegate Richardson.

DELEGATE RICHARDSON, Fire Fighters: Mr. Chairman, first of all I want to commend the Legislative Committee for the very fine report and the work that they have been doing. However, in Resolution 47, Section (u) of that resolution, there is a provision—and I shall read it so it may be clear—"The American Federation of Labor opposes any contemplated merger of the Civil Service Retirement Act and the Social Security Act."

The American Federation of Labor has a Committee whose function is to take care of all matters pertaining to Social Security. I am afraid that if we adopt the resolution as is, we may have a conflict between the policy of the American Federation of Labor and the proposal that is embodied in the resolution. For that reason I would like to move that Section (u) of the recommendation embodied in the resolution be referred to the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor with instructions that the Committee be instructed to hold a conference with the organization affected in order that the policies of the American Federation of Labor in relation to Social Security may be reconciled and therefore avoid any conflict with the policies of the American Federation of Labor. I so move you, sir.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say in regard to this that I think Brother Richardson's fears of conflict are unfounded because the Social Security Committee of the American Federation of Labor works in close contact with the Legislative Department of the Federation and also with the Government Employees' Council. I can assure him that it will not be necessary for any such amendment, that the Social Security Committee and the office in Washington will see that there is no conflict.

DELEGATE RICHARDSON: I am very happy under those conditions, President Meany. I was only doing it to safeguard the policy of the American Federation of Labor. Thank you.

. . . The motion to adopt that section of the Committee's report was carried.

. . . Committee Secretary Keenan resumed the report of the Committee on Legislation as follows:

SALARY RECLASSIFICATION OF FIELD SERVICES, POST OFFICE DEPT.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegates of: International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Association of Fire Fighters; American Federation of Government Employees; National Association of Letter Carriers; Office Employes International Union; International Union of Operating Engineers; International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America; National Association of Postal Supervisors; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Federation of Post Office Clerks; National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Handlers; National Postal Transport Association; The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; American Federation of Technical Engineers; International Typographical Union; International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of North America; International Photo-Engravers Union of North America; American Federation of Teachers; Central Labor Union and Metal Trades Council of Panama Canal Zone; International Association of Machinists.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 388.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was adopted.

POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES' SALARIES

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates representing organizations in the Government Emp. Council.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 419.)

Resolution No. 128 on page 419 of the first day's proceedings was jointly introduced by the delegates representing the unions affiliated with the Government Employees Council of the American Federation of Labor and deals with the question of proper salaries for postal and federal employees.

On the closing day of the second session of the 83rd Congress a bill granting a 5 per cent pay increase to these employees was passed by an overwhelming majority but failed to receive Presidential approval. In announcing that he would withhold his approval the President gave as his reasons the failure of the Congress to provide for an accompanying postal rate increase to offset the cost, and the failure to include authority to the Postmaster General to reclassify positions within the field postal service.

Your Committee has noted that the bill introduced at the request of the administration, by the Chairman of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, with an estimated cost of 80 million dollars, made no provision for a postal rate increase and its enactment was not predicated on such rate increases. We have further noted that a bill to provide postal rate increases was introduced in the first session of the 83rd Congress and was reported to the House by its Committee on Post Office and Civil Service on February 25th of this year. From that date to this the administration made no attempt to bring this measure before the House for consideration except in a belated effort to attach it to a salary increase measure. Had there been a sincere desire to cause the enactment of postal rate legislation we are inclined to doubt that the bill would have been allowed to languish on the House Calendar for almost six months and we are compelled to the belief that this extraneous question was only

brought up in an attempt to defeat well merited salary increases for the employees of our Federal Government.

In the matter of position classification in the postal service, your Committee has noted that the Postmaster General presented to the Congress the results of a study made by the George Fry Associates of Chicago, Ill. Despite administration pressure this study and its attendant recommendations proved to be so obnoxious to the members of both the House and Senate Committees on Post Office and Civil Service that it was completely rejected in both Committees.

The resolution requests a continuation of the splendid efforts of the Legislative Staff of the American Federation of Labor and the members of the Executive Council in support of this just request for necessary salary increases and asks that the members of the 84th Congress make the enactment of this legislation an early order of business.

Your Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

It should be stated that the National Association of Postal Supervisors does not concur in all of the Whereas' of this resolution but offered no objection to the proposed Resolve.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TRIP-LEASING "GYPSY" BILL
(Executive Council's Report, p. 126)

This part of the Executive's Council's report was considered at the last convention and we again recommend that the American Federation of Labor fully cooperate with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for the elimination of these hazards.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PROBLEMS IN FIELD OF AVIATION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 126)

Your committee believes that the Air Line Pilots Association and the International Association of Flight Engineers are justified in the fight they are making to eliminate flight time for domestic crews in flights over eight hours.

We recommend that the officers of the Federation continue to assist these organizations in their efforts to obtain legislation to override the ill-considered order of the Civil Aeronautic Board permitting pilots to work longer than eight hours.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan the recommendation of the Committee on this part of the report was unanimously adopted.

GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 137)

Your committee notes from the Executive Council's report that officers of the Federation are keeping a close watch on the work of the Hoover Commission particularly in the field of labor-management relations.

We recommend that the work outlined in this section of the Executive's Council's report be continued.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time we will relieve the Committee on Legislation because of the fact that Brother Keenan has to leave the city and be back here Monday. Before going ahead with the Resolutions Committee I would like to say a few words in regard to a subject which is of vital importance to our government employees. That is the question, which has been reported on, concerning the raise in wages for the government employees, particularly the Postal employees. For many years there have been two schools of thought in regard to the salaries and the income of the Post Office Department; the question of whether or not this Department should be put on what is known as a business basis, in other words, whether this Department should relate its salaries and its expenses to its income. This question, as far as I know, has never been resolved one way or the other.

I take no position either way. But I do point out that the presentation or arguments in regard to an adequate salary should not be handicapped by the fact that this question of a business administration or business budget or a balancing of income and expenses is still unresolved. We have any number of departments of the Federal Government and of all governments, where there is no question of income. We do not set a policeman's salary in the cities on the basis of the income of the police department. We do not fit the wages and money paid to the officers and people in our armed services on the question of whether or not the armed services themselves bring in any income to the government.

The veto of this five per cent bill was based on this business idea. I would like to submit we have always contended if it is to be a business idea, that no business has a right to rest its continued existence on the payment of less than a decent living wage to the employees.

I personally think that the postal service is a service to the people. You find in some countries of Europe there is no charge whatsoever to mail a letter. To try to relate this service to its income would call for some sacrifice on the part of the newspapers and magazines in this country, because, if we are speaking strictly on income and expenses, the expense of mailing magazines and newspapers is certainly not met by the income for this particular class of postage. I read from time to time in the magazines that there should not be any relation because they are rendering a public service in disseminating news and information to the people.

So in the absence of any resolution of this age-old controversy in regard to the Postal Department, I feel that the decision should rest on the very human question of whether or not the employees are getting a decent and adquate wage to care for their families.

I might note in passing that if all of the government departments are to be run on this basis, then the people in the Postal Service better see to it that they get into the Income Tax Division. That's the place to work.

So if this is criticism, I think it is well grounded, and I think that what you have heard today in regard to the veto of this bill should go into the fair record of appraisal that we are making at this convention.

Thank you.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Soderstrom of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Resumed)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: Your Committee decided to consider Resolution No. 12 concurrently with the Taft-Hartley amendments, which were adopted by the convention.

TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 376.)

In view of the action on the Council's report on this subject, no action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

REPORT OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 195-199)

We are impressed by the wide variety of activities which the General Counsel to the American Federation of Labor has ably performed during the past year. Not only has he been called upon to represent the American Federation of Labor in a number of different courts of law, but his advice has been sought regarding the interpretation of federal and state statutes, the effect of proposed legislation upon our membership, the conduct of cases before the National Labor Relations Board and many issues involving the organization and internal affairs of the A. F. of L.

It is exceedingly gratifying to note that despite a number of specific cases in which the A. F. of L. was made a defendant during the past year, not a single adverse judgment has been recorded against our Federation.

As the Executive Council Report points out, perhaps the most important judicial development in the past year has been the decision by the United States Supreme Court in the Garner case (Garner v. Teamsters Union). This case deals with a very complex problem besetting many of our affiliates, the question of overlapping jurisdiction in labor matters between the federal and state authorities.

The unanimous decision of the court, upholding the views of the A. F. of L., set forth the principle that individual states cannot undertake to regulate or interfere with conduct in interstate commerce which is already the subject of federal legislation. Unfortunately anti-union employers, supported in some cases by state courts, are attempting either to ignore or to circumvent this clearcut decision. As a result, it may be several years before this principle is firmly imbedded in law.

As recorded in the Executive Council's Report, the General Counsel has provided valuable legal advice in connection with such diverse A. F. of L. matters as the construction of the new Headquarters Building, the project to revise the A. F. of L. constitution, the wording of the A. F. of L.-CIO no-raiding pact, as well as the A. F. of L.'s own plan for eliminating internal disputes.

Even a brief listing of these activities by the General Counsel points up the very complex legal issues which our organization has had to face during the past year. The A. F. of L. is indeed fortunate that its legal affairs are in such capable and experienced hands.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TAXATION

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 93-97 and 276-280)

Changes made in the tax laws by the 83rd Congress will have a serious impact on our economy. The Executive Council's Report shows that these changes have not been equitable nor directed at strengthening the economic health of the nation.

The record shows quite clearly that the Administration, committed to a policy of balancing the budget, has sanctioned tax reductions that will result in an estimated deficit of $4.7 billion for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. Your Committee would not suggest that there is anything sacred about a balanced budget. It would point out, however, that the anticipated $4.7 billion deficit will be the direct result of tax reductions totaling $7.4 billion, which have accrued in major part to business and to taxpayers in the upper income groups. This is particularly serious at a time when an increase in purchasing power which could be achieved through long overdue relief to taxpayers in the lower income group is so urgently needed.

Delegates will find the specific measures through which Congress has sanctioned Administration supported proposals fully described in the Executive Council's Report and in a new A. F. of L. pamphlet entitled "Who Gets the Tax Cuts?" which is being publicly distributed for the first time to the delegates of this Convention.

Your Committee notes the Executive Council's concern at the increasingly regressive character of the Federal tax structure. The income tax system had previously been considerably weakened by action taken by Congress between 1945 and 1953. The various tax measures approved by the 83rd Congress during the past few months have further weakened it by making it less progressive. The much publicized Tax Revision Act (Public Law 591) was used as a smoke-screen for opening up entirely new tax escape devices through which hundreds of millions of dollars in revenue will be lost.

The possibility of a more intelligent approach to the federal tax problems is further complicated by the fact that the 83rd Congress has scheduled further tax reductions which may amount to $5.5 billion in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. These scheduled tax reductions will again accrue in major part to corporations and upper income group taxpayers. No downward revision of the income tax burden for taxpayers in the low income groups has been scheduled up to this time. Nothing short of decisive action by the 84th Congress can reverse the current trend in federal tax policy toward more tax relief for preferred

groups of taxpayers which least need relief with a resulting concentration of wealth and economic power.

Your Committee urges national and international unions, state federations and city central bodies to give continued and increasing attention to developments in the field of local and state taxation. Approximately 60 per cent of the more than $11 billion collected in state taxes for the year ending June 30, 1954, came from taxes on consumers; an increasing proportion of local tax revenue is also being derived from regressive taxes. The danger to the economy inherent in these trends may be appreciated from the fact, cited by the Executive Council, that taxpayers in the income groups below $7,500 pay a considerably higher proportion of their income to support local and state services than those taxpayers in the income groups above $7,500.

In the above connection your Committee believes that President Eisenhower's recommendations that additional financial burdens be placed on states and local communities for maintaining health, welfare, institutional and economical services are unsound and dangerous.

If low income taxpayers are now paying a disproportionate share for the support of these services, it is obvious that additional burdens on them would merely multiply existing inequities. A constructive proposal from the President as to how the federal taxing power could be used to assist states and local communities in providing needed services would be most timely.

We note that the A. F. of L. Committee on Taxation and the National Legislative Committee have issued statements and appeared at more than the usual number of hearings before Congressional Committees on various aspects of proposed tax legislation. We commend them for this activity and would urge them together with all A. F. of L. officers and affiliates to continue to devote time and attention at the national, state and local levels to initiating and promoting sound, progressive tax policies at all levels of government.

With these comments and recommendations, we ask for approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DEFENSE MANPOWER POLICY NUMBER 4

(Executive Council's Report, p. 102)

Defense Manpower Policy No. 4 is the Federal Government policy which gives firms in areas of heavy unemployment preference in bidding for government contracts.

While this policy has not proved too effective, and during the past year has actually been weakened, it does stand today as the government's only specific program for placing additional government contracts in these labor surplus areas. As such it deserves the support of organized labor.

The A. F. of L. was successful in defeating efforts to have this policy repealed by Congressional action.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

IMMIGRATION

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 108-109)

The American Federation of Labor has had a long-standing concern with immigration policies. Our efforts have been directed toward assuring that the interests of American workers are fully protected by the nation's immigration policies. At the same time, we have kept in mind the nation's continuing responsibility to offer a safe haven for those who may be oppressed or exploited in other lands.

The failure of the McCarran-Walter Omnibus Immigration Act to provide a just or workable basis for handling immigration has become ever more apparent since it became effective in December 1952. Recognizing the critical deficiencies of this law, members of Congress from both political parties have introduced bills seeking to liberalize the immigration law. As the Executive Council reports, however, Congress has so far failed to take any action on these bills.

The Executive Council's Report lists a number of provisions included in the proposed bills, including the use of the 1950 Census for calculating immigration quotas, the pooling of unused quotas, and the removal of a number of miscellaneous discriminatory provisions.

We look with favor upon a number of these changes, including the proposals for modernizing and allowing full utilization of the immigration quota system. We concur in the Executive Council's recommendation that these proposals be given careful study and consideration.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

URGING REPEAL OF McCARRAN ACT

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates L. M. Raftery, Wm. H. Rohrberg, Peter Yablonsky, Frank Owens, James Meehan, Herbert Baker, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 405.)

REVISE THE McCARRAN-WALTER IMMIGRATION ACT

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Julius Hochman, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 421.)

Concurrently considered by the Committee were two resolutions. These two resolutions, No. 88 and No. 133, are concerned with revision or repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law. In view of the preceding comments on the Executive Council's report, the Committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Officers of the Federation

and its National Legislative Committee for such action as may be warranted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

REFUGEE RELIEF ACT
(Executive Council's Report, p. 109)

The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 was enacted in order to meet the immediate problem of permitting refugees from the Iron Curtain countries, as well as immigrants from nations with surplus populations, to enter the United States. Although recognizing some of its deficiencies, the American Federation of Labor supported the enactment of this legislation in the hope that its enactment would provide a haven to thousands of refugees who have fled from the Communist terror.

Unfortunately, restrictive provisions in the act and incredibly bad administration have made the law almost totally ineffective. While the act authorized admission of 214,000 persons, only a trickle of refugees have so far found asylum in the United States.

If the worthwhile purposes of the Refugee Relief Act are to be achieved, it is essential that the law be amended as quickly as possible to assure that the full number of refugees authorized by the Act are actually admitted to this country.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL COMMITTEE ON MIGRATORY LABOR
(Executive Council's Report, p. 111)

This section of the Executive Council's Report reviews the efforts by the A. F. of L. to obtain enactment of legislation establishing a Federal Committee on Migratory Labor. Such a Committee, with a Chairman appointed by the President, would stimulate more energetic action by the Federal Government to aid America's migrant workers. The necessity for government action is urgent, since the special employment, health and educational needs of these workers have been almost completely neglected by state and federal legislation.

After Congress adjourned without taking action on this legislation, the President did appoint an Interdepartmental Committee on Migratory Labor composed of representatives from six federal agencies with the Secretary of Labor as Chairman. While this constitutes a constructive forward step, this Committee would operate with greater effectiveness if its authority were established by congressional action. We should continue to seek enactment of state and federal legislation to achieve this purpose.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WETBACKS
(Executive Council's Report, p. 112)

Late in the current session, the Administration proposed, and Congress considered, two bills to assist the apprehension of "wetbacks," those Mexicans who enter the United States illegally and because of their illegal status become an easy prey to large-scale farmers who offer only substandard wages and the lowest possible type of working conditions. In this way, large numbers of domestic workers are deprived of employment opportunities in agriculture.

It has been estimated that approximately 1,500,000 wetbacks are now in this country. Many of them have located far from the Mexican border and have actively sought work in a variety of industrial, construction, and service establishments.

The most important of the two bills would authorize the law enforcement agencies to seize all vehicles transporting wetbacks. This would constitute a most significant step forward in the campaign against these illegal immigrants. Despite A. F. of L. support, these bills failed to pass in the closing days of the session.

We urge the President to press for these recommendations by including them in his opening message to Congress in January, 1955.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CONTRACT MEXICAN LABOR
(Executive Council's Report, p. 113)

The program under which Mexican workers are imported legally and work under contract to large-scale farms has operated to undermine the wages, working conditions and employment opportunities for domestic workers. This section of the Executive Council's Report indicates how this program has been further weakened during the past year by the passage of Public Law 309 authorizing the recruitment of these Mexican workers at the Mexican-American border rather than in the interior of Mexico.

Under this program, domestic agricultural workers are given no opportunities to express themselves regarding the number of Mexican workers, if any, required on American farms or the wages and working conditions under which Mexicans are to be imported.

The present agreement with the Mexican Government under which this program is operated expires December 31, 1955. We recommend that the American Federation of Labor oppose any extension of this program until proper safeguards to domestic workers, including the holding of public hearings at which they can express their views, are made a part of the program.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE APPROPRIATIONS
(Executive Council's Report, p. 111)

This section of the Executive Council's Report outlines the A. F. of L.'s fight to obtain a full appropriation for the United Nations Technical Assistance Program.

This program has proved eminently successful, particularly in the fields of health and agriculture, in tackling some of the basic problems which have hindered the advance of the world's underdeveloped areas.

We commend the efforts that were made in behalf of this program.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COPPER TARIFF
(Executive Council's Report, p. 111)

In this section, the Executive Council reports that the past session of Congress voted to continue the suspension of the 2 cent a pound tariff on imported copper unless the price should fall below 24 cents.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CIVIL DEFENSE
(Executive Council's Report, p. 115)

Our Federation has been deeply conscious of the need for a strong, effective Civil Defense program. It is the workers of this country, living in the large urban centers, who are most likely to bear the brunt of any large-scale enemy attack in the event of a new war.

The Executive Council reports that during the past year the Labor Advisory Committee on Federal Civil Defense Administration, in which our representatives have played a prominent part, has made an important contribution to the strengthening of the Civil Defense program. In addition, our Legislative Representatives have devoted their efforts toward obtaining increased appropriations for the Civil Defense Administration and enactment of a number of bills intended to establish the nation's Civil Defense program on a firmer and more effective foundation.

Your Committee recommends that our Federation continue its efforts in behalf of a vigorous Civil Defense program. We ask our affiliates to give Civil Defense their all-out support.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY
(Executive Council's Report, p. 121)

The Executive Council reports that after more than 30 years of controversy and agitation, Congress has enacted legislation authorizing construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The American Federation of Labor has opposed this legislation.

Our Federation should watch closely the development of this project to assure that the interests and welfare of American workers are fully protected.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I would like to present for a few brief moments Major General Melvin J. Maas, retired, United States Marine Corps, Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

MAJOR GENERAL MELVIN J. MAAS
Chairman, President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped

I have a very pleasant but significant opportunity this afternoon to show recognition in a great field in which all of you, I know, are interested. The American Federation of Labor is one of the most important members of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. Incidentally, I have been a member of this Committee since President Truman formed it, and the qualifications for being Chairman are not necessarily that you are physically handicapped. It is true that I am physically handicapped: I wear false teeth!

But I want to take just a moment or two, if I may, to point out the significance of what you are contributing to in this movement of getting jobs for the physically handicapped. While it is true that the origin of this movement, which is comparatively recent, was one of charity, sympathy and pity, very soon it turned out that it was not charity and it needed no sympathy or pity at all. It turned out to be good business. Properly rehabilitated physically handicapped people, when selectively placed in a job, turn out to be excellent employees, and they do not require any charity on the part of the employers at all. However, the unions themselves are called upon to perhaps make the biggest sacrifice in this field, but it is one that you are making and with great understanding. It is frequently true that you will have to accept a handicapped worker in a job for which he is not sufficiently skilled because it is the only kind of job for which he is particularly trained. With the understanding of the unions—and it is increasing everywhere, and the leadership in this field has been taken by the American Federation of Labor in their locals—we are gradually absorbing the physically handicapped into normal employment. Our slogan is that it is good business to hire the handicapped, and it is. It is good for the community. It takes a person off of the relief rolls, either public assistance or family dependency, makes them self supporting, and very soon they are contributing to the economy of the country. Last year alone the physically handicapped who were hired earned over one hundred million dollars and paid twenty-nine million dollars in income taxes, whereas they had been a drain on the economy the year before.

There is one other element to it that I would like to point out to you in a moment or two and that is the fact that this work is a work of rehabilitation and employment, because rehabilitation is never completed until the person is employed. It is a cruel fraud and a hoax on the individual and the taxpayer to rehabilitate the physically handicapped if they can't get jobs after they are rehabilitated. This work is one of the most dramatic illustrations in the

world, I believe, that our system is based on the dignity of mankind, and in contrast to Communism or the belief that the individual exists for the state. We can prove our social, economic and political system is based upon the importance of the individual by what we do for our individuals. In this work in which you are helping so materially we take the least of us, the most physically unfit, and in cooperation with government, citizens and labor, rehabilitate them, treat them medically, then give them jobs and restore their self respect and restore their dignity. It is my opinion it is as great a contribution to the security of this country and the future peace of the world as any other thing that can be done, including the military establishment itself.

No, I do not want to start talking about the military because in the Pentagon they do not like these amateur generals talking about military things. Of course, that is not the only thing they have against me in the Pentagon. I know how they feel about it, because right after I was blinded it was announced that I was going to be kept on active duty. I was kept on active duty for a year. In fact, I still serve every year for three or four days. It kind of startled them over there to see a General with a white cane.

One day a General came up to me and said: "Maas, is this rumor true that you are going to be kept on active duty?"

I said, "So the Secretary of Defense informs me."

I could sense his annoyance.

He said, "That is certainly one for the books." He said, "I'll bet you are the first General in history kept on duty who is blind."

I said, "Oh, no, General, just the first one to admit it."

In closing I want to say I think that what you are engaged in doing in that part of your work you are demonstrating your slogan of brotherhood. This is the truest example of real brotherhood. I think that you are giving the free world the greatest weapon it has to fight Communism, to help raise the standards in the rest of the world, to show the Asiatics and the rest of the world where there are so many physically handicapped what we think of people.

Therefore, because of the leadership of one of the outstanding men in this country in this field, because of his sympathetic understanding, because he has been such an inspiration to business, to all other labor organizations and the leadership that the American Federation of Labor has taken, because of his personal leadership in this field. I want to now award on behalf of the President's Committee this Distinguished Service citation to a great American, a great leader and a great American institution, to President George Meany in the American Federation of Labor this Presidential Citation for Distinguished Service.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you very much, General Maas. I accept this citation not in a personal way because the contribution that I have made to this work is very minute. I accept it on behalf of the organizations which go to make up the American Federation of Labor, international unions, central labor unions, local unions, state federations and all the way down the line. It is at that level, the local level, that this cooperation is given.

In addition I accept it on behalf of the staff of the American Federation of Labor Building, and especially the Legislative Department under Bill Hushing. They have given splendid cooperation to this group.

I agree with General Maas, that not only is this a good thing to do from the sympathetic human standpoint of view, but it is good business. I went to an exhibit last spring and saw a group of outstanding examples of physically handicapped men actually at work in some of the most intricate types of work and doing a very good job, turning out a job in so far as time and quality is concerned that is comparable with any who was working at the same operation and who is without any physical handicap.

So I am very happy to accept this citation on behalf of the American Federation of Labor and express to General Maas our complete and continued cooperation in this work in the future.

Thank you very much, General Maas.

At this time I want to call upon the Chairman of the Shorter Work Week Committee so that they can get through their short report. Chairman Lee Minton.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MINTON: Mr. President, Delegates: Your Committee on the Shorter Work Week is ready to report.

Before doing so, I want to clear up for the record something that took place yesterday on page 506 of yesterday's proceedings. The Resolutions Committee acted on a section of their report dealing with the shorter work week. I felt it necessary to inform the Delegates that the resolution adopted yesterday was dealing with the immediate need so far as the Executive Council has determined. Our report deals wholly with the long pull and the problem of general productivity and things involving productivity. I wanted to clear the record so the press and others would not be able to point to two different things dealing with the shorter work week.

The report will be delivered by Delegate Louis P. Marciante, Secretary of the Committee, who is President of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

. . . Committee Secretary Marciante submitted the following report:

The American Federation of Labor has, since its inception, constantly adopted the principle that productivity increases should be shared by workers in the form of higher wages, lower prices and shorter hours of work.

This policy has proven itself to be a stabilizing factor in our economy by providing full employment and full consumption of goods produced resulting, thereby, in a higher standard of living for all.

During the last decade mobilization, reconversion and other national emergencies required tolerance in our demands for reductions in the standard work week, although justified by yearly increases in man-hour output. However, with defense spending substantially reduced, our economy must again depend upon civilian consumption with wages being the primary source. Unless all workers are provided full employment, wage income will cease to back the demand for all products to the detrimental effect of not only business but agriculture, trades and services and all other component parts of our national economy.

The Executive Council Report clearly reveals that the necessary sharing of benefits from productivity increases have not taken place in the past several years. Wages have not kept

pace with productivity, prices are still rising and the standard work week is the same. More important, the trend is sufficiently clear to indicate that man-hour output is being translated into unemployment and involuntary part time work with potential production decreased while corporate profits are being bolstered through tax benefit programs enacted by the 83rd Congress.

Today not only is unemployment at alarming levels, but equally as important, government figures show 2.5 million workers listed as employed but only working 22 to 34 hours a week, all ready, willing and able to work. This economic waste is taking place at a time we can ill afford *not* to utilize fully our productive capacities. Resulting unemployment and part-time unemployment is seriously jeopardizing our national standard of living. Moreover, as the Executive Council reports, our labor force is expanding due to an increasing population. It is thus absolutely necessary at this time to increase further the employment level and increase further our gross national product rather than "level off" or "reasonably recede" as is the current philosophy of some economic advisers to the present administration. It is important also to point out that unemployment compensation is insufficient to cover the needs of the worker and his family.

In the International field as tension continues unabated, and as the free peoples look to America for physical and moral support, we must maintain a dynamic and expanding economy based upon the democratic principles of a high standard of living for all with productive effort resulting in commensurate wage increases, price decreases and shorter hours of work.

As leaders of 10,000,000 American workers, we must also take in account the effects of "Automation," a new word of which we are all going to hear a great deal more in the future. This is more than the designing of faster machines. It is a new method of manufacture and design which cuts down drastically on manpower needed and if carried to the extreme it could lead to the much discussed "automatic factory."

It is our duty to see that American inventive genius is permitted to give us the benefits of increased production without plunging us into the chaos of unemployment and depression.

Your Committee on the Shorter Work Week recommends that this convention reactivate its long standing policy of reducing hours of work and that all affiliated national and international unions, through concerted action with the American Federation of Labor and its state and central bodies, forcefully set forth to attain in this coming year, a shorter work week, without any decrease in present take home pay.

Your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor through its public relations program, answer the reactionary critics who falsely claim that the shorter work week means inevitable higher labor costs and prices. Our history proves the shorter work week results in full utilization of our productive capacities, a larger volume of production, greater efficiency, more products at lower prices and consequently a higher standard of living for all. As part of this program, your committee recommends that the Executive Council consider the publishing of a brochure which will depict labor's historical and successful drive for shorter hours. Such a pamphlet should clearly prove the need for a shorter work week and be available for distribution not only to our membership but to the general public as well.

Your committee recommends that although no efforts should be spared to have legislation enacted that will give mandate to a shorter work week, we should let the records of the 83rd Congress speak for itself in telling us that we can expect little, if anything, in the way of such badly needed improvements in our Federal Wage and Hour laws. Accordingly we recommend that the American Federation of Labor direct us in this objective by urging primary emphasis through militant and intelligent collective bargaining conducted by all affiliates and at all levels.

Many of the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor already enjoy a shorter work week than prescribed by Federal law. These unions have used their collective strength to better the lives and standards of their membership. To these unions, we give our thanks and our encouragement. Your committee urges that all affiliates, who successfully reduce hours, report such advances to the research department of the American Federation of Labor in order that our advanced accomplishments can be properly recorded.

Your committee concurs with the report of the Executive Council and recommends that this convention go on record in support of federal legislation to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act and Public Contract Act to require a minimum overtime rate of pay of one and one-half times the regular rate for all work in excess of 35 hours per week. This maximum hour requirement should be made fully effective within two years.

Your committee had before it Resolutions No. 66, 67, 97 and 107. Your committee was and is sympathetic with the general ideas embodied in the above resolutions. However, in order to set forth a clear and unmistakable position, the following resolution is recommended as a substitute for those resolutions submitted.

WHEREAS, It is the inherent right of the American people to enjoy an ever rising standard of living, and

WHEREAS, The problems of production, consumption, increased population and unemployment make it necessary to plan intelligently so that our dynamic economy can be maintained, and

WHEREAS, The peoples of the free world look to the United States for leadership in combating spreading totalitarianism which leads only to enslavement and poverty, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt as a legislative goal the enactment of a 30-hour week by our National Congress in order to preserve and protect our American heritage, and be it further

RESOLVED, That all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor continue unabated their efforts to reduce hours of work in their respective trades and crafts, because only through trade unions and collective bargaining contracts can we be guaranteed full protection against the proponents of reaction and the enemies of freedom.

Respectfully submitted,

Lee W. Minton, Chairman, Glass Bottle Blowers Association; J. L. Duffin, Railway Carmen; Frank Owens, Painters; A. J. Eberhardy,

Boilermakers and Blacksmiths; George Bucher, Upholsters; Stanley Rounds, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; T. J. Lloyd, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation; Dennis J. Oates, Metal Polishers; S. T. Wybourn, Street Railway Employees; Wallace C. Reilly, Typographical Union; Frank C. Shea, Retail Clerks; Jesse V. Horton, Postal Supervisors; Louis P. Marciante, Secretary, New Jersey State Federation; S. J. Rosborough, Railway Clerks; Milton P. Webster, Sleeping Car Porters; Norman Donnely, Lathers; Henry G. Andrews, Air Line Dispatchers, and Harry Greenberg, Ladies' Garment Workers.

Committee on Shorter Workday.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Marciante the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: That completes the report of the Shorter Workday Committee, and the Committtee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman McCurdy of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McCURDY: Mr. President, the Committee on Industrial Relations is ready to report. I will call on Secretary Warfel of the Special Delivery Messengers to deliver the report. Secretary Warfel.

. . . Committee Secretary Warfel submitted the following report:

The field of industrial relations of our country is as vast as the United States of America which is the greatest industrial country in the world.

Taking into consideration that we have hundreds of thousands of employers, big and bigger—small and smaller—employing, even in this recession time, approximately 62 million wage earners on full or part time, bespeaks the magnitude of the problem known as Industrial Relations and Management Labor Relationship.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations is being called upon to evaluate conditions at a time when more than three and one-half million workers, ready, able and willing to work, cannot find jobs; when in at least nine different areas of our country the percentage of unemployed averages more than 12%; when government agencies reluctantly are forced to declare a number of cities and towns as distressed areas, badly in need of work for the unemployed.

Accordingly, your Committee is on record noting with misgivings that the Congress as well as the present administration failed to give effect to the full employment law enacted by Congress, and calls upon the Powers that Be to immediately take all necessary steps to provide full employment for our people. This is a prime necessity, not only in order to bring economic security to the workers of our country desperately in need of a steady income, and who cannot make both ends meet drawing on their unemployment insurance; but in addition, millions of workers unemployed have already been thrown on the relief rolls of their communities because they have already drawn on the limit of their unemployment insurance. Yes—full employment is needed also to combat the dangerous propaganda of communists; which is that the American way of life only calls for the right to work but fails to guarantee job security; that our economy is a boom and bust economy; that the captains of industry wish to see a steady and continued army of unemployed in order to keep those in work down, and thus keep the trade unions from making new demands on employers to improve the lot of the working men and women of our country.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations has given study to the great need for at least 300,000 new schools; thousands of hospitals to take care of the sick, the aged, the orphans and the infirm; the need for slum clearances to provide decent housing for millions of our people in practically all big cities of our Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave; the need for improved highways and by-ways, improved utility facilities, to include all farms of our country—all of which would provide employment for millions of unemployed.

Hence, your Committee on Industrial Relations is on record demanding that the Powers that Be provide the necessary funds for such public works, which the United States of America is badly in need of.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations made a study of the great production potential of our country which some economists call a country of over-production facilities; hence, the talk about curbing industrial production as farming is being curbed. Your Committee on Industrial Relations rejects that philosophy and that approach, believing as we do that in these United States of America it is rather a problem of underconsumption. It is variously estimated that close to one-third of our people do not have enough of consumer purchasing power to keep them in decency and comfort, hence, your Committee lays all stress on greater purchasing power of our people to keep our factory fires burning and our workers in full employment. Accordingly, your Committee on Industial Relations urges necessary changes in the Wage and Hour Law convinced as we are that the working hours should be nationally reduced from 40 to 35 with all workers receiving the same pay for the lesser hours worked, and we are further of the belief that the present national minimum wage of 75c per hour, which is at the present time antiquated and long out-dated, should be increased forthwith from 75c to $1.25 per hour. Your Committee dissents and disagrees with the action of the President of the United States in advising Congress not to raise the Minimum Wage Law at the present time because of the recession, as we believe that a higher minimum wage law would increase consumer purchasing power and help industrial recovery.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations believes in an extended and expanded economy in face of the growing number of employables each year, which amounts to not less than one million new workers in need of new jobs.

We wish to draw your attention to the fact that technological improvements effected in our country each year replace one and one-half million workers by machines and for whom new jobs must be found. To be more plain and specific we believe that a growing and prosperous America needs 2½ million additional jobs to keep the working forces of our country fully employed and to that end it has become a must to reduce nationally the working hours from 40 to 35, and to increase the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.25.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations believes that good management labor relations require free, unhampered, undiluted collective

bargaining at the conference table with employers—hence, our conclusion that the Taft-Hartley Law has proven to be the greatest deterrent to good labor-management relations. Furthermore, the Taft-Hartley Law made the closed union shop a crime, while 18 states have made the anti-union or open shop an American virtue.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations, therefore, is on record that we will redouble our fight for free labor-management collective bargaining. We are for the closed union shop by agreement between Management and Labor. We are against all these so-called "right-to-work" laws now prevailing in 18 states which shackle trade unions, and are giving free riders and anti-unionists the upperhand over true-blue trade unionists who fight for union standards and conditions.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations notes with apprehension the policy of the Federal Government towards its employees who have been denied a meager increase of only 5 per cent at a time when our economy demands greater purchasing power of all our people.

Let it be stated openly and clearly that the absence of bona-fide machinery and procedure for collective bargaining for Government employees with responsible government agencies does a great injury not only to the government employees but to the entire country as it tends to undermine the confidence of government employees that they will be dealt with fairly at the hands of the government and thus impair efficiency of the service. Therefore, your Committee strongly urges the continued support of Federal employee union recognition legislation to enable government employees to obtain the advantages enjoyed by employees of private industry. Those familiar with the details of the operation of Executive departments and agencies of the government fully know of the deep devotion of federal workers to their jobs and of their diligence in the performance of their duties which is generally encountered. Therefore, we deplore the tendency on the part of the press to give emphasis to any and all criticism of federal workers without proper evaluation of the facts. The false impression thus created in the minds of the general public greatly hinders the efforts of these employees to obtain proper economic consideration from Congress.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations strongly urges and recommends that the Executive Council and members of the Labor Press renew their efforts to give the American public the true information on this most important subject.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations is on record against the present packed anti-union National Labor Relations Board made up of men who are anti-labor and anti-union. Your Committee believes that the National Labor Relations Board as presently constituted has, by its new decrees, new ethics, and new interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Law, done more to undermine good labor-management relations of late than at any time since the infamous Taft-Hartley Law became the Law of the Land in labor-management relations. Hence, we urge that the 73rd Convention of the American Federation of Labor do everything within its power to re-double organized labor's efforts to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law, and fight for such management-labor relations as will be fair, equitable and just to both labor and management.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations believes that the bargaining strength and power of organized labor will be greatly enhanced by organic unity and a united house of labor. Accordingly, we commend the action of the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the CIO as well as their supreme effort to eliminate jurisdictional disputes among the unions within the A. F. of L. Your Committee on Industrial Relations, therefore, is on record praising beyond words the achievements of the officers and Executive Council of the A. F. of L., for their performance believing as we do that the consummation of organic unity between A. F. of L. and CIO will make for a signal victory for all labor in the United States.

Your Committee on Industrial Relations takes cognizance of the fact that we have been called upon to evaluate industrial relations in the year 1954, at a time of grave national crisis facing the laboring men and women of our country, with the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chambers of Commerce and their lobbyists and hirelings doing everything they possibly can to besmirch the good name of the Trade Union Movement of our country, and undermining the confidence of the many millions of unorganized men and women of labor in the labor unions of our land.

We note with great apprehension for the last 18 months the vicious and malicious propaganda of smear against all labor unions and labor leaders all tending to promote even more vicious legislation in the state legislatures as well as in Congress. We believe in the integrity, vitality and future of the trade union movement of our country which is leading the free trade union movement of the world and we are confident that we shall march forward to greater heights and greater benefits for all wage earners of our country under the unequalled leadership of President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler.

Submitted by: Joseph P. McCurdy, Chairman; George L. Warfel, Secretary; James C. Stocker, Walter M. Matthews, Thomas P. Meaney, H. R. Flegal, Ossip Walinsky, James McNabb, James M. Kennedy, Charles Sullivan, R. Freccia, John W. Bailey, Kenneth Petro, Joseph F. Boyen, Harry Ames, Frank P. Converse, Edward C. Doll.

Committee on Industrial Relations.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Warfel the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McCURDY: Mr. President, that concludes the report of the Committee and I move that it be accepted in full.

. . . The motion to accept the report of the Committee in full was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Birthright of the Committee on Laws.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Laws is now ready to report. Secretary Gorman of the Committee will read the report.

. . . Committee Secretary Gorman submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Laws had referred to its action of the 1953 Convention, authorizing the Executive Council to make a study of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor for purpose of clarification and mod-

ernization—after which to present findings and recommendations to the 1954 Convention. Pursuant to such request the Executive Council has undertaken such study, acting with the advice and assistance of the general counsel. This study has revealed a number of respects in which the constitution could be well revised. Because of the obvious significance and importance that will attach to any revision, the counsel has proceeded with great care in this matter. Accordingly, it recommended that continued studies be made by the Executive Council.

Your Committee on Law has considered the following amendment to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor proposed by the Executive Council in its Report:

ANNUAL AUDITING FOR ALL LOCAL OR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 48)

The Secretary-Treasurer shall be required, with the assistance of an auditing department or otherwise, to make an annual audit of all books, accounts, records and financial transactions, including any welfare, retirement or other beneficial plan, of all Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and may make such audit at more frequent intervals at his discretion. Officers and representatives of Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions having the same shall be required to turn over to the Secretary-Treasurer or his duly authorized representative all books, records, accounts and information necessary to make any such audit. If such audit reveals that any financial irregularities have taken place, or that any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union has more members than it is paying per capita tax upon, then the President shall be authorized to take appropriate proceedings under Section 6, Article VI, to discipline for or remedy the same.

. . . Your Committee approves this amendment as an additional section to Article VII of the Constitution and moves its adoption by this Convention effective on January 1, 1955.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Gorman, the motion to amend the Constitution was unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Constitution will be amended as per the action of this Convention.

FIDELITY BOND COVERAGE FOR LOCAL TRADE OR FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 48)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GORMAN: At the Executive Council's report, pages 25 and 26, under the heading Fidelity Bond Coverage for Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions. Your Committee recommends additional section to appear under Article VII as follows:

Each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall be required to obtain a blanket bond covering such of its officers and representatives who handle any of its funds or assets. Such bond shall be obtained through the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor who shall have the duty to ascertain and prescribe that the blanket bonds thus obtained are in amounts sufficient to afford reasonable protection. The costs and charges for such bonds shall be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee approves this amendment to the Constitution and moves its adoption by this Convention, effective as of January 1, 1955, and I so move.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the report on this amendment by the Executive Council. There has always been a requirement, I might explain, that the responsible Officers of the labor union be bonded. However, this makes a provision for what is known as a blanket bond, a "position" bond, meaning that when a person is put in a position as an officer of a Federal labor union, even though the bonding company might not know his name, the minute he assumes the position he is bonded. This is a blanket policy. I would also like to point out, it is the requirement that these bonds be enforced by the Secretary-Treasurer of the A. F. of L., and that the premium of the bond is to be paid by the American Federation of Labor itself, so that no local union could object to the placing of this bond on the ground of cost. It isn't going to cost the local union anything; the A. F. of L. is paying for it.

The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee, which recommends concurrence in this proposed amendment.

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee carried unanimously.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS PER CAPITA TAX

(Executive Council's Report, p. 49)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GORMAN: Executive Council's report on page 26, under the heading of Federal Labor Unions Per Capita Tax, your Committee on Law recommends to revise Article X, Section 1 to read as follows:

The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of four (4) cents per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions sixty (60) cents per member per month, eight and one-half (8½) cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be one dollar ($1); from Central and State Bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention or when derived in accordance with the provisions of Section 1, Article XII.

Your Committee approves this amendment to the Constitution and its adoption by this convention effective as of January 1, 1955, and I so move.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You heard the recommendation of the Committee on this proposed amendment which raises the per capita tax payments of the Federal labor unions.

I might explain in this connection that the per capita tax of the Federal labor unions remains close to the figure that we had some 20 to 25 years ago. The services rendered to these organizations have increased immeasurably over the years. The recommendation of the Council comes as a result of a study of

the services rendered, and the cost of these services, and it is to bring the per capita tax, not up to the cost of the services, but more nearly in line to what that cost is.

The motion is to adopt this proposed amendment to the Constitution. Is there discussion on the motion?

DELEGATE CHARLES SHIPP, Federal Local 22177, Michigan Consolidated Gas Workers: We appeared before this Committee yesterday and tried to get their reasoning, to have them explain why we should have this tremendous jump in raising the per capita tax at this time. They gave us a bunch of figures, they read them off of a piece of paper, indicating this much is for Federal locals, getting so many members, and when divided up it has got to be 60 cents. We argued with them in the way and method of their figuring.

We have Federal locals which are tremendously different in their structure. We have Federal locals that haven't been in business but three years, which have to pay a per capita tax on seven members to keep their charter. You may give a lot of service, that is true. I don't know what it is, you may, but we asked to see the breakdown, and they said we didn't want them, that it would be embarrassing, and I am sure they would to my union.

When a fellow is asked to vote, remember this, Committee, you are not asked to vote to help Ireland or the Taft-Hartley Law, this is money to my members and my local. We contribute 38 cents per member; the Internationals contribute 4 cents. We are not arguing with the proposition, but I think we should find out, let us find out how much it should be, but not 60 cents.

I am sure if they were proposing here to raise the International Unions from 4 to 8 or 10, there would be a lot of jumping around and explanations demanded why, when the treasury has reported one million six hundred thousand dollars, and everything seems to be going all right in the building fund, they have got to have such a big raise in the per capita tax from 38 to 60 cents.

I think this matter should be studied with the Federal locals. We were never informed. We come to this convention to do our duty, and the first thing we know, they tell us they are going to raise our dues. This matter was handled in committee years before as resolutions and turned down. So since no resolution came up, evidently the Executive Council decided to take it upon themselves. They tell me that if the Executive Council wants it, they can get it, which is not too democratic.

Now, I think if there is going to be a raise the Federal locals should be called in and advised. If there are abuses, as we were told yesterday, in the way the organizers and regional directors are handling the Federal locals problems who know about the abuses—we asked the Committee if anything has been done to study the economy of these measures, and they said we wouldn't want that, that if we wanted economy there wouldn't be work for our organizers. Not too good reasoning, I would say.

That is all I have to say on this question right now, except the effect on the locals and Federal locals is felt very deeply with a per capita raise of 38 to 60 cents at a time when they are not working too much. That's all.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there further discussion?

I think Secretary Schnitzler can explain this, and it isn't a question of anything except the cost of the service rendered. So far as the percentage is concerned, in the last five years the percentage of the National union contributions to the American Federation of Labor has gone up 400 per cent, from one cent to four cents. Now, during that time the Federal labor unions advanced, I think, 3 cents. Secretary Schnitzler has made a comprehensive study of this situation and the reason for it is simply a matter of trying to give the Federal labor unions better service and also to ask that they pay what is more nearly a fair share of the service they get.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: We have been conscious of the rise in cost in the operation of our Department of Organization and field staff. It is because of that we have made a survey going back over a period of a full year, broken down into two six month periods. In analyzing the two separate six months periods, we find that the cost of the operation of our Department of Organization requires the full increase of 22 cents that is now recommended to this convention by the Committee on Laws. We have made all of that material available to the Committee on Laws, and had an opportunity to meet with some of the representatives from some of the Federal labor unions yesterday afternoon at 5:00 o'clock.

In making a survey of our costs, our Department of Organization broke down the extent of their survey to regions, to states, to individual cities or to individual local unions. We made it as thorough as it was humanly possible, and in giving this report to the Committee on Law, we gave it based on an overall study of our overall operations. The 22 cents that is recommended as an increase in the per capita tax from Federal labor unions will just about come up to that which it is costing the American Federation of Labor at the present time to service these Federal labor unions.

I thought I might say that of the 38 cents the Federal labor union has paid to the American Federation of Labor as per capita tax, 15 cents of that goes towards the cost of the *American Federationist* that it is mailed to every member of every Federal labor union monthly, and 8½ cents goes into the Strike or Defense Fund, leaving the American Federation of Labor with 14½ cents to carry on all of its activities insofar as the Federal labor unions are concerned. Every one of our regional directors made an individual survey, that is, an individual district survey, kept a complete record of the assignments he made of organizers to service work for Federal labor unions, and through that we were able to come up with a report that was submitted to the Commitee, which showed that 44 per cent of the total cost of the operation of the American Federation of labor's organizing staff was utilized in servicing Federal labor unions.

After examining all of these facts and records that we had, we could come to no other conclusion than that it was submitted to the Committee. The Commitee upon examining that which we had felt satisfied that the work which was done by the officers of the American Federation of Labor in gathering this material made it very clear to them just what our problem is at the present time.

I might also say that those records were available to the same extent to others who were present at the meeting, and they have seemingly closed their eyes to the absolute necessities and facing the absolute facts. Some

thought the increase was a little too much at this time. It could very well be said that the increases should have been made in years gone by. You cannot, however, excuse the fact that the cost is there now and you need the per capita now to cover the cost of the operation of this Department.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there any further discussion?

DELEGATE SHIPP: Mr. Chairman, in reply to Mr. Schnitzler's rebuttal, I will say he had figures available yesterday at the meeting which he read off a piece of foolscap paper. I should think in a situation like this, if the Federal locals were informed of what is going on, the distressed financial situation that the American Federation of Labor is in in their behalf, it would be good to notify them, even call a meeting of them and explain it to them, so we can inform our membership why this raise is necessary. It is going to be hard to explain it in the light of your financial statement, and I would like to make a motion at this time, that this be tabled for further study until the Federal locals can be informed and called to a meeting.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Is there a second to that motion to table? There is no second. The motion fails.

I would like to explain there are some Federal labor unions that require very little service, and I would also like to explain that there are some International unions that require very little service and very little help. But in this organization of ours we try to give the service where it is needed. Under the rules we have a strike fund, for instance, for Federal labor unions. We pay $10.00 per week strike benefit with that 8½ cents for a maximum of ten weeks. In all of my time in office with the American Federation of Labor, as Secretary and as President, I have never yet seen a case where we held the organization to the ten weeks if it was necessary to go beyond the ten weeks. I can say President Green took this position many years ago, that even though the constitutional requirement would expire at the end of ten weeks, we would use our authority to give a donation equal to the strike benefit for any concluding weeks. We have never held back any service, no matter how expensive it may be to the Federal labor unions. Some of them, of course, need no service, but there are a great many of them that need a lot of help. We have nothing in the record of a breakdown. We have never tried to make a breakdown as to what our staff services mean to the Federal labor unions. This breakdown here is completely on the question of organizing, but we render a service to the Federal labor union in collective bargaining. We even supply time study experts for them. We give them financial figures on the corporations with which they are dealing. We send out people from our Bookkeeping Department from time to time to assist in setting up books. We give every possible service, and this is not an attempt to get an unwarranted increase in dues from the Federal labor unions. It is merely an attempt to get something that more nearly relates to the service which are rendered, and I do not think it is an unreasonable request.

Is there any further discussion?

. . . The motion to adopt this section of the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

INITIATION FEES FROM LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNION MEMBERS

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 26-27)

Your Committee recommends that Article XIII, Section 14, be revised to read as follows:

Initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall not be less than $2 nor more than $15, and that $1 of such initiation fee shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax; accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for; on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar ($1) for reinstatement stamp.

Your Committee approves this amendment to the Constitution and moves its adoption by this convention, again effective as of January 1, 1955.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Gorman, the motion to adopt this portion of the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

MINIMUM DUES FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 50)

Your Committee recommends the revision of Article XIII, Section 12, to read as follows:

Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall require their members to pay dues of not less than two dollars ($2) per month. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires it members to pay not less than two dollars ($2) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Your Committee approves of this amendment to the Constitution and moves its adoption by this convention, again effective as of January 1, 1955.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Gorman, the motion to adopt this portion of the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

CHANGE OF CONVENTION DATES

(First Day's Proceedings—page 427.)

Your Committee on Law considered the Executive Council's recommendation that the date of future conventions of the American Federation of Labor, beginning with the year 1955, be changed from the third Monday in September to the third Thursday in September. It approves this recommended change and the proposed amendment to the constitution recommended by the Executive Council. Your Committee therefore moves and recommends

that Article III, Section 1, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be amended by deleting from the first sentence thereof the word "Monday" and substituting therefor the word "Thursday," such amendment to become effective on January 1, 1955.

Your Committee approves this amendment to the Constitution and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . Committee Secretary Gorman moved adoption of the Committee's report.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee and the motion is to adopt this proposed amendment. I might explain in this connection that for some time we have been studying the Convention procedure with the idea of developing a procedure which would enable us to do our work without spending too much time, and without trying to curtail anything. You will recall last year we completed the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in five days, starting on Monday and finishing on Friday. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that it was too strenuous an operation, that the Committees worked under a tight time schedule, and we should try to find some other procedure.

The idea of this procedure was given to us by some of the national unions who follow this procedure. They open on a Thursday. They have their welcoming speeches, get their committees organized, get their committees meeting, and then, of course, you have a week-end recess, and they are able then to start on Monday morning with the schedule and go right through with the business of the Convention.

The Council felt that this seemed like a good idea and it might be much more convenient for the officers of the various unions who have to attend this Convention. It might enable them to miss the first few days if there were more pressing business and they were not actually going to miss a business session of the Convention. Under this plan the first two days would be given over to welcoming speeches, the speeches of visitors and prominent people, who address the Convention; the organization and meeting of committees. Then, of course, you would have a week-end for further preparation and on Monday you could start actually with business sessions of the Convention. Acting on the matters that come before you. This seems a practical suggestion and it is presented to the Convention with the recommendation of the Committee that it be adopted.

Is there discussion?

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GORMAN: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the recommendations for changes in the Constitution, as have been considered by your Committee on Laws, was, as was stated in the beginning, a result of the action taken at the 1953 Convention, in which the Executive Board was authorized to examine and revise wherever necessary the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. It is the report of your Committee and its recommendation that its study for revision be continued by the Executive Council, and I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Gorman, the recommendation of the Committee on Laws was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GORMAN: Mr. Chairman, the report is signed by the entire Committee. They are as follows:

W. C. Birthright, Barbers; Harry J. Steeper, Musicians; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; T. C. Carroll, Maintenance of Way Employees; William Tracy, Brick and Clay Workers; Peter J. Cahill, Letter Carriers; Henry F. Schmal, Photo Engravers; E. C. Hallbeck, Post Office Clerks; Robert B. Sheets, Hod Carriers; Emily Jordan, United Garment Workers; William McCarthy, Marble, Slate & Stone Polishers; Anthony Matz, Firemen & Oilers; Anthony Valente, Textile Workers; John P. Redmond, Fire Fighters; Sam J. Byers, Laundry Workers; Ted Kenney, Carpenters; Luigi Antonini, Ladies' Garment Workers; David Sullivan, Building Service Employees; H. O'Neil Shanks, Actor & Artistes; Joseph Denny, Bookbinders; Stanton E. Smith, Tennessee State Federation.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BIRTHRIGHT: That completes the report of the Committee on Laws. I move the Committee's report be adopted as a whole.

. . . The motion to adopt the report of the Committee as a whole was unanimously carried and the Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS—ELECTION OF OFFICERS

DELEGATE CALVIN, Boilermakers: Mr. Chairman, to expedite the work of this Convention, I want to offer a motion to have the election of officers set as a special order of business to be called to the attention of this Convention at 11:00 o'clock Monday morning.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The delegates will take note that the election will be at 11:00 A.M. on Monday.

We will proceed with the report of the Resolutions Committee.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE (Continued)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom continued with the report of the Committee as follows:

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED (Executive Council's Report, pp. 164-169)

This past year has been one of intensive activity for the American Federation of Labor's efforts to improve the rehabilitation services and employment opportunities for America's handicapped citizens.

The A. F. of L. has always taken particular interest in this question because of the disabling character of so many injuries sustained by union members both on and off their jobs. The program which the A. F. of L. has developed in this field has not been designed with any feeling that these handicapped need to be "coddled" by our society. On the contrary, the A. F. of L. program is based on the principle that if given adequate rehabilitation services and an opportunity for a decent job, the handicapped individual himself will eagerly utilize his own resources to become an active, productive worker. We reaffirm this basic philosophy.

During the past year the A. F. of L. has continued to cooperate with the President's

Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped, which sponsors the "National Employ the Physically Handicapped Week." While this Committee continues to perform effective work, it is important to emphasize that the job of placing the handicapped in American industry should be a year-round one and not simply concentrated in a specific week.

The A. F. of L. program stresses the need for both labor unions and management to utilize the collective bargaining process to provide greater employment opportunities for the handicapped. To stimulate such efforts a new pamphlet, "Jobs for the Handicapped through Union-Management Cooperation" has been issued. The new publication has been designed to provide material which A. F. of L. unions can utilize to fit their own particular collective bargaining situation.

The Executive Council's Report calls attention to newly enacted legislation in the form of amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. Although these amendments do not include all the recommendations of the A. F. of L., they represent a significant advance in the extent and type of rehabilitation services which the Federal Government can now help finance. The emphasis in the new legislation is on federal-state cooperation, under which the states have to meet certain federal standards before their programs are eligible for federal funds.

The new legislation creates a special Advisory Council of 12 members, six of whom are to be technically qualified experts and the remaining six, representatives of the public at large. We urge that in the appointments to this Council recognition be given to the interest and activities of American workers regarding this very vital subject.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CIVIL RIGHTS
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 302-305)

The American Federation of Labor has traditionally stood as a bulwark for the preservation of individual liberties and extension of equal economic opportunity to all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.

We are highly gratified by the notable progress reported by the Executive Council toward elimination of racial discrimination in American life which has been climaxed by the historic Supreme Court decision prohibiting racial discrimination in the nation's public schools. Yet much still remains to be done to assure equality of opportunity to all Americans.

It is especially important that our Federation continue its efforts to secure acceptance of the principle and practice of equal employment opportunity. We reaffirm our determination to obtain enactment of fair employment practices legislation and shall seek revision of the Senate rule which now permits filibusters by recalcitrant minorities to block this and other civil rights legislation.

We ask our affiliates to continue to exert every effort to eliminate discrimination in employment. We should do everything possible to strengthen administration and enforcement of the federal policy requiring firms holding government contracts not to discriminate in their employment policies. We especially ask that our affiliates demonstrate in their day-to-day activity complete adherence to the principle and practice of equality of employment opportunity so that there can be no possibility for reactionary employers who may wish to perpetuate discriminatory practices to shift the responsibility to the union.

As the Executive Council has reported, while noteworthy gains have been made toward achievement of equal opportunity, new threats have arisen to our individual liberties. Congressional investigations in which innocent citizens have been injured by testimony based on innuendo and hearsay have amply demonstrated the need for a fundamental recasting of Congressional investigatory procedures. The investigations conducted by Senator Joseph R. McCarthy have to an unprecedented degree brazenly flouted traditional democratic procedures.

Our Federation has sought to obtain remedial action which would protect individuals from arbitrary actions by investigating committees, but the Congress has failed to take any action along these lines. We recommend that efforts continue to be made to secure adoption of a code of fair procedure for Congressional Committees.

The fight against Communist subversion and infiltration, an insidious threat to our freedom and security which the American Federation of Labor was the first to point out, must be carried on with vigor and determination. But the Communist danger to our internal security can and must be rooted out without weakening the principle of due process of law and without endangering our traditional freedoms.

With these comments and recommendations, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the Commitee was unanimously adopted.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT
(Executive Council's Report, p. 125)

The American Federation of Labor has opposed the recurring efforts to enact an "Equal Rights" amendment to the Constitution, fearing that under the guise of providing "equal rights" for women, it would actually endanger longstanding federal and state legislation enacted to establish wage, hour, safety and other standards for women workers.

In recent months it has become evident that a number of women's organizations have changed their attitude regarding this amendment. This development is worthy of our consideration.

Without recommending any change in the A. F. of L.'s position opposing this amendment, we recommend that the Executive Council undertake a thorough study of this issue and take such action as may be warranted.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. SERVICES TO THE COMMUNITY

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 353-355)

Organized labor's contribution to community well-being is reflected not only in the negotiation of improved living standards for wage-earners who constitute the major part of the community, but also in its active participation in the solution of local economic, civic, and welfare problems.

Labor is mindful of its community responsibilities. Our affiliated unions, acting through their city central labor unions, are strong supporters of sound programs required for community progress in such vital areas as education, housing, economic development, recreational facilities, and health and welfare services.

However, the range of modern community needs is so challenging that union efforts in these areas must be intensified and given a greater measure of coordination and leadership.

The establishment of the new A. F. of L. Standing Committee on Community Relations, with Vice President Woll as chairman, is a major forward step in increasing constructive A. F. of L. participation in community affairs and well reflects the first-rank consideration accorded community service in the overall A. F. of L. program. The Committee has already planned steps to encourage greater union support of worthwhile community activities.

The coordination and guidance to be provided by the new Committee should prove invaluable in enabling affiliated unions to devote their energies more effectively to community betterment. Its recommendations on participation in the work of the many national health, welfare and recreational organizations will better equip our unions to determine how best to channel their activities.

Your Committee heartily endorses the call of the Executive Council for the active support of all our affiliates for this expanded community relations program, and we urge every central labor union which has not yet done so to establish a specific committee on community relations to carry through this vital function.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COOPERATIVES

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 328-329)

Our members and affiliates have shown increasing interest and have expanded their activities in consumer cooperatives. These democratically administered enterprises are engaged in a wide variety of economic activities providing quality goods and services on a nonprofit basis and at a minimum cost.

We call upon our affiliates to give further assistance and guidance to their members in the organization and operation of consumer cooperatives and credit unions. Participation by trade union members in the consumer cooperative movement not only directly serves their economic interests as wage earners, but contributes to the expansion of a form of economic enterprise which can serve as a yardstick of value and service for a large sector of our economy. Our Federation should continue to provide necessary information and give every possible assistance to our members and affiliates to help them to establish nonprofit consumer cooperatives on a sound basis.

Trade unions have played an active role in the rapid growth of credit unions. In organizing and operating these people's banks, our members and affiliates have provided a safe means for workers to invest their savings and a source for them to borrow funds when necessary at low cost. We ask that our Federation continue to assist our affiliates in the organization and operation of credit unions on a sound financial footing.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates D. W. Tracy, J. Scott Milne, Joseph D. Keenan, Frank Riley, O. G. Harbak, Griffith Ace, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 409.)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have reached the hour of adjournment. I would like to remind you that daylight saving time comes to an end at 2 a.m. Sunday morning.

We shall now stand adjourned until 9:30 Pacific Standard Time Monday morning.

. . . At 5:00 o'clock P.M. the Convention recessed until 9:30 o'clock A.M., Monday, September 27, 1954.

Seventy-third Annual Convention
of the
American Federation of Labor
1954
Proceedings

Los Angeles, California, September 27, 1954

Report of

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

Los Angeles, California
September 27, 1954

The Convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock A. M. by President Meany.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Invocation this morning will be given by Dr. Ray W. Ragsdale, Superintendent of the Los Angeles Diocese of the Methodist Church.

INVOCATION

Dr. Ray W. Ragsdale, Superintendent of the Los Angeles Diocese of the Methodist Church

Let us pray. O God, Thou mightiest Worker of the Universe, we pause at the beginning of this day to acknowledge Thee as the source of our strength and the author of our wisdom. Recognizing as the Convention business is resumed this morning how easy it is to say something and think we have done something, grant that no one is caught up in the vanity of words. Recognizing how hard it is to subordinate our personal desires to the common good, purge our spirits of the poison of self-centeredness. Broaden our horizons so that we may see that the goal of life is greater than bread and meat, and help us to realize that all men are our brothers.

Hasten the day of peace and concord in world affairs, we pray Thee, and grant wisdom and patience to all who exercise the responsibilities of leadership.

May the closing hours of this Convention bring the satisfaction of work well done, and may our thoughts return daily to Thee, O God. Amen.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Dr. Ragsdale.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for the reading of communications.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

George Meany,
President American Federation of Labor
Ambassador Hotel,
Los Angeles:

On behalf of all the affiliates and members of the Jewish Labor Committee I wish to extend best wishes to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor Convention. May your family of ten million grow in numbers and strength. May your work for a better America and a free and peaceful world be crowned with success. We are proud of your leadership in the fight against totalitarians and dictators on both the right and left. We wish that your deliberations and actions lead you to ever greater achievements.

ADOLPH HELD,
National Chairman Jewish Labor Committee.

George Meany, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Los Angeles:

Labor Zionist Organization of America sends fraternal greetings Convention of A. F. of L. We hail your growth in numbers and influence and progress made in achieving a greater measure of dignity and equitable return for American Labor. We appreciate especially your constant demonstration of sympathy for needs of Jewish people as for all underprivileged groups and particularly for State of Israel and its labor movement. May your convention mark milestone and serve as inspiration for ever greater accomplishments.

DR. HERMAN SEIDEL
Chairman Central Committee,
RALPH WECHSLER,
Chairman Administrative Committee
JACOB KATZMAN,
Executive Secretary.

Paris, France.

George Meany, President
American Federation of Labor,
Los Angeles, California:

Interfederation Marine Ports salutes Congress of American Federation of Labor and wishes you great success in your efforts to safeguard the liberty of the world and its workers.

FERRI PISANI.

Sept. 21, 1954.

Chairman George Meany and Delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Los Angeles:

It gives me great pleasure in addressing the Convention of the American Federation of Labor which has a great history and tradition, representing the Japanese Federation of Labor.

I wish to express our great respect for the American Federation of Labor, which is not only endeavouring to better the conditions of the workers of America, but also aiming for world peace and the happiness of all mankind, contributing tremendously in organizing democratic and free workers union throughout the entire world.

Above all, we greatly appreciate the fact that the American Federation of Labor is rendering great efforts in aiding the affiliation of the Japan Federation of Trade Union and the All-Japan Trade Union Council (Zenro) with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, two unions which are true democratic organizations, of Japan and collaborating for the workers' democratization campaign.

There are many difficulties ahead of the workers' democratization campaign of Japan, but we hope to overcome these difficulties and join the comrades of the entire world in the same battle line. So for this reason we would like to join hands more firmly with the American Federation of Labor.

I hope that the American Federation of Labor will achieve strong unity and a bright future.

YONEKICHI KANEMASA,
Japan Federation of Trade Unions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Committee Chairman Petrillo of the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN PETRILLO: The Committee is ready to report, and the report will be rendered by the Secretary of the Committee, Carl Megel.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEGEL: Mr. Chairman, delegates: The Committee on Education had six resolutions referred to it, as follows:

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECISION AGAINST SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, and C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 395.)

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEGEL: Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this resolution in concurrence with the Committee recommendation.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee on Education on Resolution No. 62. Is there discussion?

DELEGATE A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I want to make a few comments on this resolution, inasmuch as it involves the question of public schools.

It is the history of the working man's associations in the United States of America that in their early beginning they were the most consistent, persistent and insistent advocates of a free public school system.

One of the reasons for this was that the workers were without much material resources, and therefore were not prepared to send their children to private schools.

Since then, the organized workers have had and maintained a fundamental interest in the maintenance of the free public school system.

The workers want not only a free public school system, but an adequate public school system, a system which is without prejudice to the children of any section of the population of our country.

The purpose of that monumental, memorable and momentous decision of the United States Supreme Court on May 15, 1954, was to eliminate segregation and discrimination in our public schools.

I want to set forth to you three of the cardinal points made by the United States Supreme Court. The Chief Justice, speaking for a unanimous court, restated the far reaching question: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely because of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" And the Court replied: "We believe that it does."

That's a very significant statement, because it overthrows the old doctrine of separate but equal; that is to say, that if the children of one section of our population received the same type of schools as the children of another section of the population, that serves and fulfills the mission of the public school system. The Court says that that is not true.

It says further the first involved legal and moral principle is whether racial segregation in the public schools is compatible with the ideals of our democracy as expressed in the United States Constitution. This the court answered with a clear and unequivocal "No." In the words of Chief Justice Warren, "To separate Negro pupils from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. In the field of public education the doctrine 'separate but equal' has no place."

This is one of the most basic pronouncements made on the question of education in the history of this country, and I want in this connection to congratulate the leader of the American Federation of Labor, Brother Meany, who made a pronouncement following this decision to the effect that, "The Government ought to appropriate a billion dollars to help in the transition of the public school system in the South from a segregated pattern to a nonsegregated pattern."

This idea raises the question of implementation. In other words, some time in October

the Supreme Court will have before it the Attorneys General of the various states that have had a segregated school system for the purpose of discussing the question of the implementation of this decision.

The delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters want to urge and request the delegates here to go back to their unions, the central bodies, the state federations, and your national and international unions and urge them to cooperate with the local school boards and various governmental authorities in helping to bring about an orderly transition from a segregated public school system to a non-segregated system. We urge that because already some voices have been raised in the country against this decision, particularly in Georgia, Governor Talmadge of Georgia, Governor White of Mississippi, Governor Byrnes of South Carolina have insisted and also intimated that if the Supreme Court handed down a decision for the abolition of segregated schools, they would insist upon the abolition of the public school system in their states.

My dear brothers and friends, this idea is so ridiculous that it is incredibly tragic because of the disaster that would fall upon the children of those states that have had a segregated school system, if their public schools were displaced by private schools. But I do not believe that Governor Talmadge, Governor Byrnes or Governor White will be able to carry out that threat. I do not believe that the people of those states will agree to the abolition of their public school systems. As a matter of fact, I do not believe that they represent the true spirit of the South today. But we need the trade union movement and the liberal bodies in our country to take a definitive position in support of this great decision by the United States Supreme Court.

This decision did not give Negro pupils any new rights. This decision really only gave recognition to the rights that the Negro children already possessed. As a matter of fact, no Government can give anybody human rights, and the right of children to a free public education is a civil right and a human right. Human rights are not man-made. They are not given by governments. But they are God-given, and they are God-made. For that reason this is a moral question, fundamentally and basically, and because it is a moral question, it is to the interest of our country to see to it that this decision has reality and that it is not violated as were the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments following the Civil War.

May I also say that when this decision was handed down "Pravda" of Russia, the mouthpiece of the Kremlin, made no mention of this decision. "The Daily Worker" of this country, the Communist organ, made no mention of this decision. As a matter of fact, this decision is worth more to the foreign policy of our country in combating world-wide Russian Communism in its effort to establish world-wide conquest than all of the hydrogen bombs and the atomic bombs that we can make. It is one decision that has been able to reach the hearts of the teeming millions of people of color in Asia and Africa, and it has made them realize that this country has the genius and the basic integrity to deal with any question that involves the democratic right of any section of our citizenship.

And so, Brother President and fellow delegates, I hope that we may be able fully to comprehend and realize the far-reaching significance of this decision. It has inaugurated a veritable educational and modern revolution in our country, and this revolution will go on and on until the complete and full mission of the Civil War has reached its fruition.

Thank you very much.

. . . The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee carried unanimously.

(Vice President McFetridge in the Chair.)

. . . Committee Secretary Megel continued the report of the Committee as follows:

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS ON SEGREGATED SCHOOLS, ETC.

Resolution No. 65 — By Delegates Carl J. Megel, Arthur A. Elder, Selma M. Borchardt, Herrick S. Roth, Edward A. Irwin, American Federation of Teachers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 396.)

Resolution 62 just adopted is a resolution of implementation. Resolution 65 is a resolution similar—Supreme Court Decisions on Segregated Schools. It is a resolution on procedure.

In conformity with the concurrence of the Committee, we move adoption of Resolution 65.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

REPLACEMENT OF DILAPIDATED SCHOOL BOOKS

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 395.)

The Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INADEQUATE LIBRARY SERVICES

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 395.)

The Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

PROTESTING UNAUTHORIZED USE OF CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION IN DISMISSAL OF TEACHERS

Resolution No. 130—By the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 420.)

The Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COOPERATIVE PLANS FOR EDUCATION

Resolution No. 143 — By Delegate Durkin, President of United Association of Plumbers.

(Fourth Day's Proceedings—page 516.)

The Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEGEL: Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of this resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE PETER T. SCHOEMANN: Mr. Chairman, I wish to present the statement of our General President, Mr. Martin P. Durkin of the United Association, in support of this resolution promoting within the ranks of organized labor the wide acceptance of Plans for Cooperative Education.

The Cooperative Plan is not new but it has received new significance for the labor movement and for the country because of its recent adoption by President Durkin and use by the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry to solve three pressing national problems: the need for conserving our human resources by educating our intelligent and qualified young men and women who are unable to pay the high cost of education; the vital need for training engineers who are now in woefully short supply; the need for labor-management cooperation in worthy endeavors for the benefit of both the industry and the community. To date the United Association has gained the acceptance of its plan by several of its local unions and the plan is rapidly spreading to all areas of the country.

Basically, the cooperative plan is a combination of classroom work and practical industrial experience in an organized program under which students alternate periods of college with periods of related employment. For example, a full time job is obtained near the college concerned. This job is shared by two students, one of whom works on the job while his partner or alternate attends college. At the end of a certain period of time the two change places. Thus, the job is kept continuously filled and each student is enabled to spend half of his time in college. At the end of his course the student will receive his bachelor's degree or diploma. The plan is particularly useful for engineer training.

This plan has been tailored to meet the requirements of our union and can be used effectively by all other international unions. But before going into the details, I wish to present the reasoning which prompted President Durkin to place the plan in operation within the United Association.

Plan of the United Association

"All too often in many nations, men, women and children are allowed to go through their lives without ever getting an opportunity to use their native intelligence, simply because they have never had an opportunity to train that intelligence by the process of formal education.

"Is this waste of intelligence true in America? Is there a vast reservoir of native intelligence which is allowed to go unused simply because educational opportunities are not available?

"A competent authority—associated with the Scientific Manpower Commission—has stated that this country could place and profitably use tomorrow between 35,000 and 40,000 adequately trained engineers. But in the academic year 1952-53 only 8,000 students began engineering training. Next year, it is estimated there may be some 17,500 trained engineers graduated—but the demand will be greater than 40,000.

"In other words, as America enters the atomic age we are seriously handicapped in the peace-time uses of this great discovery simply because we are not taking positive steps to tap the reservoir of native intelligence which is everywhere in the nation.

"As to the wartime uses of atomic energy, we must compare our situation with that of Soviet Russia.

The Soviet Russian Way

"Next year Soviet Russia will graduate 50,000 trained engineers while we are graduating 17,500.

"This year—and for 14 years in the past—Soviet Russia is tapping its reservoir of native intelligence. Millions of young workers are forced to take compulsory training, education and advancement while working on the job. Under the title of the 'Labor Reserve Training Program,' millions of Communists are put in schools for engineers, scientists, and technicians. Some 450 universities and institutes give courses in higher education to workers while 20 institutions are devoted entirely to education by correspondence. In recent years, correspondence and night school students have accounted for 30% of the higher educational enrollment in the Soviet Union. The basic requirement for higher education is the Russian equivalent of a high school education and an entrance examination. Once a State supported student has completed his course of study, he must work for at least three years in his field and is subject to criminal penalties for quitting without permission.

Our Way: The American Way

"No matter how disturbing these facts about the Soviet system of preparing for the atomic age—for war or for peace—the truth is that we in America are not abreast of our responsibilities. If we stop to think of the developments in the use of steam and electricity alone, then we can imagine what lies ahead as a consequence of the discovery of atomic energy. Without doubt the great names which will be on the pages of scientific history will belong to men who are not yet born. With equal certainty there are in this country today young men whose intelligence could produce engineering achievements which will benefit all mankind. But our problem is to provide a method of insuring that such intelligence will not be wasted for lack of an opportunity to train or educate this native ability.

"The stumbling block which prevents our children from getting a higher education—is the limit to which we can stretch the dollars in our pay envelope. We know that unless some new way is found college will be just as much beyond the reach of our children as it was for us.

"But there is a 'new way.'

"Concretely, let each Local Union select pairs of qualified applicants for apprentice training. Of each pair of apprentices who wish to go to college to be trained as engineers, one apprentice would actually go to college for one semester and the other would proceed with the work of an apprentice. At the end of the semester, the apprentices would change places. The apprentice who went to college would come back and work as an apprentice on the job; the other apprentice would then go to college. Each semester these two apprentices would 'switch.' Then at the end of five years—including summers as well as winters—an apprentice would receive both his certificate as a journey-

man member of the United Association and his college diploma as a trained engineer from a fully accredited college or university. College tuition would be paid for by the union.

"In this way a young man would achieve two goals at the same time: He would become a craftsman in the plumbing and pipefitting industry and a properly trained engineer. Above all, he would be an engineer with some practical knowledge. He will have earned his own way through college.

"This year some 35 outstanding universities and colleges through America offered this opportunity to young men. More to the point, some 31 of these colleges offered courses in mechanical engineering leading to a college degree and courses in 14 other branches of engineering were also available at particular colleges and universities. This plan of education is no 'theory'; it is very much a fact."

The gravity of this problem of education in America cannot be over-emphasized. The situation is far beyond the stage of hoping to find some way by which our young people will be able to train themselves. We can no longer sit back and satisfy ourselves that America is a land of opportunity and that somehow individuals will reach their goals. We must take positive steps which will genuinely place opportunities within the reach of qualified young people.

Certainly, it is particularly fitting that the Trade Union Movement by whose efforts free public education became a reality in the 19th Century, should now take the lead in establishing a way for ambitious young people to acquire a higher education.

For all of these reasons, Mr. President, I wish to express on behalf of President Durkin, his unqualified support for the resolution. This resolution simply expresses the sense of this Convention that all international unions adopt and put into effect plans for cooperative education within their organizations. It also calls for President Meany to appoint a committee of the American Federation of Labor to assist in this purpose and to cooperate with the Government, with employers and with colleges and universities in aid of these plans.

I ask the wholehearted support of this Resolution by this Convention.

CHAIRMAN McFETRIDGE: Thank you, Delegate Schoemann, for making a statement on behalf of President Durkin. It is a sad commentary on our economy in general and on our thinking as a trade union movement when the national safety is imperiled due to the fact that we do not have trained engineers, and we do not afford the opportunity to those who are ready, willing and able to assimilate an education to get it.

In that connection may I say my own local union has for a number of years had eight unrestricted, unlimited scholarships to any university for the sons and daughters of the members of our Union, and we believe it is the sense of the Federation that this should be followed to afford the education for all who are willing to take it.

. . . The motion to adopt this section of the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MEGEL: The report of the Executive Council on Education, pages 104 through 106 and pages 305 through 328, was referred to the Education Committee.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 305-312)

The American Federation of Labor services to affiliates in the field of Workers' education have been expanded during the past year. We are pleased to note that increased emphasis has been placed on supplying International Unions, State Federations, City Central Bodies, and Local Unions with information and material that will assist them in strengthening their ongoing programs of service to their members.

Your committee also notes that in increasing measure the educational work of the American Federation of Labor includes such important activities as consulting with state and local labor bodies regarding scholarship programs, the development of programs with public libraries, universities, and colleges for educational service to unions, and the provision of films, pamphlets and outlines regarding the American Federation of Labor program and objectives, and the place of the organized labor movement in American life. Such services are essential and if effectively provided to colleges, universities, public schools, libraries, government agencies and other community organizations and individuals, will strengthen understanding of the A. F. of L. purposes both among members and non-members.

Your committtee interpreted the growing number of labor institutes and educational conferences sponsored by State Federations of Labor in various parts of the nation during the past year as significant recognition by our officers and members that increased study and attention to the complex problems confronting the labor movement is necessary.

The Director of the A. F. of L. educational activities and members of his staff have assisted in planning a number of these conferences. They have also cooperated with the presidents and secretaries of the 14 Southern State Federations of Labor in planning the Southern AFL Labor School program, which, initiated in 1952 has been given such widespread support that it has been found necessary to hold two sessions, one in Virginia, the second in Texas, during 1954. Your Committee believes that the American Federation of Labor can render most significant service to affiliates in providing continued assistance and counsel in planning and administering labor institutes, schools and conferences for the training of union officers and members.

Your committee would also urge the delegates to read the sections of the report on Film, Library, and Audio-Visual Activities, A. F. of L. sponsored scholarships, and Cooperation with University Labor Education Programs, pp. 285-288 of the Executive Council's Report. We call your particular attention to these sections because we believe you will better appreciate the various ways in which the American Federation of Labor can cooperate with affiliated organizations in providing service to members through strengthening their educational programs.

In connection with increased demand for educational films noted in the report, your committee recommends that consideration be given to the preparation of film-strips and other audio-visual material on subject matters directly relating to the American Federation of Labor purposes and programs, under A. F. of L. auspices.

Members of your committee recommend that American Federation of Labor cooperation in promoting the educational exchange of work-

ers and information through various government agencies be continued and intensified. We would also suggest in this connection that experiences of foreign trade unionists in this country and United States trade unionists abroad be written up and published in A. F. of L. publications more frequently so that the A. F. of L. officers and members will gain a more direct knowledge of the value of these programs in increasing international understanding among trade unionists.

Your committee notes that pamphlets and publications issued by the American Federation of Labor regarding materials, methods and developments in union education are in continued demand. We would particularly call the attention of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor pamphlets dealing with every phase of union activity, on display in the Convention Lobby. These pamphlets, dealing with the most vital problems confronting the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, should be brought to the attention of officers and educational committee members who are charged with the responsibility of keeping our members alert and informed. Time, effort and money spent by the American Federation of Labor in research, conventions, publicity or the preparation of material will mean little unless implemented by the day-to-day activities of union officers and members. Your committee believes that union education can be most meaningful only as it is made an integral part of all union activities.

The educational activities of the American Federation of Labor are being carried on under the direction of John D. Connors. Your committee commends him and the members of his staff for their record of accomplishment during the past year, and urges the continued and intensified cooperation of all affiliates in forwarding our common educational objectives of assisting our members to become more active as participants in their unions, more responsible as citizens in their communities and finally, to enable them and their families to lead richer and fuller lives as individuals.

Your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING; PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND CHILD CARE; AND WORKERS EDUCATION AND OTHER ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMS

During the past year the educational activities of the American Federation of Labor have extended into many fields.

The work has fallen into three general categories: (1) Vocational Education and Apprenticeship Training; (2) Public Schools and Child Care, (3) Workers Education and other Adult Education programs. A sub-committee of the Committee on Education assisted by the Federation Staff, conducts the work in all categories.

In the field of Vocational Education, excellent progress has been made. Equipped with factual data obtained from the state federations, the committee made definite plans and initiated certain projects through which to develop a better program in vocational education. The standing committee has carried through the directives from last year's convention. Specifically it has:

1. Asked the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Samuel Brownell, to revitalize the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and the Advisory Committee on Trade and Industrial Education. The Commissioner replied that he would appoint such committees just as soon as he "could properly ask their counsel or be in a position to follow through on advice given." It is encouraging to observe that this committee has prepared material to have submitted to Dr. Brownell showing to him that the Advisory Committees are needed and expressing the hope that he will soon "Be in a position to follow through on advice given."

2. Sent to all affiliated A. F. of L. bodies a clearcut statement of the activities of the Division of Vocational Education of the Office of Education as a first step in guiding them for further cooperative action.

3. Fostered and developed a program of constructive working relationships in many areas between responsible state and local trade union officers and state and local representatives of vocational education training programs and with the representatives of the apprenticeship training programs.

Your committee heartily commends the good work done so far in developing this cooperative approach, and urges that a number of pilot projects be planned to help develop the most effective means through which to carry out such a cooperative program.

4. The committee notes with regret that no reports have been submitted during this year from "responsible officers of our trade union movement to inform the sub-committee on Vocational Education of any problems that have arisen in the conduct of the program," as the last year's convention asked.

Your committee agrees heartily with the Executive Council's report in recommending that periodically the city central bodies and state federations of labor should be asked for definite information on current problems.

Your committee further notes with great concern the attitude to manual labor and to those who are being trained for service in the skilled trades and other forms of manual labor. This attitude shows the great need for a far-reaching program of Adult Education, a program through which to develop in our citizens an appreciation of democracy in action and a genuine respect for the dignity of man, particularly of men who work with their hands and with their head to build and keep us a free nation.

The particular responsibility of the teachers in America in developing a true appreciation of our democratic values must be stressed. We recommend that the American Federation of Teachers be asked to call to the attention of their members the need for active support from their members in furthering such a program.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR WORK

Your committee is in hearty accord with the recommendation of the Executive Council that the Standing Committee on Education be in-

structed to arrange for such a conference as soon as practicable.

Your committee further concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that a brochure on Vocational Education be published.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND CHILD CARE

The Executive Council reports three essential studies have been made by the Standing Committee on Education:

1. Labor's Role in Helping Shape Educational Policy

This study emphasizes the importance of having qualified labor leaders serve on boards of education, and sets forth what the qualifications for such service should be. It further sets forth the responsibilities in office of men and women who serve on such boards.

2. Textbooks

The second study is on Textbooks. It sets forth first the disturbing facts that in many places children are still not given free textbooks or are made to submit what in effect is a declaration of pauperism to get such books. It sets forth the A. F. of L. position in opposition to censorship and the basic need that truth and sound scholarship alone must determine text book content.

3. School Attendance Laws

The third study deals with school attendance laws and shows that many states still excuse a child from school "if he is too poor to attend" or if he lives "too far from school."

The community's responsibility, the state's duty and the federal government's immediate concern in these problems are outlined and remedial constructive action is suggested.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for having had these reports prepared for us and recommends that these reports should be made available to all affiliated bodies and to such non-affiliated groups as share our interest.

With these comments we concur in the recommendation of this section of the Council's report and urge early distribution of these studies.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

Your committee is pleased that the American Federation of Labor is taking an active and constructive role in helping the Court and the nation wisely determine an effective program through which to implement the Supreme Court decision on segregation.

Your committee concurs in the report of the Executive Council and urges full support from all affiliated bodies in helping us as a nation realize the democratic goal which the decision envisages.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

The Executive Council's report reviews our long fight for federal aid, and tells of the present approach of having each of the five major fields where Federal aid for education is needed served by a separate bill. In this way no one provision can be used to delay action on the others.

We concur in the Council's report and urge continued active support for

Federal Aid for School Construction
Federal Aid for Teachers' Salaries
Federal Aid for Scholarships
Federal Aid to Combat Illiteracy
Federal Aid for Services for Children

Your committee concurs in the Council's report and urges the active support of all city central and state bodies in helping the states and all the people of the states who so desperately need this aid from our federal government.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

ATTACKS ON EDUCATION

The Executive Council's report gives in some detail a report on the attacks on education.

We quote here but a part of the facts cited by the Council:

For some time the National Association of Manufacturers and other such industrial organizations have fostered and promoted a campaign through which "to tie industry and education together." Industry-Education days were one consequence of this tie. Reports on the earlier activities of these programs have been made to previous conventions and strong action has been taken by preceding American Federation of Labor conventions to thwart such propaganda programs, through our schools. However, a bold far-reaching program was initiated last year by industry at a conference in New York City at which the Chairman of the Board of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company urged "a marriage of business and education." The first aim of this conference was to take over American colleges and universities by offering them greater financial support.

The fact that this program is a serious challenge to academic integrity, and to the nation's schools, is shown clearly in resolutions adopted by this conference to the effect that "more educational programs should be geared to industry's direct and immediate needs and, at the same time that industry should contribute more freely and fully to the general needs of educational institutions." With absolute candor the conference urged industry to give more money for education, stating that "In corporate giving, where there's a will there's a way" and "Corporate aid should be considered not as a gift or a grant, but as a factory expense, that is, as a cost of doing business."

One of the outspoken suggestions which appeared some time ago in "Factory Management and Maintenance" spelled out the program for industry in simple words under the caption "How to Help Local Schools." "If you're looking for a good way to take part in education of local kids, why not supply company written textbooks to community schools. 'Don't have to be expensive,' says Edgar S. Brownfind, Public Relations Director, Republic Steel Company. He adds, 'You can start this thing on a shoestring, you don't have to put

out books; you can put out mimeographs. The idea is to get started. Start small; and don't give up.' " This spells out our challenge.

These facts are alarming. Your Committee recommends that this report be given wide circulation among all groups interested in preserving the integrity of our schools.

With these comments your Committee recommends the adoption of this section of the Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

TEACHERS WHO PLEAD THE FIFTH AMENDMENT

Your committee concurs in the position taken by the American Federation of Labor in its clear declaration in opposition to the employment of Communists as teachers. We would point out further that the Council's report:

1. Emphasizes its unqualified support of the right of any person to invoke the Fifth Amendment for his protection.
2. Differentiates between a man's right to protection in any criminal action in court, and a man's right to a job.
3. Clearly affirms the absolute necessity of having any action brought against any teacher because he invoked the Fifth Amendment based on factual evidence. It further emphasizes that any action taken must be based on the findings in a fair trial conducted "through the school systems' own properly constituted machinery for hearing and trial."

In this way both the public interest and the teacher's personal interest are protected.

With these comments we recommend the adoption of this section of the Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

POLICY MAKING FOR EDUCATION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

(Executive Council's Report, p. 324)

The Executive Council's report tells fully of the story of three educational bills introduced this year; one providing for national and state conferences, a second providing for the establishment of a national advisory committee on education, and a third providing for research in education to be conducted cooperatively by the federal government and private agencies.

The Council's report relates how the American Federation of Teachers, familiar with "hidden clauses" in education bills, discovered some very disturbing thinly veiled proposals. One such proposal was that the government should accept private funds to be used "as the donors wished." We find here in this proposed legislation the identical effort to put over propaganda that is found in the proposals of private industry that "support for education by industry is desirable" referred to in this report.

The American Federation of Labor joined with the American Federation of Teachers and killed this dangerous proposal for such federal legislation. Other danger spots were removed, from the bills and they became law.

The State Conferences authorized by this legislation will be held during the next year. We urge all state federations and city central bodies to make sure that they will be invited to participate in these conferences. We further ask that the Standing Committee on Education be asked to make available as quickly as possible material for state federations and city central bodies to help them prepare their respective data for use in these state conferences.

We further recommend that the Standing Committee on Education be instructed to make sure that the American Federation of Labor will be adequately represented at the national conferences.

The Council further recommends that the A. F. of L. take steps to assure its being represented on the National Advisory Committee on Education. In this your committee concurs.

Your committee believes that the issues to be faced during this coming year show the need of keeping our affiliated bodies fully informed on educational trends and developments. We believe that the Standing Committee on Education should send periodical reports on current developments in education and child care to the affiliated bodies.

With these comments the committee recommends the adoption of the Executive Council's report on "Policy Making for Education at the National Level."

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

THE WELFARE OF OUR CHILDREN

The Council's report sets forth our traditional position in support of the welfare of our children—a statement which should be sent to non-labor groups by our affiliated organizations.

The report also emphasizes the great service which the Children's Bureau has always rendered the nation in helping protect the welfare of our children. We believe every state federation and local central body should be apprised of their great work and should be asked to work cooperatively with the American Federation of Labor in assuring this agency adequate financial support from the Congress.

We would also commend the Division of Labor Standards, in the Department of Labor, for the excellent work it has done in seeking to curb child labor and child exploitation, and particularly would we pledge our active support in the current campaign to eradicate the abuses to which children and youth are subjected in many of the nation's bowling alleys.

The Council's report points up for us the complexity of the current problems of child care and juvenile delinquency. We believe the facts here presented show the very great need for bringing more teachers into the American Federation of Labor so that they may actively join a great force in working for the nation's children, and shows the need for a socially integrated program in the interest of the child and the youth, the need for better housing, for recreational and library facilities, for enough schools with good teachers, for means to assure adequate living standards within the child's family. All these are part of one great problem—caring for our children.

On the developments in rendering this service your committee believes our members must be kept currently informed.

With these observations, your committee recommends the adoption of the Council's report on "The Welfare of Our Children" and "Child Care and Industrial Change."

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

A. F. OF L. POLICY ON USE OF FOUNDATION FUNDS
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 326-327)

This section of the report outlines the conditions under which the Executive Council recommends that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates should cooperate in the use of foundation funds to finance labor-education programs.

Your committee recognizes that the American Federation of Labor is critical of tax laws which permit the creation of huge foundations. We know that weaknesses in the estate and gift tax laws, low rates on capital gains, the failure to tax capital gains at death, various types of tax exempt income, and numerous other legalized tax escape devices have made it possible to accumulate the huge fortunes which as foundations are enabled to escape further taxation.

However, it is the opinion of your committee that the American Federation of Labor can and will continue to press for necessary corrections in present tax laws that permit undue concentration of wealth that has led to the creation of huge foundations. Pending such correction, however, your committee believes that the American Federation of Labor should actively concern itself with the manner in which foundations are operated.

Further, because of their tax exempt status, the American Federation of Labor can and should insist that educational, cultural and civic activities in which its members and affiliates have a legitimate interest should benefit equally with all other organized groups and individuals from the tax exempt funds made available through the activities of foundations.

Your Committee recommends approval of this section of the report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES
UNESCO
EXCHANGE PROGRAMS
(Executive Council's Report, p. 327)

Your committee would emphasize the importance of these sections of the Executive Council's report, recommending continued support and urging improved administration of programs relating to international educational activities, through UNESCO and other governmental agencies. It calls particular attention to the Executive Council's recommendation that labor representatives on Boards directing the policy of international exchange programs should be increased. It would urge that all affiliates actively concern themselves with programs involving the interchange of students and workers for travel, study, and work experience in this country and abroad on both a short and long term basis.

We would also urge that all affiliates place particular stress on an increased understanding of the history, purposes and programs of the I. L. O., the I. C. F. T. U. and our relations as trade unionists to them.

The committee recommends adoption of these sections of the report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Megel, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted as a whole.

The following names appearing as members of the committee:

EDUCATION

James C. Petrillo, Musicians; M. C. Plunk, Maintenance of Way Employees; Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation; Edward J. Hillock, Plumbers and Steamfitters; Henry Anderson, Letter Carriers; Thomas Quinn, Post Office Clerks; Kenneth J. Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation; Daniel J. McNamara, Street Railway Employees; J. R. Downes, Bridge & Structural Iron Workers; Harry H. Cook, Flint Glass Workers; Carl Megel, Teachers; James J. Doyle, Coopers; W. L. Allen, Commercial Telegraphers; Earl Heaton, Automobile Workers; H. A. Bradley, Chemical Workers; H. L. Mitchell, Agricultural Workers; G. A. Sackett, Retail Clerks; John R. Jones, Paper Makers; Pat Somerset, Actors & Artistes; Joseph Morris, Jewelry Workers; Joseph Cerutti, Albany, New York, C.L.U.; Jennie Matyas, International Ladies Garment Workers.

ACTING CHAIRMAN McFETRIDGE: On behalf of the convention we are sincerely grateful to the Committee on Education for the fine report on this most important subject. Thank you very much. The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
(Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom reported as follows:

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES LEGISLATION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 125)

The Executive Council reports that once again the American Federation of Labor has sought to obtain enactment of legislation which would guarantee the right to equal job opportunity to all citizens regardless of race, creed, color or national origin. Hearings were held by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare at which the A. F. of L. vigorously supported the bill introduced by several senators entitled "Federal Equality of Employment Opportunity Act." Although this bill was reported favorably, the Senate, fearful of a filibuster by a recalcitrant minority which has opposed all civil rights legislation, once again failed to vote on this legislation.

Our Federation should continue its efforts to secure enactment of fair employment practices legislation.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ECONOMIC SITUATION
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 266-273)

Your Committee has carefully considered the very comprehensive survey of economic developments that is set forth in this section of the Executive Council's Report.

This report does not paint a very optimistic picture of the economic situation at the present time. It reports a substantial increase in unemployment, a reduction in the number of hours worked and a drop in total wages and salaries since the 1953 Convention. To America's wage earners, these are the basic economic facts. It is by these signs that we must judge whether the economic skies are clear or cloudy.

The Secretary of Labor, in addressing this Convention on its first day, appears to be of another persuasion. In his address, he minimized the extent of the 1954 decline and stated, "I firmly believe that this was the mildest contraction we have ever had in any postwar period."

Your Committee believes that this is a contention that deserves serious examination. In effect, the Secretary of Labor is saying that the contraction of 1954 has been less serious than the previous postwar recession in 1949. The basic economic statistics for the two periods must be examined to determine the merits of this contention.

After careful consideration, the following appear to be facts regarding the basic issues of interest to wage-earners:

Unemployment. It is quite true, as the Secretary of Labor states, that according to the official figures, unemployment in 1954 has not reached the level which prevailed at the depths of the 1949-50 recession. On the other hand, a close examination of the figures reveals the following facts:

(1) The level of unemployment for the first eight months of 1954 is approximately the same as the comparable period of 1949.

(2) The increase in unemployment from 1953 to 1954 has been sharper and more serious than the increase from 1948 to 1949.

(3) Substantially more workers have been subject to temporary layoffs and part-time unemployment in 1954 than in 1949.

Wages and Salaries. In 1949 the decline in total wages and salaries was almost negligible. This year, on the other hand, the decline has reached significant proportions. Total wages and salaries for the first seven months of this year are approximately $3 billion below the average for 1953 and fully $6 billion below the peak reached in July 1953.

Hours Worked. The decline in the number of hours worked in the economy has also been greater this year than in 1949.

These are the three major economic indicators directly affecting the standards of American workers. By these tests it cannot be said that the current recession is "the mildest contraction that we have ever had in any postwar period."

The 1954 economic recession shows no sign of abandoning its grip on our economy. It is true that there has been some slight improvement since the lowest levels were reached in the spring of this year. Yet it can hardly be said that any sustained recovery is under way.

During the spring and summer months, practically all of the business forecasters were optimistically predicting an expected fall "pickup" in business. It must now be reported that this much-heralded fall "pickup" is sadly behind schedule. The latest figures on business activity during September do not evidence any significant rise in business activity. The basic economic indicators—employment, production, prices, sales and income—continue to remain at the recession levels that have prevailed during the last few months. The rate at which the steel industry is now operating, for example, is well below the rate that prevailed during the month of June.

There is no evidence on the economic horizon that allows us to be complacent about the future. It may well be true that the next few months will see a strong improvement in business conditions; there is no reason to believe that such an improvement will occur automatically. Under these circumstances, your Committee cannot believe that a policy of doing little or nothing holds any advantage over a set of policies designed to strengthen the weak spots of the present economy.

The Executive Council sets forth a basic 10-point program for action. Each of these points is vitally necessary to a sustained revival of economic activity. The 10 points call for both public and private action on such issues as taxation, wages, housing, public works, and social security. Some of these issues have already been the subject of action by this Convention. Taken as a whole, however, they represent a comprehensive program to lift America out of its current recession.

We endorse this 10-point program and ask that the A. F. of L. devote its most energetic efforts to obtaining its adoption.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommmendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates of International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 376.)

TEXTILE UNEMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 79—By Delegates Anthony Valente, Lloyd Klenert, Joseph Jacobs, Joseph Krause, Philip Salem, United Textile Workers of America.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 401.)

In view of the action taken on the Executive Council's report, no further action is needed on Resolutions Nos. 13 and 79.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION HEALTH AND WELFARE PLANS, AND WELFARE FUND INVESTIGATIONS

(Executive Council Report, p. 140-300)

The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned about recent reports and disclosures of abuses and violations of trust on the part of some individuals holding positions of responsibility in the operation of health and welfare funds established for the benefit of trade union members. There can be no excuse for or defense of the actions of any trade union officer who becomes a party to such abuses, or who takes advantage of his position for the purpose of self-enrichment from these funds or by accepting personal favors or inducements from commercial insurance companies.

Where such a condition is found to exist, it must be corrected. The integrity of union health and welfare funds, which have brought

great practical benefit to millions of workers and their families, must be protected against any condition or practice, no matter how exceptional, which may tend to bring such programs into disrepute. In addition to the direct harm that such abuses inflict upon workers having a financial stake in these funds, there is the broader danger that they may be seized upon by the enemies of labor as an excuse for a more general smear attack, or for legislation designed, not to promote, but to prevent further constructive progress in the health and welfare field. The correction of these conditions and the prevention of any recurrence is the responsibility—not only of the authorities charged with the enforcement of any laws that may be involved—but of the trade union movement, whose principles, standards and integrity are at stake. It is in the interest of the trade union movement to rid its ranks of unscrupulous and corrupt individuals that have been attracted by the possibility of easy money to be gained by preying upon welfare funds. Such individuals are traitors to labor and deserve only condemnation and expulsion.

It is incumbent upon every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to take every step that may be available to it to clean up any such situations that may exist within its province, to take appropriate action against any official guilty of abuses, and to establish a system of standards, methods and procedures in the administration and policing of health and welfare programs that will prevent the recurrence of such abuses.

It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate fully with any duly constituted investigating body or agency engaged in an objective and impartial effort to determine the character, extent and source of corrupt or unethical practices in the operation of health and welfare plans.

However, in calling for full cooperation with such objective inquiries—and in the light of the nature of some Congressional inquiries of the recent past—we feel justified in offering a word of warning. We cannot, in good conscience, ask affiliated organizations to lend aid and support to a political maneuver operating in the guise of investigation but in fact designed to reach a preconceived conclusion of a political character or to smear or discredit either the trade union movement or health and welfare programs as such. The interests of equity, honesty and fair play and the welfare of millions of workers may suffer, rather than be served, by so-called investigations of that character.

One sound criterion by which the objectivity and good faith of investigatory bodies can be measured is the extent and manner in which they explore the respective roles and possible delinquencies of all parties that are involved in the operation of welfare and insurance plans—including employers, insurance companies, agents and brokers, state regulatory bodies, and doctors receiving fees from such plans, as well as trade union representatives. In a number of instances abuses that have been found to exist stem directly from practices that have long been common in the commercial insurance industry and tolerated by State insurance commissions. These cannot be corrected by investigations or actions directed against organized labor alone. Furthermore, the most serious financial drain upon many health and welfare plans—with no compensating improvement in benefit value or service—has stemmed from systematic overcharges, collusion and other abuses on the part of some elements in the medical profession, motivated by avarice rather than the principle of ethical service at a reasonable fee.

The role of employers also must be given thorough scrutiny by any fair investigation. The majority of health insurance plans in industry today are under the administrative control, not of labor, but of industrial management. By its very nature, management is far more likely to be involved in questionable interlocking relations with insurance companies than labor.

No objective and impartial investigation can proceed upon the erroneous premise that trade union representatives are any more prone to engage in corrupt or unethical practices and abuses than other segments of society or other parties in management, insurance or the medical profession who are exposed to the same temptations and opportunities for illicit or dubious gain. Furthermore, no set of suggested remedies can be realistic or effective unless it takes full account of the role and responsibilities of all parties involved in the operation of private welfare and insurance plans.

We make this vital point, not in defense of anyone in the trade union movement who may be guilty of corrupt or unethical practices, but in argument for the kind of investigation and the kind of recommendations for action stemming from investigations, that will penetrate to the root sources of the problem and deal with every phase of it—including those phases which labor alone is powerless to control—in a genuinely effective way.

Such investigations and such remedies will receive the strong and whole-hearted support of the American Federation of Labor.

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom moved adoption of the recommendation of the Committee.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to say just a few words in support of the recommendation of this Committee, and I would also recommend that the delegates read the report when it is printed because I think it covers many phases of this health and welfare problem. I would like to point out first of all that the health and welfare plans and the pension plans, which are now pretty much a standard part of collective bargaining in our organizations, local unions throughout the country, are relatively new; I mean, in the sense that health and welfare plans have become a subject of collective bargaining.

You will recall that during the war we had a wage freeze, and in negotiations looking for improved conditions, which are part of the standard pattern of the trade union movement, our organizations in looking for additional benefits had to look for something that could not be stamped as inflationary. A direct wage increase over a certain limit, as you know, was considered tending towards inflation and therefore, under the regulation of the government, was not allowed. However, the War Labor Board took the position that the so-called fringe benefits, which did not call for the immediate payment in cash of the amount of those benefits, were not inflationary, so, of course, there was a great deal of impetus given at that time to the organizations to seek health and welfare plans. This thing has developed very rapidly over the last eight or ten years. The American Federation of Labor, after a two year study in 1952, presented a report to the convention and also prepared a very voluminous pamphlet for distribution to the various organizations which could be used to guide the organizations in this particular field. We did not recommend any particular

plan because that is up to the autonomous organizations themselves.

Of course, we know that the International unions are interested in this situation, but we find that in a good many cases there was nothing in the machinery of the International unions, or in some cases, nothing in their Constitution which would enable them to regulate and set up standards for procedure for the local unions.

Now, of course, the American Federation of Labor recognizes the complete autonomy of the International Unions, and in turn the International unions under their Constitution recognize the autonomy of the local unions in negotiating collective bargaining contracts for any improvements, whether they are in wages, hours, or in this case in the so-called fringe benefits.

However, in this field, as in every other field, we have got to bear in mind just what is the role of the trade union. And naturally, when an insurance company sends out a brochure offering to insure these plans of any type, the prime reason for the insurance company sending out that brochure is because they feel that this is a type of business which can be profitable to them. Of course, we have no quarrel with that; that is part of the American system, and any company enterprising enough to come out with an attractive plan would certainly expect that in that plan would be some medium of profit for the company. We have no quarrel with that, but that, of course, is their purpose. The insurance agents, and of course in a good many cases, doctors who are interested in these plans, are interested in agents and doctors, but our prime interest must always be in the general membership of our organizations. I feel that the International unions should look this whole situation over carefully and use whatever power they have under their International Constitutions to see to it that the individual member is protected in so far as it is possible for the International union to protect him in the operation of these plans, because in the final analysis, when this money is set aside into a pension fund, or a welfare fund of any type, it is money that belongs to the member. It is a deferred wage. It is in the collective bargaining contracts, and while the member doesn't get it in his pay envelope, it still belongs to him and to nobody else, that money that is put aside.

Of course, that is the purpose of the trade union, to protect the interests of the member. Naturally we have got to protect him, and beyond the question of the amount of money he gets in his pay envelope, if there is some other money that belongs to him that is temporarily laid aside until the end of need, then our unions have got to protect that money also.

We are not satisfied just to write a collective bargaining contract on wages and then sort of forget it. We police our contracts. We have appeared before the legislatures, through the various State Federations of Labor, and we have succeeded in writing prevailing rate-of-wage laws. The purpose of the prevailing rate-of-wage laws, with its safeguards, is to see that the individual member gets the money that is coming to him. We have appeared before legislative bodies throughout our history of the American Federation of Labor seeking legislation to protect the workman's interest under workmen's compensation, and we do that in carrying out our prime responsibility to protect the interests of the individual member.

I feel that in this report the delegates to this convention will find a lot of material that can be useful, and that we should cooperate in every way to see to it that whatever has to be done, be done to protect the membership.

I would say offhand that well over 95 percent of these plans are run properly. I have personal knowledge of any number of these plans, and that they are run properly. But that is no defense for one plan that goes bad. 99 per cent or 99½ per cent in this particular field is not enough. This is sacred money that belongs to these members and doesn't belong to the union or anyone connected with the union, except the individual member who is building up this reserve that is set aside for sickness or injury, or the consequences of disease or the consequences of old age. So this money belongs to the member and we must protect it.

I remember a few years ago in my own home state we passed a bill in the state legislature after a terrific fight to protect the workers of the state against the insolvency in insurance carriers. Of course, we had a tremendous lot of pressure by the insurance companies of the State of New York who packed the assembly chamber with their employees and their agents and their representatives protesting against this sort of legislation and, of course, proclaiming the fact that they were not insolvent, that they had not failed to meet any of the claims against them under the Workmen's Compensation Law.

However, at the particular time we were able to show that there were six thousand claims unpaid because of the insolvency of insurance carriers. So that we had to write legislation not on the basis of the solvent carriers, not on the basis of the carriers who discharged their obligations under their insurance policy, but we had to write legislation on the basis of the failure of the insolvent companies to meet their obligations. That legislation was written and it compelled the solvent companies to set aside one per cent of their premium income and put it in the hands of the State of New York in a re-insurance fund, and it also compelled all insurance companies to turn over to the State of New York the money value on all major compensation cases the minute the award was made. So that after the award was made the solvency question did not affect the individual worker because the State itself would have possession of the individual's money to turn that over to the worker.

That legislation was written on the basis of the shortcomings rather than on the basis of the insurance companies who had discharged all their obligations during the days of the depression.

So we have got to face this particular problem not on the basis of the 99 per cent that are good; we have got to face it on the basis of those that go bad. We have got to cooperate in every way possible, legislatively or otherwise, to see that the interests of our individual members are protected.

We have anti-kickback laws. We see to it that the employers do not receive kickbacks and that they do pay the wages that they are obligated to pay under a contract or even under state or federal regulations. In this particular case we should go just as far as that in protecting this particular type of income to the employee, because that is what it is. So I feel that there shouldn't be any mystery about this.

I, too, know that these things can be used politically, that the bad operation of one fund could make nationwide headlines while the good operation of five hundred other funds wouldn't make a headline. But that is in the very nature of things, and we have got to

protect our membership in any and all situations.

We wouldn't wait for the district attorney to take action against a fellow traveler who is running one of our unions or an out-and-out member of the Communist Party. We would find some union method to operate against that fellow and take him out of his position. I think the same should apply here. It is not a question of criminal prosecution—that is the district attorney's job. Of course, I realize that we have got to protect the individual, the civil rights of all our people, and that includes the officers of trade unions. But it is a question here of protecting the money that belongs to the individual worker, and there can't be any 99 per cent on this. This must be one hundred per cent, and we must cooperate in every way possible.

We must go out and help with any legitimate investigation. We must see that the investigation is fair, and if legislation is necessary, let us have a hand in the writing of the legislation. We have written legislation to protect our workers against kickbacks. We have written legislation to protect our workers against the machinations of avaricious insurance companies. So we should take the same stand here that we should cooperate, if necessary, in writing legislation to protect ourselves against agents, against anything that they do that might be wrong, against insurance companies, or against anything that they do that might be wrong, against insurance companies, or against anything that they might do that is wrong, and also to protect our membership against any trade union official that might dip into this thing and take money belonging to the members.

CHAIRMAN McFETRIDGE: Thank you, President Meany. The Chair now recognizes Delegate Beck.

DELEGATE DAVE BECK: Mr. Chairman, I desire to support the report of the Committee in the instance of the welfare recommendation, because the International union that it is my honor to direct has been the subject of a great deal of attention all over the United States as it pertains to welfare programs.

I would like for a moment to discuss with the delegates to this convention this question. There is no member in the trade union movement who is honest that can possibly take exception to the fact that this great American Federation of Labor convention go on record very definitely with the strongest kind of language, but more important take action that will remove by International union action any official of any International union that would stoop to become a part of racketeering within the labor movement, as it pertains to welfare, insurance or anything else. Such parasites wherever they may be found should not be permitted to associate with honorable men.

The men and women that I am addressing this morning in the main are experienced trade union people. We have been engaged in the trade union movement over a long period of time. Over these years you have repeatedly witnessed the enemies of labor, both on the industrial front and politically, trying if they possibly could, to exercise through the avenues of prejudicial publicity, to destroy labor. I have no objection to an honest investigation of welfare or insurance programs. I welcome it. I think the International union that I represent perhaps has 50 or 100 times more plans than any other labor organization. That is because we cross all stages of industry and and contact every possible avenue of labor relations of all the crafts. I repeat, we solicit honest, nonpolitical, investigation in the atmosphere of judicial processes.

The official records will show that this International union paid the month before last on a million, three hundred and some odd thousand members, and on a million two hundred thousand on two successive months. So we do have a tremendous membership. Out of the thousands of plans there may be culprits; if so, let us find them by honest investigation—not political barks.

Let us take the investigations here just the other day in Los Angeles. There was a fanfare in all the newspapers. They were coming in to investigate the Teamsters organization's welfare plan. They came in here, I think it was, on Tuesday or Wednesday and they went out of here on Saturday. They investigated other labor unions the first three days and they got around to investigating the Teamsters on Saturday afternoon and adjourned three hours later. Let us see how we administer the Teamsters plan in Los Angeles, or any other place in this western area: It is not administered by a single, solitary business agent or secretary-treasurer. In every instance the plan is administered by the statistical department of the local Teamsters Joint Council for their affiliated membership. I emphasize the fact that investigators were here for 3 weeks, yet the committee met only 2 hours on Teamster Welfare.

Here in Los Angeles we have fifty employees in the welfare administration office, not one of them a secretary-treasurer or a business agent. We have three top-notch statisticians recruited from personnel of institutions of higher learning, and they are the most qualified men that we can get our hands on. The Administrator, Mr. Cross, in my opinion knows so much more about welfare than any member of that Congressional committee that you can't even begin to compare them.

Let me give you an illustration of how fair they are in their actions. A year ago, shortly after I was elected general president, we set out to aid the City of Hope in raising money for their beautiful hospital where they are doing such a tremendous amount of good humanitarian work and they don't like to use the word "charity." They gave me a banquet in this very room one year ago. We had raised $165,000. During the course of the evening I said that we would try to see if the Teamsters could raise one million dollars over the next ten years. After it was over I went back to Seattle, and in determining what procedure we could follow to raise a million dollars, I decided that, in the operation of our welfare department, through the brokers handling our insurance, we might find a large source of financial aid; because of our tremendous growth the income to the broker was greater than anyone had anticipated. With whom are we insuring? Two of the largest insurance companies in America. One of them is the Occidental Life, a subsidiary of the Bank of America. They perhaps have 95 per cent of the business and Pacific Mutual the rest. There never has been a contract yet that has not been submitted to competitive bid. Our broker is a man who has been in the insurance business, not since welfare, but for at least 35 years. It is one of the outstanding insurance brokerage firms on the Pacific Coast that has handled millions of dollars worth of business over the last 35 years in addition to any moneys connected with labor welfare plans.

This brokerage firm, of course, nets a great deal of money as a broker for this business.

But if we gave the business to one broker or we gave it to a hundred brokers the cost to the Teamsters' Union and plan in question would be identical. It could not be lower. In fact, we showed the committee that the administrative cost of our plan here was four per cent. Where will you find it any lower anywhere in America? I say to you at Seattle, Washington; at Portland, Oregon; at San Francisco, at Sacramento, we do not charge the administrative offices ten cents for all of the office space of the buildings and everything else connected with it. We donate it out of the moneys of our Joint Council or Western Conferences.

With my advisory associates I went to the broker. We said to the broker, "You are making a great deal of money on this program. The Teamsters would like to raise a million dollars for the City of Hope, a very fine charitable organization." We asked him if he wouldn't give consideration to taking 25 per cent of his money and syphoning it off to the City of Hope in order to raise this million dollars over the period of the next ten years. This Committee knew that. We so advised them. Did they call the City of Hope to verify it? They did not. Why not? You and I both know why not. They don't give Teamsters that kind of publicity. Yes, twenty-five per cent is being siphoned off to the City of Hope, and it will result, in my opinion, not in raising a million dollars, but perhaps in raising five million dollars for the City of Hope.

The important thing to remember is that it is a political committee. If it isn't a political committee why is it meeting on the eve of elections everywhere? New York, Detroit, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Ohio — they struggle for chairmanships and appointments on the committee and to hold the hearings on the eve of elections, national and state.

I ask you where have they shown such zeal in throwing members of Congress out of office when charged with stealing and receiving kick backs from employees? They did not do it to the accused nor did they do so when Courts of law found their associates guilty. Why? Because that was not good politics to put the calcium light on that great fraternity!

Of course, we do not object to honest judicial non-political investigations on welfare plans. The Taft-Hartley Law provides that three shall come from industry, three shall come from labor. How in the world can labor men on these welfare programs commit these overt acts unless they are in collusion with men from industry? How could they possibly do it—unless the employers in every nook and corner of America, have guts that are made of soap or sugar or something else that dissolves and will say that the labor people are compelling them to do these infamous things. Well, if the labor people are compelling them to do it, it then does become a criminal matter, and it is the duty of the District Attorney and the FBI, if it is interstate operation, it is the duty of every enforcement agency to come in and prosecute on a criminal level, and we invite that prosecution, not only of industry representatives, but of our own in any insurance where they are wrong.

My friends, the major objective of these investigations in a great many instances—not all—is to destroy the whole fundamental structure of welfare plans, retirements, pensions, and insurance. I say to you, and I say it to my own people, and you can carry it into every nook and corner of this country and into every labor union, that if there is associated with the Teamsters, in my opinion, any man that would racketeer on a welfare or an insurance program of any kind, or pensions or anything where he is handling the trust of the men and women that put him in those offices, he is lower than the belly of a snake.

(Applause)

That is the kind of language that we will use with them, and I don't care where they came from or how much muscle they think they have. The thing that the American Labor movement must recognize is to condemn these people, number one, that would come into labor and impose racketeering or muscling inside labor on these funds. But if you want to destroy it, then it's necessary for the employer to accept his responsibility on these committees, and it was the employer that favored the Taft-Hartley Act that made it mandatory to put equal representation on these welfare committees. In the major number of instances the International Union, I know our own, is not authorized to step in on the administration of these funds under the Taft-Hartley Act. We will step in in any instance wherein to the slightest degree we feel there is anything wrong where we can sustain our action in court and I say to you here that in New York I put officers out and the Courts put them back.

I would bet my life that they will not find a single solitary plan in this whole western area where there has been even the slightest thought that five cents has ever been spent improperly from these funds, and I say this "western area" because before I became President I had the responsibility of setting these plans up among three hundred and some odd thousand members of the Teamsters Unions in the eleven western states. I make no apology to anyone that we are dealing, in the overwhelming percentage of instances, with one brokerage firm. That's not important whether we deal with one or one hundred, the question is to keep the administrative cost at the lowest point. The important thing is to deal with a great insurance structure that has sufficient reserves that in time of recession or depression, or by any mistakes made from the standpoint of statistical data, they can meet any emergency that could possibly occur.

Sure, the Teamsters Union, with thirty-three or four million dollars in its treasury can go in and administer these plans themselves. I personally do not look with favor on it, because I personally come from the school of labor that believes that we should concentrate our attention primarily on organization and wages, hours and conditions of employment, and I would hesitate to say that we have yet become experienced or qualified enough to handle these great problems involving millions upon millions of dollars and be able to weather recessions that we cannot possibly foresee. We are not advocating socializing the insurance business.

So I would like our people to deal with outstanding companies, and wherever I had a voice in setting it up we did deal with them. We submitted bids to eight or ten of the finest in America, New York Life, Metropolitan Life, Prudential, Occidental, Pacific Mutual—I can name them one after another—that are strong enough in my judgment to weather any storm.

I am not going to take much more time of this convention. On behalf of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters I support the resolution. I call upon the Federal and state and local governments to investigate these welfare and insurance programs and to do it with a fine-toothed comb, to come on in here the day that elections are out of the way. Do it

with men of honesty and throw all the resources, not only of investigators from Congress, but from the officers of the Attorney General of the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and every state agency, but do it non-political, honorable, fair, and above all, give the accused his day in Court. Let him face his accusers, keep inviolate justice, and judicial review, rules of evidence and cross examination.

(Applause)

Give him his day in Court. And I say that because I know whereof I speak. I have seen my own name in screaming headlines across the Seattle papers "How Do You Like Dave Beck's Gun" and then I have sued those papers for libel and collected twenty-seven or eight thousand dollars in a settlement out of Court. And what was the first thing they requested? That it be given no publicity—is this freedom of press and justice?

I myself have been accused in the days that are back of us of being associated with Communism and whatnot, and there are few men in front of me this morning that have gone through the experiences of the fighting, militant battles of labor that have not been confronted with the same thing. Let us proceed under our judicial system—not trying to find excuses, because honorable men don't try to find them, but every man is entitled to his day in Court. He is entitled to have his side of the story before either you or I or the social or economic life of this country passes judgment on them. We will open the door to Fascism and Communism when we try to deprive men of their judicial rights. It is better a hundred guilty escape than one innocent man be sacrificed to hysteria and politics.

(Applause)

And I say to you right now I don't care what it costs me, I would walk off of this job as President of this International Union before I will ever kick one of my own people who is laying on his back until he has a chance to give his own defense. I am not going to try and rise to favorable publicity at the expense of some individual that is charged and never given an opportunity to tell his side of the story. I will drive him from our organization if he is proven a racketeer or Communist. That is more than Congress has done or will promise to do, and they don't need to leave California to do so.

I support the Committee's report. This International Union will support it with all our resources. And for the record that is being taken here this morning, I again issue an invitation for every agency of government in these United States to go in, not in a political manner but strictly in an investigative fair manner and with scrutiny that cannot possibly be improved upon, take a look at these welfare plans in every nook and corner of America so that when they get through we can place responsibility where it belongs, correct it in the instance of any errors, crucify those that would steal these funds, but in 99 9/10ths per cent of the instances of all these funds in a greater percentage than has been the history of insurance companies, banks and others, you will find them rising above any criticism.

I am going to conclude by telling you a little story. I was speaking one day before the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and the place was packed. I was a member at the time of the Parole Board of the Washington State Penitentiary, and when I got through speaking a fellow down in front of me said, "Mr. Beck, you have made a good talk and we approve of it; but I would like to ask you why these racketeers in labor?" And he named one that had gone up the river from New York. I said, "That is true, and I do not try in any sense to apologize for him, condone his actions or in any way support him. But don't forget for one second when he went up that river in the cell just adjacent to him was Mr. Whitney, the President of the New York Stock Exchange."

And I made this further statement, "We have had more bankers in that institution than labor leaders ever in its history." And that is a true statement, remember 1932 and 1933.

The following week when I was speaking at the Rotary Club one of the bankers came up and said, "Mr. Beck, I am a commercial banker. I wish you would emphasize that those bankers over in Walla Walla are investment bankers and not commercial bankers."

Now, let us defend the men and women of labor until they have their day in Court, not to defend them in a sense that we are trying to give them any white-washing of any kind or character, but defend their right to be heard and when they are heard then and only then let us pass judgment.

Thank You.

. . . The motion to adopt this section of the Committee report was unanimously carried.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: The Committee considered Resolution No. 1 jointly with the Health and Welfare statement.

COMMITTEE AGAINST THREATS TO THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate George W. Hall, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 380.)

In view of the action taken on the foregoing section of the Executive Council's Report, no action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

PRESIDENT MEANY: The time has now arrived for the special order of business. I call on Vice President Birthright to take the Chair.

(Vice President Birthright in the Chair.)

PRESIDENT

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: Delegates, now is the time for the special order of business, the election of President of the American Federation of Labor. I will now call for nominations for President of this great organization. Mr. Schoemann.

DELEGATE SCHOEMANN, Plumbers: Mr. President, Delegates to this great Convention, in the asbence of the general president of the United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, Martin P. Durkin, I have been given the honor and the privilege of standing before you today to place in nomination a member of our organization who has served this great American Federation of Labor for many, many years. I am not going to attempt to describe to you the many activities that he has engaged in during the past year, because if I attempted to do that I am quite sure that somewhere along the line I would neglect perhaps to mention some very important item. But I am

sure that this great organization under his leadership for the next year will prosper. This organization under Samuel Gompers, who was the pioneer in the labor movement, encountered many difficulties in bringing about the unity that existed for so many years in this organization. President Green also had to protect those things that Samuel Gompers helped create. And now we are in 1954 the sponsors of the greatest labor organization in the world, and we will be compelled to protect those great gains that we have been boasting about for the last five or six days. We will have to protect those social gains that labor has been successful in securing in the past twenty years. I am quite convinced that under the leadership of our present President those things that I have mentioned to you will be protected. Therefore it is with a great deal of pride, honor and pleasure that I today place before you the name of President George Meany as the continuing president of this great organization.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: The Chair now recognizes Delegate Nagler, Vice President, New York Federation of Labor, Delegate from the Lady Garment Workers, for the second.

DELEGATE NAGLER: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates, at many previous conventions whenever the name of George Meany was presented, either for the office of Secretary-Treasurer or President of this great Federation, it was always the voice heard of the President of the New York State Federation of Labor when he rose to second the nomination. Unfortunately, due to illness at the last moment, he was not able to come to this great Convention and participate and continue the traditional attitude of seconding the nomination of George Meany. And that should be so, for George Meany is a native New Yorker. George Meany occupied the highest office of the New York State Federation of Labor. He has brought prestige and strength to the New York State Federation of Labor, and when he was elevated, first to the office of Secretary-Treasurer of this great Federation, we gloried in the fact that he so magnificently conducted the affairs of the office of Secretary-Treasurer. With efficiency and prudence he has done his job.

When he was finally called upon to head this great organization as its President, we again gloried in the fact that he has conducted the affairs with great skill, ingenuity, and labor statesmanship in so far as the President's office is concerned in this great Federation of Labor. He has captured the imagination of our membership in this great Federation of Labor. He has endeared himself to the hearts of every man and woman in this great Federation. On the domestic scene he has done a noble job, and his great search for labor unity is one of those things. His fight for clean unionism is exemplified in the fight he made in the New York dock situation, the waterfront situation. There are numerous things that can be pointed to in his great program in his fight for labor's rights for social and economic betterment. Not only on the domestic scene has he shown such great skill and statesmanship, but he is admired and appreciated by the free trade labor union movement the world over in his fight against Communism and totalitarian dictatorship, regardless of color.

Mr. Chairman, it is indeed a great privilege, and with a measure of satisfaction and pride, as vice president of the New York State Federation of Labor, that I stand here to second the nomination of a great labor statesman, a great fighter for social justice, a great fighter for the dignity of man. It is my privilege, Mr. Chairman, to stand here before this body and second the nomination of George Meany for President of this great American Federation of Labor.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: Are there any other nominations.

VICE PRESIDENT WOLL: I move the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the ballot of this Convention for George Meany as President for the ensuing term.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: It has been regularly moved and seconded that nominations be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for George Meany for President. All who vote in favor of the motion will do so by saying "Aye." All opposed.

The "Ayes" have it, and it is so ordered. In accordance with your instructions, the Secretary will cast the vote of the Convention.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for George Meany as President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

VICE PRESIDENT BIRTHRIGHT: Now, Brothers, I want to present to you a man who I believe exemplifies the poem, "Let me live in a house by the side of the road and be a friend to man."

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Birthright and Delegates to this very fine Convention of the American Federation of Labor; let me say, first, I deeply appreciate the action of the Convention here and hope that I can prove worthy in the days to come of the confidence that you have reposed in me. I would like to point out, however, that this organization which we have learned to love and respect over the years is a rather complicated, sprawling structure. One of the critics of the American Federation of Labor, the late unlamented Mr. Lenin of Russia, said in 1922 that the American Federation of Labor had no substance, it had no discipline, it had no control over the workers, that it was actually a rope of sand.

Samuel Gompers replied that "Yes, it was a rope of sand, but it was stronger than any chain of steel that the Communists could forge of their own."

So when you pay respect to me I feel that actually what you are doing is paying respect to this great organization. The work in this organization is done by many, many people. You received a report here at the convention, a voluminous report. It is the work of the people in our office in Washington under the direction of the members of the Executive Council. This report could not possibly be the work, either in its preparation or its execution, of a single individual. It is the work of the Executive Council, men who have a duty to their own particular union which, of course, is paramount, but who still find time to make a contribution to the welfare of all. Men who are the heads of great organizations that perhaps have grown so strong that they do not need any particular direct help from the American Federation of Labor, still they give their time and their substance, their material resources to the great movement itself.

In accepting your very kind words here this morning, I do so on behalf of the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor, and give full credit to the members

of the Executive Council who spend long hours determining the administrative policies of this organization, because in the final analysis, the policies are determined by the convention itself, and they must reflect the wishes of the general membership. We could not have conducted this organization so successfully for so many years if we were not going in the direction that our membership wanted us to go.

I can assure you I will do the best I can in the days and months ahead. I do not know much of anything outside of this business I am in. I was 25 years of age when I was elected to my first office in a local union, and I have continued in the intervening years. I have no other interest in life except my family and, of course, my church, and I can pledge to you that I will give the very best I can to this great movement, irrespective of opposition from employers, politicians, or from any source whatsoever, so that we can continue to go down the road that was charted 75 years ago by Mr. Gompers and the early pioneers, continue our forward progress down the road for a better day for all Americans.

Thank you.

Nominations are now in order for the office of First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chair recognizes Brother Minton.

DELEGATE MINTON, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. Chairman, and delegates to this Convention: Last year in the city of St. Louis at this very hour I placed a motion upon the floor of this convention, which I felt then and feel now was proper and in order. The motion was never actually voted upon, because a voice of objection was raised to the motion itself. President Meany, in interpreting the Constitution, ruled at that time, and properly so, that one voice raised against the motion in an assembled convention nullified the motion, and we proceeded to elect 15 Vice Presidents of this great Federation.

I rise today to place before this convention the same motion that I made last year. I feel that that motion is in order and I feel that no objection should be raised to it. We have sat through this convention and have noted a year of progress. We have noted that the American Federation of Labor has carved out its name in the history of world peace. We have heard President Meany say just a moment ago that this progress is helped a great deal by the members of the Executive Council, those who helped in the direction of policy of this great Federation. Recognizing that these men are men of stature, recognizing that we must show, in my own humble opinion, our respect and love for them, I now, sir, with permission, move that this convention by unanimous action elect the 15 Vice Presidents of this organization without opposition, and the Secretary be instructed to cast one ballot. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the motion, and of course, as you understand, the motion is designed to shorten our procedure. I am sure that everybody feels that if we could save some time today that we should save it. However, the situation is just the same as it was before under our setup. We have a Constitution and the only thing that can overrule any feature of the Constitution is a convention of the American Federation of Labor, and in this case I feel that it requires unanimous consent for the passing of this motion.

The Chair recognizes Brother Weston.

DELEGATE WESTON, Washington State Federation: I object, Mr. Chairman, and wish to be recorded as being in opposition to the motion. I am afraid that we may get into the habit of forgetting about nominations and elections of officers. We have a very important election coming up on the 2nd of November. I don't want to see everybody going out and getting in the habit of letting someone else do it by one motion.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Weston, do you just wish to record an objection or—

DELEGATE WESTON: I object.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You object to the motion. We will proceed with the nomination for First Vice President.

The Chair recognizes Brother Minton.

DELEGATE MINTON: Before I place in nomination a man whom I revere and love, I want to say that next year I will be back with the same motion.

Now, Mr. Chairman, in 1906 a young man was elected as President of the Photo Engravers Union. He served his International union well and capably. He was rewarded in later years by being elected as Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and has been successfully re-elected throughout his many years of service to the trade union movement.

In 1927 this same individual had the foresight in forming what has now become one of the greatest insurance companies in the United States of America, and I refer to the Union Labor Life Insurance Company, a company that now has over $500,000,000 written on its books.

In sickness and in health—and I repeat that, gentlemen and ladies—in sickness and in health this man has served this Federation, and I view it not only an honor, but a privilege, to place the name of Matthew Woll in nomination as First Vice President.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Matthew Woll has been placed in nomination.

Brother Herrmann.

DELEGATE HERRMANN, Typographical Union: Mr. President, as one who has labored with Matt Woll as Secretary of the Labor Press which I served for 42 years and for which he declined the nomination last year, I want to avail myself of this privilege in seconding the nomination of Matt Woll for First Vice President. I think it is a great honor and a privilege to nominate this great man who, for his whole adult life, has contributed so much to this great movement which we love.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion nominations were closed on the name of Matthew Woll, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Matthew Woll unanimously elected First Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Second Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair recognizes Brother Sylvester.

DELEGATE SYLVESTER, Railway Clerks: Chairman Meany, it is with much pleasure and a great deal of pride that I rise at this time to place in nomination for re-election as Sec-

ond Vice President of the American Federation of Labor the President of my organization, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Brother George M. Harrison.

PRESIDENT MEANY: George M. Harrison has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of George M. Harrison and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared George M. Harrison duly elected as Second Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Third Vice President. The Chair recognizes Borther John English.

DELEGATE ENGLISH, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, I rise to place in nomination a great outstanding labor leader, Brother Daniel J. Tobin.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother English places Brother Tobin in nomination. Are there further nominations for the office of Third Vice President.

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of Daniel J. Tobin, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Daniel J. Tobin unanimously elected Third Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair recognizes Brother Murphy of the Bricklayers International Union.

DELEGATE MURPHY, Bricklayers: I submit the name of Harry C. Bates for the Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The name of Harry C. Bates has been placed in nomination as Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term. Are there further nominations?

DELEGATE MALONEY, Operating Engineers: Mr. President, I want to rise to second the nomination of Brother Bates.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of Harry C. Bates, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Harry C. Bates unanimously elected Fourth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now open for Fifth Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Elmer Walker of the Machinists.

DELEGATE WALKER, Machinists: Mr. President and delegates: I rise to place in nomination the name of Brother William Birthright as Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. I just take a second to add that it is probably just coincidental that Harry Bates and Bill are together on this Council. I had the privilege for three years of working with these two men, and it is an old saying that to work with people is to really learn to know them. Harry has been adequately dealt with, but I want to say that this convention makes no mistake in electing Bill Birthright as one of its Vice Presidents, and I am happy to place his name in nomination.

DELEGATE GOOGE, Pressmen: I second the nomination of William Birthright.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Googe has seconded the nomination of Brother Birthright. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of W. C. Birthright as Fifth Vice President, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared William C. Birthright unanimously elected Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Sixth Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Cahill of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

DELEGATE CAHILL, Letter Carriers: Mr. President, as the elected representative of 103,000 Letter Carriers it affords me great pleasure to nominate a man whom we call Captain Courageous in our movement, one of the outstanding men among government employees. While our particular craft is much unlike the other organizations by reason of the fact we don't have the economic weapon, we do feel he is a great contribution to the trade union movement in this country. To epitomize my nomination, I would like to refer to the words of the old song: "Dared to be a Daniel; dared to stand alone; dared to hold a purpose and dared to make it known."

Therefore I present to you the name of William C. Doherty for Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE CARROLL, Maintenance of Way Employees: I rise to second the nomination of Brother Bill Doherty for Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there any further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of William C. Doherty and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . The Secretary complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared William C. Doherty as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Seventh Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Luigi Antonini of the International Lady Garment Workers.

DELEGATE ANTONINI, International Lady Garment Workers: Mr. President, I suppose that every one of you know whose name I am going to offer for the office of Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. However, I want to make one comment before I do so. As a matter of fact, I did not speak on this floor of the convention just to save time for this comment now.

The man that I am to nominate is a member of the International Lady Garment Work-

ers Union and is our dynamic chief. Our union, strong as it is, does not claim to be the first, but it truly is not second to the other progressive labor organizations of the country and all over the world. Of course, we do not claim to be perfect, but there is one saying that those who do many things will make mistakes. Those who do not want to make mistakes should not do anything. So for that reason our union is almost in the forefront and we are attacked every week, a couple times a week by the scribes of the Hearst newspapers. I think it is an honor for us and it is an honor for the American Federation of Labor to receive such attacks.

I offer to this convention for the office of Seventh Vice President the name of our chief, David Dubinsky.

PRESIDENT MEANY: David Dubinsky has been nominated as Seventh Vice President. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of David Dubinsky, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions and President Meaney declared David Dubinsky elected as Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Eighth Vice President. The Chair recognizes President Calvin of the Boiler Makers Union.

DELEGATE CALVIN, Boiler Makers: Mr. President, it is my privilige at this time to place in nomination the name of a man who, although still in the prime of life, has rendered to the labor movement of the United States and the world the equivalent of a lifetime of exceptionally magnificent service. I am not going to attempt to erect an edifice of words to outline the splendid accomplishments of this man. He has served you; you know him.

It is therefore an honor to name our distinguished President Emeritus, Charles J. MacGowan as Eighth Vice President.

DELEGATE BUCKLEY, Boiler Makers: Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to second the nomination of Charles MacGowan. I have been a trade unionist and an associate and personal friend of his for 37 years. I have nominated him and seconded his nominations on many occasions, and it gives me extreme pleasure at this time to second his nomination as Eighth Vice President.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother MacGowan has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were close on the name of Charles J. MacGowan, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . The Secretary complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Charles J. MacGowan duly elected Eighth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Ninth Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Cross of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.

DELEGATE CROSS, Bakers: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I rise to place in nomination a man who has been with the Bakers also a lifetime. I can't say anything about him because the words wouldn't be sufficient. But we would love to place in nomination Herman Winter for Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Winter has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and carried, nominations were closed on the name of Herman Winter, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . The Secretary complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Herman Winter duly elected as Ninth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for Tenth Vice President. The Chair recognizes President Milne of the Electrical Workers International Union.

DELEGATE MILNE, Electrical Workers: Mr. President, I would like to place in nomination for the Tenth Vice President a man who has been closely associated with our organization for 43 years, who has been an officer for most of that period, who has been a Vice President of this Federation and has served it with distinction, with honor, and I think he should be continued as a Vice President of this Federation.

Therefore it gives me, as a representative of the Electrical Workers Union, a great deal of pride in presenting to you and for you to elect as the Tenth Vice President Dan W. Tracy.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Dan W. Tracy has been nominated as Tenth Vice President. Are there further nominations?

DELEGATE RILEY, Electrical Workers: I would like to second the nomination of Dan W. Tracy. I deem it a great honor and a pleasure to have been accorded the opportunity to second the nomination of Dan W. Tracy as the Tenth International Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion, duly seconded and unanimously carried, nominations were closed on the name of Dan W. Tracy, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

. . . The Secretary complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Dan W. Tracy duly elected as Tenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for the office of Eleventh Vice President. The Chair recognizes President Dave Sullivan, Building Service Employees.

DELEGATE SULLIVAN, Building Service Employees: President Meany and Fellow Delegates: it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination the name of William L. McFetridge for Eleventh Vice President of this great organization.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother McFetridge has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion nominations were closed on the name of William L. McFetridge, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions and President Meany declared William L. McFetridge unanimously elected Eleventh Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are in order for the office of Twelfth Vice President, The Chair recognizes Brother Bagley of the Musicians.

DELEGATE BAGLEY, Musicians: Mr. Chairman, I nominate for Twelfth Vice President of this Federation James C. Petrillo.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations and on motion nominations were closed on the name of James C. Petrillo, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions and President Meany declared James C. Petrillo duly elected Twelfth Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are in order for the office of Thirteenth Vice President, and the Chair recognizes Brother Robert Lester of the Teamsters.

DELEGATE LESTER, Teamsters: Brother Chairman, again I have the high privilege of nominating Dave Beck as Thirteenth Vice President of this great organization. I am forbidden to engage in panegyrics. Naturally it is a wonderful order from Dave, because it is not needed. You have all heard him this morning, and there is nothing else that can be said. I again appreciate the very high honor of nominating Brother Beck as Thirteenth Vice President of this Federation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Beck has been nominated. The Chair recognizes Brother Haggert.

DELEGATE HAGGERT, Chicago Central Labor Union: As a delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor, one of the largest groups in this American Federation of Labor, having at its head Bill Lee, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor from the Teamsters organization, I at this time take great pride in seconding the nomination of Dave Beck.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion nominations were closed on the name of Dave Beck, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared Dave Beck unanimously elected Thirteenth Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for the office of Fourteenth Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Stevenson of the Carpenters.

DELEGATE STEVENSON, Carpenters: Mr. Chairman, it is my honor to present the name of Maurice A. Hutcheson for the office of Fourteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, the General President of the United Brotherhood, Carpenters and Joiners of America.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Maurice Hutcheson has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion nominations were closed on the name of Maurice A. Hutcheson, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions and President Meany declared Maurice A. Hutcheson unanimously elected Fourteenth Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for the office of Fifteenth Vice President. The Chair recognizes Brother Roy Brown of the Machinists.

DELEGATE BROWN, Machinists: Chairman Meany and Delegates to this Convention, I submit the name of our own International President, A. J. (Al) Hayes for the position of Fifteenth Vice President of this Federation.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Hayes has been placed in nomination. Are there further nominations?

DELEGATE J. L. REILLY, Postal Transport Association: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the nomination of Al Hayes as Fifteenth Vice President of this Federation. In connection with my motion I had prepared what I thought was a masterpiece of literary excellence, a sort of index of all phases of the labor movement, but I shall be content with a mere seconding of the nomination because, doggone, Neil Haggerty stole my speech.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Are there further nominations?

. . . There were no further nominations, and on motion nominations were closed on the name of A. J. Hayes, and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the Convention.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler complied with the instructions, and President Meany declared A. J. Hayes unanimously elected Fifteenth Vice President for the ensuing term.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Nominations are now in order for the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. The Chair recognizes President Louis P. Marciante of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

DELEGATE MARCIANTE, President, New Jersey State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, Officers and Delegates, I have no desire to make a stereotyped nominating speech for the Secretary-Treasurer of this great organization. However, I would like to make a prediction, and I am not exactly a Johnny-comelately in the American Federation of Labor. For after almost 40 years I have had the great privilege of watching the giants of this great organization perform their task and pass on their way. There was the great Gompers and the saintly Frank Morrison. We have great men in this organization today whom we are privileged still to have with us. We have the great Matthew Woll, who I think has done more for the worker in America than any one man I know. We have young men coming along who will typify the type of leadership the American Federation has had. You have a great president. You have a great running mate with him, a boy whom I have known since his childhood in the City of Newark. I watched him grow from the lowliest position in his local union, into the Essex Trade Council, into the State Federation of Labor, into his International organization, and last year I had the extreme privilege of nominating him for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor to succeed George Meany when you made him President.

I want to make a prediction. After having watched the Secretary-Treasurer perform during the past year, he will be one of the great leaders of labor. His pronouncements are courageous and they are clear. There is no double-talk and no weasel words. We know exactly what he means when he says them. As I said before, it is not my purpose or aim to make a stereotyped nominating speech. Let me say I

consider it a great personal privilege to place in nomination for Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor again William Schnitzler.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Brother Schnitzler has been nominated. Are there further nominations?

DELEGATE THOMAS V. GREEN, Theatrical Stage Employees: I move that the nominations be closed.

PRESIDENT MEANY: There is a motion to close the nominations. All those who favor the motion signify by saying "Aye," contrary. Carried and so ordered. The Chair calls on Assistant Secretary Bassett to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY BASSETT: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this Convention for William F. Schnitzler as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I hereby declare William F. Schnitzler the unanimous choice of this Convention and declare him elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

I now call on Brother Schnitzler for a few remarks.

SECRETARY-TREASURER SCHNITZLER: Thank you, President Meany. I want to express my deep and heartfelt appreciation in every way I know how for this great honor that you have bestowed upon me. I want to say, too, if there is anything that I have done in the past year in the service of the American Federation of Labor I want you to keep in mind that I was under the constant advice and had the everlasting every-day help of President Meany in carrying out this work.

During the year I also had occasion to call on every member of the Executive Council for assistance, and in each instance they responded. They responded in a way to help carry out that which was immediately before us.

The Department heads at the A. F. of L. headquarters, as well as the office help, have all been working as one great team to make the word unity that we talk so much about first a reality within the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, and looking forward to becoming a reality within the entire structure and confines of the American Federation of Labor. The pronouncements that have been made by this Convention are clear, their objectives, and we channel our course for the future immediately before us.

I want to dedicate myself to the necessary work to carry out the pronouncements that you have made, and as we march down the road together in the days ahead of us, I will be calling on every one of you, as I have in the past, together with the officers of the State Federation, the officers of the City Central bodies, and the officers of all of our affiliated local unions. Our future is ours to make; I'll be part of you as we do that.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I just want to say that it is a pleasure to work with Bill Schnitzler. What he tells you about our office, about the complete unanimity, the working arrangements there, is absolutely so. He is making a very fine contribution, and I am sure that as the days and years go on that he will make an even better contribution to the work of this great movement.

Before proceeding I want to make an announcement. We have just two items to conclude this election business, and then I am going to ask you to bear with me for about ten minutes more so that I can bring some very interesting visitors to the platform here and introduce them to you. It will take us, maybe, a few minutes into our lunch hour, but I think it will be well worth your staying here those few minutes.

ELECTION OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, the next order of business is the nomination and election of fraternal delegates to the British and Canadian Trade Unions.

The Chair recognizes Brother Ed Miller who is going to make a motion.

DELEGATE MILLER, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the selection of the Fraternal Delegates be referred to the Executive Council.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

CONVENTION CITY — 1956

PRESIDENT MEANY: The next order of business is the selection of the Convention city for the year 1956. As you know, we select our convention city two years in advance, starting that last year. Next year's Convention is in Chicago, and has already been selected, so we will now have nominations for the Convention city for the year 1956.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Carr.

DELEGATE HARRY CARR, Seattle Central Labor: About four months ago the Central Labor Council nominated me by motion to request this convention be held in the City of Seattle in 1956. I'm sure as a host we will do our best to try to compete with what you have had in Los Angeles, a very good time.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Seattle has been placed in nomination.

The Chair recognizes Brother Maloney.

DELEGATE MALONEY, Operating Engineers: I make a motion that the question of a city for the Convention of 1956 be left in the hands of the Executive Council for the reason that they will be better qualified to take care of a convention of this size, so they will be able to get the proper crowd-handling done, get the facilities for holding conventions.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I can't accept the motion, because we are already proceeding to the nominations.

DELEGATE DOHERTY: Mr. President, would a motion be in order to name Seattle as the Convention City?

PRESIDENT MEANY: Seattle has now been nominated. Brother Doherty, do you have something further?

The Chair recognizes Brother Weston.

DELEGATE WESTON, Washington State Federation of Labor: Mr. Chairman, I simply wish to concur with the Seattle Central Labor Council in extending a hearty welcome to the American Federation of Labor to hold their Diamond Jubilee Convention in the great Northwest in the City of Seattle.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Seattle has been nominated. Are there further nominations?

The Chair recognizes Gust Anderson.

DELEGATE GUST ANDERSON, Portland, Oregon, Central Body: Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: I came to this Convention with a motion from the Central Labor Council to ask you to come to Portland in 1956. The reason for that is that we are being blessed with a very fine, modern hotel in Portland, something they haven't had before, and the construction of that building will begin within the next two or three months. But due to the fact that at the present time the completion of that hotel is indefinite, I am going to ask at this time to withdraw the nomination for Portland with the understanding that we can ask you to come to Portland at some future date.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Thank you, Brother Anderson. We still have the nomination for Seattle.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Wybourn.

DELEGATE WYBOURN, Street Railway Employees: Being the only delegate here from Vancouver, I take a great deal of pleasure and civic pride in placing before you in behalf of Vancouver and New Westminster District Trades and Labor Council, some of the reasons why you should choose Vancouver, B. C., Canada, as your Convention City for 1956. I bring to you good wishes and a very pressing invitation from the assembled delegates to the Vancouver Trades Council, representing approximately 100,000 workers, but also from the Mayor, the Board of Trade, the Vancouver Tourist Association and the Hotel Men's Association who have assured us that there are more than ample hotel accommodations.

Vancouver is a beautiful city, just about 66 years old. Vancouver today is the third largest city in Canada and still expanding at such a dizzy rate that few dare to predict its limits.

Vancouver is a city nestled peacefully at the doorway to fertile valleys, at the foot of snow-capped mountains, the rugged sentinels of the Coast Range which guard Vancouver's harbor, the second largest natural harbor in the world. Vancouver has an abundance of good bathing beaches, and within one hour's ride one can have the pleasure of skiing on Grouse Mountain, Mt. Seymour, or Hollyburn Ridge. Vancouver is the largest city in B. C., a storehouse of untold natural wealth. It is the gateway to the Orient and Alaska. The population of greater Vancouver is almost 600,000, and each and every one of these friendly people will welcome you with open arms should you honor our fair city with the Seventy-fifth Annual Convention. Vancouver has, I would say without fear of contradiction, one of the finest natural parks in the world, that is, Stanley Park, known the world over. It is almost surrounded by water. Vancouver is blessed with a very mild climate and no smog.

We feel that if you in your wisdom decide to hold the 1956 Convention in Vancouver, we will as a body be displaying a marked sign of international goodwill, proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that we are an international organization, and that we Canadians and Americans are truly children of a common mother.

It is more than twenty years since your Convention was held in Vancouver, and surely, Brothers, you will not deny us opportunity to play hosts to this great American labor organization. If you decide once again on Vancouver I have no hesitation in assuring you that you will have no regrets.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Vancouver has been placed in nomination.

The Chair recognizes Frank Martel, Wayne County Central Labor Union.

DELEGATE MARTEL, Wayne County Central Labor Union: Mr. President, and Delegates to this Convention: I came here with a resolution from the Central Labor Body with a very fine invitation from the Mayor of that City, the City of Detroit, to the American Federation of Labor to hold its convention in 1956 in the City of Detroit. It is 30 years since the A. F. of L. has honored us with a convention. But in view of the very fine endorsements and showing made by the City of Seattle, and the fact that you will be at Chicago next year, which is a suburb of the City of Detroit, I am not going to place Detroit in nomination for 1956, but ask you to come to Detroit, one of the best-organized cities in America, in 1957.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have two cities, and I am going to try to decide this by a showing of hands in order to conserve the time of the Convention.

Those in favor of the 1956 Convention going to the City of Seattle, kindly raise their right hand.

Those who favor the City of Vancouver, British Columbia, kindly raise their right hand.

Well, it is quite obvious that the decision of the Convention is that the 1956 Convention be held in Seattle, Washington, and it is so ordered. The record of the Convention will so show.

At this time I would like to ask you to bear with us for a few minutes so that I may introduce to you a very interesting group of people who are visiting our Convention, in connection with a tour of the country. I am sure you all remember the protracted negotiations which took place at Panmunjon for many, many months before the final armistice was concluded ending, temporarily, at least, the Korean war. During all those long negotiations there was one point which the American Government steadfastly adhered to, and that was the point of voluntary repatriation.

INTRODUCTION OF VISITORS

I would like to point out that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor raised this question at the very outset of the Panmunjon negotiations, that in the interest of human liberty the question of repatriation of the prisoners should be voluntary on the part of all nations concerned. It took many, many months of protracted conferences. It was tremendously important and I want to give full credit to our Department of State and the President of the United States for sticking to that particular principle of human freedom. If that principle had not been upheld these people who are with us today would not be here.

We have a group of five young Chinese soldiers who were prisoners of war of the United Nations in the Korean War. Two of them here went from slave labor camps in Communist China into the so-called Communist voluntary army that took part in the attack on the South Koreans. All of them were inducted into the army and at the conclusion of the negotiations, when it was made possible for these prisoners of war to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to return to their homelands, whether they wanted to go in freedom to some other land, there were 14,000 of these Chinese Communist troops who had fought on the side of Communist China

who decided not to go back to Communist China but went instead to Formosa and to freedom.

These five who are here today are representatives of those 14,000 who took an oath in the prison camp that they would never go back to Communist China. In order to emphasize that oath so that there would be no possible chance of them ever going back on it, they tattooed the oath on their bodies so that if they fell into the hands of Chinese Communists there would be no question, they would be immediately shot and exterminated. They are here today visiting with us and I would like to present them to you so that you can see them, a living example of America's determination to adhere to the policy of voluntary repatriation in the Korean negotiations.

I am going to read off their names and introduce them to you, and then I will ask one of them to say a few words to you.

. . . Thereupon President Meany introduced to the Convention Chao King-chung, Kao Cheng-chung, Hu An-kang, Chien Yu-chi and Chan Tsun-hsien, Hu Shu-kwang, Chu Shing-choon; Dr. Yi-seng Kiang, Chinese Consul General at Los Angeles; F. J. Lew, President, Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association; Frank Wong, President Chinese Anti-Communist League.

PRESIDENT MEANY: Now, I would like to call on Hu Shu-kwang to say a few words to you on behalf of the entire group. Hu Shu-kwang.

HU SHU-KWANG: Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Chang, who speaks only Chinese, asked me to deliver his statement to the distinguished delegates of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My associates and I are representatives of the 14,343 Chinese prisoners of war from Korea who chose freedom rather than to be sent back to the mainland of China now dominated by the Communists. We have been touring your great country at the invitation of the Chinese community in the United States. Our main purpose in coming here is to convey to you our gratitude for your help in our fight for freedom.

While we were in Korea, we heard of the vigorous stand taken by the American Federation of Labor on the principle of voluntary repatriation. Your efforts, expressed in the form of a number of resolutions adopted by your component unions, helped enormously in our ordeal in the prisoners' camps in Korea from which we finally emerged as free men.

More importantly, we heard of the splendid record of the American Federation of Labor in the worldwide struggle against Communism. This is particularly significant because it came from the largest association of working men in the leading country of the free world.

While we were on the Communist-dominated mainland of China, many of us had dreamed of the "workers' paradise" promised us by the Communist rulers. Some of us had toiled and shed our blood for the Communists.

But after a few years of Communist rule, we came to know that the Communists never intended and were totally incapable of fulfilling their promises. On the contrary many of us had lost our families, and were deprived of every means of livelihood. We found ourselves in a society in which there is no trace of human decency.

It was against such a background that we decided to take the flight for freedom.

The Communists call themselves the party of the workingmen. Labor under the Chinese Communist regime is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Security. There is an organ known as the Bureau of Labor Reform, with branch bureaus in every corner of the land. It is the function of this Bureau to see to it that every laborer works for the Communist State.

Far from being the "leadership class," as the Communists asserted, the laborers in Communist-dominated China are slave laborers, human tools in the hands of the State bureaucracy.

Among the five of us, four have served as slave laborers. We were forced to help build the Chengtu-Chungking Railroad, and to engage in vast land reclamation projects. Each of us was assigned a specific quantity of work per day, expressed in terms of physically moving three cubic meters of earth over a distance of sixty meters or more. We worked over ten hours per day. Our compensation per month was equal to the price of five packages of cigarettes. There were no insurance, no welfare program, no adequate medical aid, and no provision for sickness or accidents. Party members infiltrated our labor camps to watch our every move. Our rest periods were taken up by indoctrination meetings, at which we were called upon to discuss ways and means to increase our work load, to meet the various "work challenges," to work longer hours, and to lower our compensation. We were asked to subscribe to public bonds and contribute to various causes. Strikes were out of the question. Even a mild complaint would have been severely punished.

Far from being in a "workers' paradise," the laborer is actually an inmate of a nationwide slave labor camp.

During our tour in this country, we were astonished to read in the American press the series of articles by Mr. Clement Attlee, the leader of the Labor Party of Great Britain, who recently made a tour of Communist-dominated China at the invitation of the Chinese Communists.

We presume that Mr. Attlee and his associates were taken on a guided tour by Mr. Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. Even then, it is quite beyond our comprehension how Mr. Attlee could have been so blind to the abject deprivation of the workers in Communist-dominated China as we ourselves have experienced. We cannot understand how the leaders of the British Labor Party could have so little compassion for the slave laborers on the mainland of China. We regard it as very strange for the leader of the British to observe in one breath that the Communist trade unions of China are tools of the State and in the same breath to praise the men who make them so.

Ladies and gentlemen: As I said at the beginning, the main purpose of our tour in this country is to convey to you our appreciation of your efforts in making it possible for us to regain freedom. Thanks to your generous help, we have joined ranks with our compatriots of Free China on Formosa. We are preparing to devote ourselves to the freeing of our people from Communist tyranny. Personally, I have a wife and two daughters on the mainland. I hope I am not being immodest in saying

that we are dedicated men, dedicated to the task, to paraphrase the Charter of the United Nations, of saving succeeding generations of the Chinese people from the scourge of Communist tyranny.

We know that our task is not easy. But this is a challenge that we must meet. While we were in Korea in the Communist ranks, the Communist Commissars lied to us that there were three Divisions of Chinese Nationalist troops fighting with the American troops. They thought that such knowledge would inspire us to fight more valiantly. It only showed how stupid the Commissars were. For this became the immediate signal for many of us to take the chance of crossing the frontline in the hope of joining our compatriots on the other side. It was a bitter disappointment when we found no Nationalist Chinese forces, and that instead of joining our bretheren, we were taken to the prisoners' camps.

I shall not burden you with the ordeal we went through during a period of three years in various points in Korea. I only wish to say that we were quartered in barbed wire camps of 500 men to a camp. We spent almost three years in them. The camps were not in communication with one another. In the end, when the final count was taken, 14,343 out of some 19,000 of us refused to be sent back. This works out to some 75 percent. It seems to us that this is a measure of how the Communist tyranny in China is being regarded by the people. It gives the lie to those who say that Communism has come to stay in China.

One of the American friends we met here said: "Why, these boys reject Communism because they are Chinese." Yes, we are Chinese, and Communism is anything but Chinese.

We have come to tell our story. We sincerely hope that it will enable the free world to obtain a better understanding of the plight of the Chinese people on the mainland. We are devoting our lives to help in the fight for freedom. I am sure that you will continue to lend us your support as you have done so magnificently in the past.

I thank you.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I am sure that no better picture, no more vivid portrayal of the so-called workers' paradise in the people's democracy can be demonstrated by the fact that 14,000 young men chose to leave their homes, to forego the opportunity of going home to their relatives and loved ones, and instead went to a land where they could be free. When I think of the sins that are committed in the name of labor, I can't help but think of the former Prime Minister of Britain who seems to place the political advantage of his party at such a high level that he would sell into slavery millions of people. According to the wires this morning from London this gentleman has a suggestion for the solution of the Far Eastern troubles, that Formosa, with all its inhabitants be turned over to Communist China and that Chaing Kai-Shek be sent into exile. Well, he shows some little sign of human decency; at least he wants to save the life of Chaing Kai-Shek. But what happens to these 14,000 who are now on Formosa who have taken an oath never to go back to China? And what happens to the millions on Formosa if that suggestion were to be carried out?

This points up the American Federation of Labor's position on the whole entire question of Communism in all its phases, that there can be no compromise between human decency and human brutality.

We are very happy to welcome these young men and those accompanying them here to our convention this morning and say to them that their visit here was of great interest.

We will now stand adjourned until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

. . . At 12:30 o'clock p.m., the convention recessed until 2 o'clock p.m.

SIXTH DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order by President Meany at 2:00 o'clock p. m.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Chair recognizes Secretary of the Resolutions Committee, Brother Soderstrom.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

(Resumed)

. . . Committee Secretary Soderstrom reported as follows:

WAGE AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING DEVELOPMENTS

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 273-276)

Our affiliated unions are to be commended for the sizable wage and benefit gains achieved through collective bargaining this past year in the face of the general economic downturn. Union-negotiated wage increases have benefited not only union members but the nation as a whole, for their effectiveness in bolstering wage-earner buying power has played an important role in preventing a more severe economic decline.

Unions have not allowed and must not allow a general economic recession to dissuade them from negotiating justified wage and contract improvements.

The Executive Council cautions unions against being misled by publicity designed to foster the impression that unions are foregoing wage increases. It further cautions against being deceived by employers in a basically sound financial position who attempt to maneuver unions into abandoning wage increase efforts on grounds of the general economic downturn.

In the last year only a relatively few unions, those in the most severely depressed business situations, have had to conclude negotiations without any improvement in wages or fringe benefits. This is heartening evidence of the general recognition that, even in a depressed and uncertain economic atmosphere and with a relatively stable cost of living, wage increases are warranted to improve worker standards of living and to keep pace with the economy's constantly rising level of productivity.

Advances in our national productivity provide a firm basis for substantial wage improvements, apart from the local or particular industry factors justifying wage and benefit adjustments. In fact, our economy requires that the gains in national productivity be paralleled by corresponding increases in wages if consumer purchasing power is to expand sufficiently to stimulate and support prosperous productive expansion.

Action through collective bargaining is the most direct means through which organized labor can exert its influence upon the nation's economy. At a time when Congress and the Administration has failed to take the necessary action to stimulate a more sustained economic revival, it is all the more imperative that organized labor utilize to the fullest its strength through collective bargaining.

The months ahead will be crucial ones for our economy. We urge our affiliated unions to achieve substantial wage gains as a major step toward restoring our nation's economic health and making possible greater improvements in living standards for all America.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

THE LABOR DEPARTMENT

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 107-108 and 280-282)

Your Committee has considered carefully the Report of the Executive Council on the Department of Labor and noted the factual record of the Department's progressive deterioration and increasing ineffectiveness.

At bottom, this deterioration arises from budgetary anemia caused by the persistent efforts of Congress to pare down the operating funds of the one Department authorized by law to foster and promote the well-being of America's wage earners. In the words of the Executive Council, the Department of Labor is truly a "stepchild of the Government."

Concretely, during the last two years the operating funds of the Department have moved in but one direction: downward. But the number of American workers—both employed and unemployed—has steadily moved upward. In addition, changing economic conditions have intensified the need for the very programs which the Department is authorized by law to administer. Nevertheless, the flow of funds has been slowed down to such a degree that neither plans for "reorganization" nor cynical claims of increased "efficiency" can overcome an inadequate budget. Dollars—not good intentions—are required to pave the way for a Department of Labor worthy of that title.

Common sense indicates what is happening to the effectiveness of the Department in safeguarding the well-being of millions of wage earners. For over the past two years the number of employees in the Department of Labor has dropped almost 20 per cent. Since the total number of employees was never large, this reckless lay-off program has cut not merely to the bone but to the marrow of the Department. No basic function of the Department has escaped personnel reductions, and in particular instances some functions have all but been discontinued due to the lack of employees.

Thus, protection of labor standards, effective enforcement of the Wage and Hour Law, supervision of the unemployment compensation program, collection of statistics, protection of migratory workers and the promotion of international labor relations are all suffering from lack of funds to maintain an effective staff.

Just by way of pinpointing the significance of this over-all condition, your Committee directs your attention to the role of the Department in the current period of unemployment. Specifically, the Department boasts of the extension of the benefits of unemployment compensation to millions of additional workers. But the Department does not simultaneously point out in all candor that despite this increase in its responsibilities, the operating funds of the Bureau of Employment Security—charged with supervising the administration of the unemployment compensation benefit

program for the Federal Government—continues to be steadily reduced. This whip-sawing of the unemployment compensation program by extending coverage and simultaneously cutting administrative funds bears all the earmarks of that ancient practice of weakening a law by starving its administration budget wise.

Finally, your Committee directs your attention to the fact that there is not a single trade unionist in the top echelon of the Department. Neither the Office of the Secretary nor that of the Undersecretary and the Assistant Secretaries is occupied by a trade unionist. This absence of a voice from the Trade Union Movement is the key to the Department's ineffectiveness not only in opposing policies and legislation inimical to all workers, but also in proposing genuine programs beneficial to all wage earners. This absence of a voice from the Trade Union Movement accounts for the shrill cries of the Department for consideration of its "good intentions" and its thunderous silence over matters of basic principles. It is the considered judgment of your Committee that in keeping with the general practice of the Federal Government in other Departments, the leadership of the Department of Labor should come from the best equipped members of the group whose interests the Department has been authorized by law to foster and promote.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: The Committee considered that section of the Executive Council's report the following resolution:

U. S. SECRETARY OF LABOR

Resolution No. 42—By Delegates Robert E. Haskin, Joseph Denny, Bette Hogan, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 386.)

In view of Convention action on the section of the Executive Council's report dealing with the Labor Department, no action is required on this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR'S LEAGUE FOR POLITICAL EDUCATION

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 329-334)

Labor's League for Political Education is now engaged in the fourth national election since its formation by the A. F. of L. in 1947.

The League has provided a potent means whereby A. F. of L. trade unionists and members of their families can participate in a non-partisan way in the election of public officeholders friendly to labor.

The one real legislative accomplishment of the last two years was in raising the Social Security benefits and extending coverage to ten million more Americans. Other than that we have witnessed either stagnation or whittling away of the great legislative gains of the previous 20 years.

The American Federation of Labor has specifically expressed its disappointment in the Administration's opposition to raising the minimum wage, in the granting of special tax concessions to stockholders and business interests, in the tragic bungling of our foreign affairs, in the reckless contraction of our armed forces even while the Communists were making their greatest territorial gains abroad, in the strangling of public housing, in the failure to take any positive steps to meet the nation's health needs, in the refusal to eliminate any of the unfair provisions in the Taft-Hartley law, and in the apparent satisfaction with "stabilization of the economy at present low levels."

The quality of our laws and the degree to which they are administered in the broad public interest depend first upon the type of men we elect to our Congress and state legislative halls.

Operating on the principle that working men and women will vote wisely if they have the facts, Labor's League for Political Education is currently carrying on the most vigorous organizing and information program in its history.

Through the efforts of four Area Directors and a National Women's Division Director, appointed for the first time in this election, L.L.P.E. has been able to give material assistance to Local and State Leagues as never before. Through the League's own voting records and releases and through the AFL News-Reporter and the hundreds of AFL Labor publications, the full story on the legislative issues and the records of the candidates is reaching every AFL member.

The primary elections are now over. As indicated in the Executive Council Report and in the L.L.P.E. reports since that time labor-endorsed candidates appear to be in a better position to win in November than in any election since 1948. Literally, from Maine to California there is an unmistakable trend of voter sentiment expressing disapproval with the action, or lack of action, on the part of this last Congress and the Administration.

However, the League has repeatedly warned that while a liberal majority could be elected to the House, our members should not be over optimistic about the Senate. That is because only a third of the Senate seats are filled each election. In addition the third to be filled this year were last open in 1948, a good year from labor's viewpoint. So, to hold our own would be a relative victory.

However, elected officeholders are typically very sensitive to changes in public sentiment. A good strong liberal trend on November 2nd will at least help to quiet the voices of those who are now loudly clamoring to turn the clock back 50 years. In the next Congress we might even see the enactment of some of the important legislative requests of the A. F. of L.

But, win or lose, our efforts must go on unendingly because the enemies of labor seeking to strike at us through the legislative halls never rest.

It is important to all working men and women to contribute their dollars to L.L.P.E. and to register and vote this year.

With these comments and recommendations your committee calls for the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

L.L.P.E. ACTIVITIES OF CITY CENTRAL AND STATE BODIES

Resolution No. 30 — By Delegate Louis P. Marciante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 383.)

We recommend that this resolution be referred to the officers of the Federation and to Labor's League for Political Education for study and for such action that might be required.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CONDEMNATION OF SENATOR McCARTHY'S RECORD

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Kenneth Kelley, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 377.)

Your Committee commends the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor for its fight against Communism and its fight against the methods of Senator McCarthy.

After careful consideration of this important issue, your Committee recommends that the following resolution be substituted for the resolution as introduced.

WHEREAS, Only on rare occasions does the American Federation of Labor single out any individual for specific mention for any Convention action, and

WHEREAS, One individual U. S. Senator has, by his own actions, drawn such public attention that he has become a public issue, and

WHEREAS, This individual, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, has drawn this public attention by his reckless disregard of traditional democratic procedures and his contempt for individual liberties, and

WHEREAS, Communism is able to grow by exploiting substandard conditions produced by low wages, insufficient education, slum housing, denial of civil rights, including denial and abuse of fair judicial processes, and

WHEREAS, Since his first election in 1946, Senator McCarthy has been recorded by Labor's League for Political Education as having voted against the interest of working men and women on every single major issue including questions of minimum wages, social security, public housing, the Taft-Hartley law, control of inflation, education, taxes, and civil rights, and

WHEREAS, He has voted to cut military and economic aid to free countries fighting Communism, and

WHEREAS, This voting record is sufficient evidence that the Senator's self-appointed role as America's champion fighter against Communism is not confirmed by the voting record, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby condemns the conduct of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy as unworthy of the American tradition.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move the adoption of the Committee's report.

. . . The motion was seconded.

(Vice President Doherty in the Chair.)

CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The recommendation is one of approval. Delegate Kelley.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Mass. State Federation of Labor: As the sponsor of this particular resolution I wish to urge concurrence in the Committee's report. In the form that the resolution was originally submitted, I think, perhaps, it was a little more specific than the Committee's report. Our State Federation of Labor convention, meeting in August, had this particular resolution in its originally submitted form before it. We had a hot and heavy battle up in Worcester, Mass., and finally the majority of the convention adopted the resolution, and I was hopeful that perhaps this convention might adopt it in its form as it was originally introduced. But in listening to the Committee's report I think the substance of the resolution is adequately covered and recognition is made of the fact that the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor for the past year has been effectively exposing—we think we have—the menace of McCarthyism and all that it connotes.

Long before the Junior Senator from Wisconsin and the current crop of demagogues, who have recognized Communism as a political and financial issue that they can exploit, this American Federation of Labor was effectively fighting, exposing and encouraging resistance against the core of rottenness of Communism, not merely in this country, but throughout the world.

So it is fitting and proper that the American Federation of Labor and this convention speak out. We have a duty, we have the right to it. Our hands are clean, our record is clean on this particular issue, and this particular resolution relates to McCarthy, the man. You had before you on Friday Resolution No. 10 which relates to the methods of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, and if ever there were violations of inconsistency they are typified in the voting record of the Junior Senator from Wisconsin insofar as since 1947 on 29 out of 30 issues that were designed or considered in the opinion of the American Federation of Labor to be designed to stamp out Communism, or the causes of it, or strengthen our domestic economy against it, McCarthy always voted against the interest of the workers.

In the scene of foreign affairs, foreign policy, be it on the battle of Point Four or be it on military aid to various countries this side of the Iron Curtain, McCarthy consistently voted against those particular measures. So the man and his record and his pretense of being a staunch foe of Communism just do not ring clear. So just as the American Federation of Labor always has recognized the inherent dangers of Communism and exposed it, so also should we expose the political fakery indulged in by McCarthy, the Jenners and the current crop of demagogues.

In closing I would like to say an incident developed in Massachusetts, in Boston, right after our convention adopted this resolution, wherein a few politicians of the Boston Central Labor Union seeking to curry favor with one of the Boston morning newspapers that is a rabid McCarthy sheet, passed a resolution calling upon me as a delegate to this convention not to introduce this resolution here. I know that the action of this convention in concurring in it will be an adequate answer

to those peanut politicians that unfortunately we even in Massachusetts have within the labor movement.

So in this, the citadel of the House of Schine, a Schine hotel, it is fitting and proper that this resolution in the Committee report be concurred in, because in it we put our finger on and point up the kind of political fakery that some of the professional anti-Communists have been indulging in. The Junior Senator from Wisconsin, on the basis of his record, shows that he is more interested in capturing headlines than he is stamping out Red lines, and long after this current crop of demagogues will have passed into well deserved political oblivion, the American Federation of Labor will be effectively constituting the bulwark of our free institutions and our free enterprise and economy, and will be the help of those nations throughout the world that seek relief from the shackles of Soviet domination.

I do hope the convention will concur in the Committee's report.

CHAIRMAN DOHERTY: The recommendation of the Committee is one of approval. Are there any further remarks?

. . . The motion to adopt this portion of the Committee's report was carried.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL SECURITY

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 282-302)

(I. Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, pp. 282-287)

Your committee notes with favor the advancements in securing improvements in the Old-Age and Survivors title of the Social Security Act contained in the Social Security Amendments of 1954 reported on in this section of the Executive Council Report. The American Federation of Labor takes pride in the constructive role played in our organization in the development of this legislation and its enactment. We are particularly pleased that during the past year the threats to the basic principles of our contributory social security program with benefits based on past earnings and payable without the indignity of a needs test have been successfully warded off. While the increases in benefit payments provided by the new law are not spectacular they are substantial, and the fact that the increases are payable to present beneficiaries as well as to those becoming eligible in the future is of great significance to all who look to this system for protection against the loss of family income due to old age or death of the family breadwinner.

We are also pleased to note that the amendments extend the protection of this system to some 10 million additional people.

These important amendments were enacted with the support of both our national political parties. In so saying we do not mean to detract from the significance of the support given by the present majority party and we appreciate the active support of the Administration under the leadership of President Eisenhower, and the cooperation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in developing and sponsoring this program which is of such vital interest not only to the wage earners who are members of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., but to all the people of our country who are dependent upon their earnings for their livelihood.

Beneficial as these improvements are they still fall short of attaining the goal of adequate protection to the family income. We call for the development of further expansion and improvement of the social security program by the enactment of legislation in the next session of Congress, designed to meet the following five objectives.

1. **Protection against wage loss resulting from permanent and total disability.** While the 1954 amendments represent a step in the right direction by protecting the rights of the disabled, that is not enough. A worker should become eligible for monthly benefit payments upon the determination of his physical disability and subject to his willingness to participate in rehabilitation efforts in all practicable cases.

There can be no question concerning the need for protection against the risk of physical disability among working people. Income loss resulting from permanent extended disability is a major economic hazard to which workers are exposed. The resulting economic hardship to the family is frequently even greater than that created by old age or death. The family must not only face the loss of the breadwinner's earnings, but must meet the costs of medical care. As a rule, savings and other personal resources are soon exhausted. The problem of the disabled younger worker is particularly difficult, since there are likely to be young children in the family and he has had no opportunity to acquire any significant savings. Social insurance provides the only practical and adequate method of preventing dependency from income loss resulting from this cause. The Federal Government is now operating programs providing such protection to employees of the railways and to the career government workers. The argument that our government cannot soundly administer such a program is proven false by its success in these fields.

2. **Provision of a program for protection against temporary disability should be incorporated in the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program.** Since 1946 there has been a consistent effort to establish temporary disability programs by state enactment in conjunction with the state unemployment compensation programs. However, only four states in these eight years have enacted such legislation and these were the states having the special inducement resulting from the worker contribution provided in their state unemployment compensation programs. In the light of this record it now appears certain that the states will not move further to meet this important need and it is necessary that the Federal Government take action.

3. **The benefit structure of the old-age and survivors insurance program should be improved along the following four lines:**

   a. There should be an increment to the primary benefit for workers who have been long-time participants in the program.

   b. The wage base should be raised to reflect increases in earnings levels since the start of the program.

   c. The average wage on which benefits are computed should be based on the best 10 years earnings record.

   d. Tips should be included in the computation of wages.

4. **The age of eligibility for women should be lowered to 60 years.** This should apply both to employed women who retire and to those who are dependents of retired workers, or widows of deceased workers.

5. There should be established an advisory group representative of management, labor and the self-employed to review periodically the actuarial soundness of the system and make recommendations as to necessary changes in the contribution rates. In this connection the A. F. of L. reaffirms its readiness to support a contribution rate necessary to pay benefits adequate to the needs of survivors and retired workers. The working people are willing to pay their share of the cost of an adequate program.

(II. Unemployment Compensation, pp. 287-294)

The most pressing need in the social security field today is a comprehensive overhauling and improvement of the unemployment insurance system. In the hands of reactionary State legislatures and in the absence of any effective standards governing the amounts and duration of benefit payments and qualification provisions, the system has completely failed to keep pace with present-day requirements.

The improvements that are most needed can be accomplished only through positive action on the part of the Federal Government. The only ultimate answer lies in the establishment of a single Federal employment security system, in place of the 51 competing systems that now exist. The inability of State governments to maintain an adequate system of unemployment insurance in the absence of a strong Federal role in the administration of the system and the enforcement of minimum standards has been proven by experience. The record of the past year further demonstrates the deficiencies and the failure of the "States Rights" approach to this issue. Not one state responded to the recommendations of President Eisenhower, embodied in Secretary Mitchell's letter to State governors, by conforming to the standards for benefit improvements proposed in that message. Yet, in the face of a compelling need for constructive Federal action, the most significant measure enacted last year in the unemployment insurance field was the Reed Bill, which weakened still further the role of the Labor Department in the administration of the program.

The basic deficiency in the unemployment insurance system today, from which all other weaknesses flow, lies in the method of financing now provided and required by law, whereby reductions in the employer tax to support the program can be accomplished only through the insidious device of employer experience-rating. From experience-rating stem the destructive pressures that have undermined the strength and integrity of the unemployment insurance system. As a result of the experience-rating incentive, employers have conducted a successful continuing attack upon the program, seeking to hold benefits to a starvation level and to secure new and increasingly harsh disqualification provisions which unjustly deprive unemployed workers of benefits in order to minimize the employer tax rate.

These pressures have advanced to the point where in many—if not most States—the system is being administered as though its primary purpose were the reduction of employer taxes rather than the payment of insurance benefits to unemployed workers. The elimination of experience-rating and the substitution of a sound, and non-discriminatory system of financing which apportions the tax load in an equitable way as a social cost upon all business and industry must be the continuing objective of the American Federation of Labor. As a minimum feasible step in the direction of the elimination of experience-rating, the law must be changed so as to provide an alternative method of accomplishing reductions in tax rates where such reductions are justified by the condition of benefit funds.

As a further minimum step toward the reconstruction of the unemployment insurance system, a program of uniform national standards governing benefit amounts, durations and eligibility requirements must be adopted so as to remove from the shoulders of jobless workers the burden of cut-throat interstate competion which serves to hold benefits down to an inexcusably low level. Pending the establishment of a truly national employment security system, a reinsurance fund also needs to be established as a source of grants-in-aid to states whose benefit reserves are in danger of insolvency. The loan fund provided under the Reed Bill is inadequate and even dangerous, since it unfairly penalizes those states confronted with the gravest unemployment problems and the greatest need for supplementary funds.

Federal legislation along these lines offers the best hope that the serious deficiencies of the present unemployment insurance program can be overcome and that adequate protection can be afforded the unemployed workers of the nation. It deserves the vigorous support of the entire trade union movement.

(III. Health and Welfare, pp. 294-302)

Reviewing the analysis of the health needs of working people and the various steps that have been taken to meet them, described in this section of the Executive Council Report, your committee concludes that the soundest and most constructive solution would be the enactment of the comprehensive national health program, long advocated by the American Federation of Labor. The keystone of the structure of this program is a system of health insurance based on the proven principles of our existing social insurance program.

Because of the frequently repeated charge that this program is "socialized medicine" it is necessary once more to point out that this program with its guarantees of freedom of choice on the part of both patient and doctor, and its guarantees of the continued independence of health institutions and personnel rather than representing the socialization of medicine is, in fact, the surest protection against the socialization of medicine in this country.

We have also observed during the past year that the keen cutting-edge of the hitherto effective term, "socialized medicine," has been considerably dulled by its use against the proposals for medical care for veterans advanced by our friends in the American Legion!

Without diminishing the emphasis on our continued support of a comprehensive national health program, designed to meet the various needs cited in this section of the Executive Council Report, we reaffirm the fact that we do not hold to an "all or nothing" position. We welcome any steps taken toward the ultimate goal. We cite with some pride the fact that the Hill-Burton Hospital Survey and Construction Act, which now has wide popular acceptance and the support of both political parties, was originally Title III of the much-maligned Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, sponored first by the A. F. of L. in 1943.

We therefore urge further consultation with the officials of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare with a view to developing the largest possible area of agreement with the

present Administration with respect to legislative proposals in the health field for enactment by the 84th Congress. The experience of the past two years in the development of proposals in the social security field suggests the usefulness of such consultation. It is hoped that similar areas of agreement, though perhaps not in complete accord with the long-term program of either party, may be developed and result in legislative enactment representing tangible advantages to working people confronted with the problem of obtaining high-quality medical care and service for themselves and members of their families. In these explorations the advantages of preventive care should be given first consideration.

We record again our active interest in the continued development of direct service prepayment medical plans, making available to their members the advantages of group practice. In a number of localities A. F. of L. unions have taken the leadership in the development and operation of these plans and in other areas they have actively participated in programs such as Permanente on the West Coast, and in the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, to the great advantage of their members. All possible encouragement and assistance should be given our affiliated organizations who undertake to provide health benefits and protection to their members through such plans in order that they may be developed along sound lines. We also record our appreciation of the efforts of the forward-looking members of the medical profession in these areas who have cooperated in assuring that these plans provide the highest quality of medical care and service.

Not the least among the advantages of the direct service type plan to labor unions is the fact that their benefits, being in the form of service rather than cash payments, removes the problem of protecting them from the harmful practices that have been disclosed as characteristic of some of the cash indemnity plans. Nor does the problem of pyramiding fees to doctors and hospitals arise in connection with the service plans.

With these comments your committee recommends the adoption of this entire section of the Executive Council Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION

(Executive Council's Report, p. 121)

The American Federation of Labor has always had a basic concern with the protection of consumers against mislabeling, adulteration and injection of harmful ingredients in food and drugs sold to consumers. We have therefore sought to strengthen the Food and Drug Administration as the major Federal agency charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the consumer.

The Executive Council reports that Congress has assigned to the Food and Drug Administration increased responsibilities in detection of unhealthful methods used in producing foods and drugs for consumer use. However, instead of making available increased appropriations for this agency to handle its expanded functions, Congress has slashed its appropriations to the point where the Food and Drug Administration cannot begin to discharge its responsibilities effectively.

We should continue our efforts to secure adequate appropriations and full authority for the Food and Drug Administration to protect consumer effectively against all types of fraud and adulteration.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

HALF SECOND MEANS MORE JOBS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 123)

This section of the Executive Council's Report deals with a little-noticed change in the law which concerns the period for testing certain types of inflammable fabrics. The new law, supported by the A. F. of L., will prove an advantage to A. F. of L. workers in the textile industry in New England.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

"MILLIONAIRES' AMENDMENT" IN CONGRESS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 124)

Your Committee is pleased to note that efforts to secure Congressional approval of the "Millionaires' Amendment" preliminary to submitting it to the states were defeated. The amendment proposed to limit the tax rate to 25 per cent regardless of income.

The great majority of taxpayers in the income groups below $5,000 are already paying more than 25 per cent of their income in local, state, and federal sales, excise and income taxes. A limitation of the income tax rate for those in the upper income brackets as proposed in the amendment would not decrease the need for tax revenue. It would, however, inevitably result in raising sales, excise and nuisance taxes on taxpayers in the lower income groups considerably above their present high levels. Attempts to secure adoption of this amendment will undoubtedly be renewed in state legislatures and should in all instances be opposed.

Your committee recommends approval of this section of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 140-141)

This section of the Executive Council's Report records the efforts of the A. F. of L. regarding copyright legislation.

The recent session of Congress considered two major copyright issues. The Universal Copyright Convention which the United States government signed in September, 1952 came before the Senate and was ratified in July, 1954. In addition, legislation implementing this new international Convention by modifying the U. S. Copyright Law passed Congress in the closing days of the session.

The American Federation of Labor joined our affiliates in the Printing Trades in opposing the ratification of the Convention and the enactment of the subsequent legislation. We have felt that this legislation, by altering the "manufacturing clause" of our Copyright Law, might possibly open the way for wholesale importation of books manufactured abroad under substandard conditions.

We recommend that the officers of the A. F. of L. follow closely the developments under the new legislation and determine the extent to which the interests of American workers may be adversely affected by the new law.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

CUSTOMS SIMPLIFICATION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 141)

The Executive Council reports on legislation adopted in the last session of Congress which would permit improvements in the classifications and terminology employed in the administration of tariff laws. The customs simplification authorized under this legislation will help to remove barriers to the flow of international trade. We should continue to support such legislation, making it clear, however, that customs simplification laws should not be utilized indirectly to make material changes in tariff rates.

With these comments, your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 142-143)

The Executive Council has summarized developments which led to the adoption in the past session of Congress of a one-year extension of reciprocal trade legislation. Although the President's Commission on Foreign Economic Policy made broad recommendations for modification of tariff legislation, Congressional consideration was confined to the Commission's proposal for a three-year extension of the reciprocal trade program. After rejecting bills which would have all but killed the reciprocal trade program, the Congress compromised on a one-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act. The issue will therefore again be considered in the next session of Congress.

In furtherance of our basic policy of seeking to obtain expansion of international commerce and removal of barriers to world trade, our Federation should continue to support the reciprocal trade program. At the same time, every effort must be made to be certain that the nation's trade and tariff policies safeguard the employment opportunities of American workers and protect labor standards, both in our own country and abroad.

With these comments and recommendations, your committee asks for approval of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING LAWMAKERS, JUDICIARY, AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
(Executive Council's Report, p. 147)

During the past year, President Meany gave testimony in support of pay increases for members of the Congress and the federal judiciary. Such proposals were included in S. 1663. Congress, however, took no final action on this legislation.

Your Committee approves the action of President Meany in supporting these pay increases and recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LIBERALIZED CONGRESSIONAL PENSIONS
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 147-148)

The Executive Council reports that during the past session of Congress the provisions of the Retirement Act affecting members of Congress and their staffs were liberalized to provide for increased benefits and other improvements. In addition, survivorship benefits for dependents of Congressmen and their staffs were provided for the first time.

With these comments, your Committee recommends the adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

VIRGIN ISLANDS
(Executive Council's Report, p. 148)

Although the Virgin Islands have a population of only 25,000 in an area of 133 square miles, these Islands have had a very cumbersome system of government. Under a 1936 law, three separate local governments were established to rule on the Islands, a system which obviously produced a great deal of duplication and confusion.

The recent session of Congress, however, revised this arrangement and provided a new Organic Act, under which the Islands will be governed by a single legislature and a single executive government of not more than nine departments. The Governor of the Virgin Islands will be appointed by the President of the United States and the Island government will continue to be somewhat supervised by the Interior Department. The enactment of this legislation, which represents a real advance in government for the Islands, was supported by the American Federation of Labor.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PHILIPPINES TRADE
(Executive Council's Report, p. 150)

The A. F. of L. supported recently enacted legislation which has the effect of extending the period during which goods from the Philippine Islands can enter the United States free of duty. This extension was necessary because under the previous legislation, a 5 per cent duty would have been imposed beginning in July, 1954. Under the new law the duty-free period will continue until January, 1956 in order to allow time to work out a revised trade agreement between the United States and the Philippines.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DISPOSAL OF ALIEN PROPERTIES
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 151-152)

Our Federation has taken vigilant action to protect the interests of our members who now work for companies whose plants were seized by the federal government during World War II, under the Trading With the Enemy Act.

Congress has been considering legislation to dispose of these properties which are still operated by the federal government. In order to safeguard the jobs of thousands of our members employed in these plants, we supported a bill which would have permitted plants formerly owned by enemy aliens to be sold to the highest American bidder with the proceeds going to the original owners. Our representatives vigorously opposed proposed legislation under which the properties could be turned over to prior owners, thereby opening the way for the resumption of cartel-type operation or even the seizure of valuable patents by Soviet-controlled interests.

Due in part to a conflict of opinions between two Cabinet members, no legislation was enacted at this session of Congress.

When this question is considered next year, the A. F. of L. should continue to insist that whatever steps are taken to dispose of alien properties must fully protect the jobs of the workers now employed in these plants. In addition, the legislation should not permit resumption of cartel or other restrictive practices and should provide absolute assurance that no Soviet interests can in any way assume control of properties or patents.

With these comments and recommendations, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEASE-PURCHASE PLAN BECOMES LAW
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 152-153)

The Executive Council reports that through the determined efforts of our representative, provisions requiring adherence to the labor standards of the Davis-Bacon Act have been included in a law authorizing government acquisition of real estate on a lease-purchase basis. Since this legislation will result in new construction and remodeling valued at several billion dollars, it was essential that the Davis-Bacon standards be included to safeguard the welfare of our members in the building and construction trades. Your Committee heartily commends the officers of the Federation for their vigilance in assuring protection of labor standards in this important new program.

With these comments your committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

WORKERS OF WAKE, GUAM AND CAVITE
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 153-154)

During the past year the A. F. of L. has continued its efforts to obtain adequate compensation for the civilian workers who were captured by the Japanese in the early days of World War II. In the final days of the session, the A. F. of L. was successful in obtaining enactment of a statute which will provide these workers compensation equivalent to that already received by military prisoners of war.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEADERSHIP EXCHANGE PROGRAM WITH FOREIGN NATIONS
(Executive Council's Report, p. 155)

Your Committee is pleased to note that with the support of the A. F. of L. and other interested organizations the request of the Eisenhower Administration for $15 million to continue the Leadership Exchange Program was approved with a reduction of only $300,000. This program under which the exchange of visits by groups of leaders from various groups including labor, between the rest of the free world and the United States is carried on, deserves our continued support.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. TRAVEL COMMISSION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 155)

Your Committee recommends continued support for legislation to create a U. S. Travel Commission responsble for the promotion of travel by American citizens abroad to promote international understanding, scientific advancement and cultural enrichment.

With these comments your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

APPOINTMENT OF TRIAL EXAMINERS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 156)

Ever since the 80th Congress, there have been various efforts made, by those who claim some of the federal trial examiners are too liberal or too pro-labor in their views, to remove such examiners from the federal service, not only in the NLRB, but also in other Federal Commissions or Agencies where examiners are employed. In the 83rd Congress Senator McCarran introduced S. 1708 which would amend the Administrative Procedure Act to permit lifetime appointments by the President of all Federal trial examiners. This would have permitted the elimination of presently employed trial examiners many of whom have given years of excellent and meritorious public service. The American Federation of Labor opposed this bill and no action was taken on it.

Your Committee commends the action opposing this bill and recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EXPORT-IMPORT BANK

(Executive Council's Report, p. 161)

The A. F. of L. testified on behalf of legislation to strengthen the Export-Import Bank. Under the new legislation, a special Advisory Committee is established which by statute is to include representatives of American labor. This will represent the first time that labor's voice will be heard in advising on the policies of this important banking institution.

With these comments your Committe Recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

"EQUAL PAY" FOR WOMEN

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 161-162)

The American Federation of Labor has increasingly succeeded through collective bargaining in gaining equal employment opportunity for all women workers. These efforts have not been confined to questions of wages, but have included action against discrimination wherever it might appear to deny equal treatment to women workers.

The most rapid progress toward eliminating wage differentials based on sex can be achieved through collective bargaining rather than through government action. Federal intervention and legal enforcement can be neither as practical nor as effective in this complex area of wage determination as voluntary action through union-management negotiation.

For these reasons, we have opposed, and will continue to oppose, misguided attempts to legislate "equal pay" for women workers.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's Report was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

(Executive Council's Report, pp. 85-88)

Your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that every available medium be employed to improve the public relations program of the American Federation of Labor.

Radio News Program

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to make such arrangements as it deems practical and advisable for the use of radio and television to advance the aims and objectives of the American Federation of Labor.

AFL News-Reporter

The AFL News-Reporter is recognized as an accurate and authoritative source of information in the entire field of national and international affairs as they affect the interests of the working people of the nation. But it cannot be completely effective until it is regularly reaching many more members of the trade union movement than is now the case.

The need for this newspaper has become increasingly important as the control of the commercial newspapers of the country is further concentrated in the hands of individuals and corporations who are not friendly to the objectives of the labor movement.

Many international unions have already cooperated in the subscription drive which has been launched to increase the effectiveness of the AFL News-Reporter. All other unions are asked to join in this effort. It is hoped that, after key local officials become acquainted with the AFL News-Reporter, they will persuade their locals to make this excellent newspaper available weekly to all of their members. It is not enough for our leaders to be informed. Our entire membership must be given accurate information which will make it possible for them intelligently to participate in the civic and political affairs of their communities, states, and the nation.

We commend the AFL News-Reporter to the membership and strongly recommend that the matter of full membership subscriptions for the News-Reporter be brought before locals wherever a bona fide local labor paper is lacking in the community. The newspaper will be mailed weekly directly to each member's home for only $1 a year.

No other medium exists through which our membership can be quickly and accurately informed of the steps taken by the Executive Council to implement the program adopted by the annual conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Nowhere else will adequate coverage of important addresses by the President, Secretary-Treasurer and the heads of international unions and departments be found. Nowhere else will our members find accurate information on the implications of legislative attacks on the trade union movement and its objectives.

Regular reading of the AFL News-Reporter will equip our members to uphold the policies of the American Federation of Labor in discussions with their fellow-workers, friends and even their own families.

Therefore, we recommend that this convention urge local unions to subscribe for their entire membership to the end that our members will be better enabled to play their part in the civic and political life of their communities.

Labor Press

Your committee commends the prompt action taken by the American Federation of Labor to provide a three-day-a-week news service to the labor press to fill the gap left by the dissolution of Labor Press Associated. We note with approval the fact that this service, for the first time, has been sent out directly from the convention, thereby supplying bona fide labor publications with up-to-the-minute news coverage of the important actions of this convention. The expansion of the picture coverage and mat service of the A. F. of L. News Service has also proved of immeasurable benefit to the labor publications it serves.

It is in keeping with the basic policy of the American Federation of Labor that we continue constantly to give practical support and encouragement to the bona fide labor press which upholds the aims and the program of our labor movement with unflagging loyalty. This policy is in no sense limited to what we have done in the past. Every effort should be made by the A. F. of L. News Service, in consultation with the editors of the labor press, to expand and improve the news service in order to make it possible for labor publications to do a better job for their readers.

American Federationist

The American Federationist, the official monthly magazine of the American Federation of Labor, has won a prominent place in our movement as a major contributor to increased understanding of and interest in the American Federation of Labor. The magazine has proved a valuable source of informative articles about current legislative issues and the work of our affiliated unions. In addition, its articles on developments of concern to labor taking place in the far-flung corners of the globe provide up-to-the-minute information that is duplicated in no other publication.

Your Committee concurs in the Executive Council's recommendation that every possible effort be made during the coming year to increase the circulation of the American Federationist among trade union members and the general public. We ask that our affiliated unions cooperate in giving the American Federationist the widest possible circulation.

Noticiario Obrero Norteamericano (North American Labor News)

Your committee is gratified by the growth in influence and circulation throughout Latin America of this Spanish-language newspaper, published semi-monthly by the office of the President. Through this medium, the A. F. of L. has helped to promote better understanding and good will between our own membership and the workers of Latin American nations south of our borders.

With these comments, your Committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's Report on Public Relations.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION (Executive Council's Report, p. 139)

Your committee notes with approval the significant gains made in the field of hospital construction referred to in this section of the Executive Council Report.

We urge the continued active support of the Hill-Burton program on the part of the A. F. of L., and particularly urge that the full amount of the appropriation of $150 million per year authorized in the original Act be restored, with such additional amounts as are necessary to carry on the expanded program for the new categories of construction projects provided in Public Law 482, 83d Congress.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

PUERTO RICO (Executive Council's Report, pp. 148-150)

The rapid development of the economy of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico represents both a challenge and a threat to the labor movement. Our challenge is to assure that the workers of Puerto Rico share fully in the fruits of industrial and economic progress. The threat will exist, however, so long as this industrialization is taking place on the basis of substandard wages and working conditions for Puerto Rican workers. Continuance of such conditions means not only a continuing low-wage level for Puerto Rican workers, but also an unfair competitive advantage for Puerto Rican employers, which jeopardizes the labor standards of workers employed in competing industries on the mainland. The far-reaching program for raising living standards which the Governor of Puerto Rico has described to this Convention is indeed encouraging.

Puerto Rico's rapid industrial growth requires an ever-increasing skilled and semi-skilled labor force. In order to meet this problem, Puerto Rico has established various training programs, including modern vocational schools, apprenticeship programs sponsored by Joint Labor-Management Committees, and supervised on-the-job training.

From the viewpoint of organized labor, it is crucial that these new industrial workers be organized in the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Unfortunately, at present over 90 percent of the industrial workers of Puerto Rico are not organized. This not only depresses the labor standards in Puerto Rico, but offers an incentive to anti-labor employers to avoid collective bargaining with unions by transferring their operations to Puerto Rico.

Unfortunately, the Federal Wage and Hour Law has helped to perpetuate substandard wage conditions in Puerto Rico. This law permits Puerto Rican employers to pay their workers far less than the 75 cent minimum hourly rate required by the Act for mainland workers. Under a special Industry Committee procedure authorized by the Act, the Wage and Hour Administrator has established minimum rates for Puerto Rican industries as low as 17½ cents an hour. This Convention has unanimously recommended that the minimum wage for Puerto Rico be brought up to the mainland level within three years. Pending

enactment of this amendment to the law, the Industry Committee procedure should be drastically revised so that the minimum wage for each industry is reviewed annually and revised minimum wages are put into effect promptly.

Your Committee directs the attention of this Convention to the large-scale migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland in recent years, which can be attributed almost entirely to the search of low-paid Puerto Rican workers for better wages. Higher wages and decent working conditions would keep many of these workers in Puerto Rico, and thereby help to strengthen the Puerto Rican economy and its industrialization program. Organization of Puerto Rican workers into unions would mean that even if they did choose to migrate to the mainland, they would have been imbued with the spirit and aims of the trade union movement and would tend to become good members of mainland unions.

Thus the organization of Puerto Rico's new industrial workers presents a challenging frontier for the American Federation of Labor, which should receive serious consideration and a high priority in the program of our Federation. We should develop an effective program geared to the special conditions of Puerto Rico to make possible the rapid expansion of A. F. of L. unions in Puerto Rico.

With these comments and recommendations, your Committee recommends adoption of this portion of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

STATE LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 177-194)

Your committee commends the officers of the Federation for taking the first steps to implement the actions of the 1952 and 1953 conventions urging the establishment of a clearing house at National Headquarters on state legislation.

The growing threat of anti-union shop legislation and the failure of the state legislatures to make proper improvements in unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation legislation are matters deserving particular attention. Your committee recommends that the officers take proper steps to improve and strengthen our legislative services to the State Federations.

With these comments, your committee recommends adoption of this section of the Executive Council Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION
(Executive Council's Report, p. 355)

The Executive Council has concluded the Report to this Convention as it began it, by focusing the thoughts and the energies of the delegates upon the challenge to liberty and progress which confronts our movement and indeed the entire free world. Will our nation respond to the urgent need of the free peoples of the world for dynamic leadership in the death struggle against Communist tyranny? Or will we withdraw from our position in the vanguard of the forces of liberty and retreat to the false security of economic nationalism and political reaction?

For the American Federation of Labor there can be only one answer. Our Federation must stand now as always in the forefront of the forces for peace and progress. We reject defeatism, no matter in what beguiling form it may appear. We will strive confidently and steadfastly to achieve the twin goals of economic prosperity and international peace. Joining with free workers throughout the world, we are resolutely prepared to meet the challenge of our times. At stake are the welfare and freedom of all mankind.

With this comment, your Committee recommends adoption of the Executive Council's Report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Soderstrom, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

THANKS TO LOS ANGELES

WHEREAS, the citizens of Los Angeles and the officers and members of American Federation of Labor unions in this vicinity have been most hospitable in welcoming this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the Governor of California, the Mayor of Los Angeles and a host of other city and state officials have warmly welcomed the officers, delegates, and visitors to this Convention, and

WHEREAS, the President and Secretary-Treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor and the Los Angeles County Central Labor Council, as well as the other officers and members of these two great labor organizations, have truly outdone themselves in their efforts as cordial, generous and warm-hearted hosts to this Convention, and

WHEREAS, the local Convention Committee has worked hard to assure a successful and smooth-running Convention, and

WHEREAS, the representatives of the press, radio, and television have been extremely cooperative in carrying the story of the events at this A. F of L Convention to all parts of the globe, and

WHEREAS, the officers, delegates and guests of this 1954 A. F. of L. Convention are deeply thankful for the cordial welcome and hospitality that has been extended to them, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that the officers and delegates of the Seventy-third annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend their deep appreciation and sincere thanks to all those who have contributed toward making this an eminently successful and enjoyable Convention.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: I move adoption of this resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded.

PRESIDENT MEANY: You have heard the resolution and the report of the Committee expressing our appreciation to the trade unionists and the people of this community for the very fine treatment that they have accorded our delegates during our stay here. I want to add my voice to that resolution and say to Brother Bassett, Neil Haggerty and the other labor representatives, and through them to the community as a whole, that I personally don't know of any convention of the American Federation of Labor where we were accorded a warmer welcome and finer hospitality than we have been accorded here in the City of Los Angeles.

If there is no objection, the resolution of thanks will be adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY SODERSTROM: This concludes the report of the Committee on Resolutions, and it is signed by the following members of the Committee:

Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers; George M. Harrison, Railway Clerks; Wm. E. Maloney, Operating Engineers; John F. English, Teamsters; James G. Cross, Bakery & Confectionery Workers; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation; Thomas M. O'Donnell, Bricklayers; John J. Mara, Boot & Shoe Workers; John L. Reilly, Postal Transport Association; A. E. Fischer, Carpenters; Arnold S. Zander, State, County & Municipal Employes; John E. Rooney, Plasterers; Richard F. Walsh, Theatrical Stage Employees; Alex Rose, Hatters; Thomas E. Dunwody, Printing Pressmen; Woodruff Randolph, Typographical Union; Charles S. Zimmerman, Ladies' Garment Workers; Robert J. Tormey, Firemen & Oilers; Sam P. Ming, Grain Millers; C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation; Martin P. Durkin, Plumbers & Pipefitters; William Schoenberg, Cement, Lime & Gypsum Workers; William A. Calvin, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; William Cooper, Building Service Employees; A. J. Hayes, Machinists; A. L. Spradling, Resolution Committee.

I now move that the report of this Committee as a whole and as acted upon by this Convention be adopted.

. . . The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to express the thanks of this Convention to the members of the Resolutions Committee and in particular to Secretary Soderstrom and above all to Matt Woll, who, despite the fact that he has been indisposed during the week, has given his usual fine service to this work.

On your behalf I express our deep appreciation to the entire Committee for its splendid work. The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The chair recognizes Chairman Winter of the Committee on State Organizations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN WINTER: Your Committee on State Organizations report will be made through its Secretary, George L. Googe.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY GOOGE: Mr. Chairman and delegates: No resolutions were referred to the Committee on State Organizations. I, at this time submit the complete report of the Committee.

The State Federations and City Central Bodies render a fundamental service to the members of the American Federation of Labor. Labor's voice in local and civic affairs is heard through the central body; in statewide matters through the State Federations. Local legislation and state legislation are a primary concern of these organizations.

Our central bodies need and should have the affiliation of every local union whose parent organization is part of the American Federation of Labor. These valuable organizations could function more effectively if they had 100 per cent membership of A. F of L. unions in their respective jurisdictions.

The growing ferocity of the legislative program put forth by anti-union forces makes the reasons for affiliation even more compelling. We will need all the resources at our command to defeat the labor-hating legislative programs now appearing in practically every state.

The purposely misnamed "right-to-work" laws—actually they are anti-union security laws which are designed to cut wages—are growing in number. There are now seventeen states with such laws and the campaign for enactment of such statutes is on in many others.

We note with pleasure that the officers of the Federation have instructed the National Legislative Committee to assist in this campaign. We welcome the valuable help this committee has given and will give in the future. We urge the officers to consider the calling of regional conferences of State Federation officials to discuss ways and means of killing these bills and repealing those on the statute books. We also urge the officers to instruct the Public Relations Department of the A. F. of L. to prepare a basic public relations campaign to combat these bills.

But invaluable as the help of the officers and staff of the A. F. of L. can be the real fight must always be made on the home front by local people. We urge all State Federations and central bodies to take the following steps:

1. Step up political activities through local and state LLPE bodies so that friendly legislators are sent to state legislatures and Congress.
2. Conduct special meetings and publish special literature to acquaint our own officers and members with the vicious intent of these anti-union security laws.
3. Establish contact with employer and farmer groups to explain our case and enlist their support against this effort to lower the purchasing power of our people.
4. Have our members conduct a personalized letter and postcard campaign to acquaint legislators with the truth about this legislation.
5. Use every method of communication to get our message home.

Obviously such a campaign will be more effective if affiliations are more complete. We recommend the officers of the Federation contact the officers of the various international unions explaining the extreme urgency of this situation and request the Internationals urge their local unions to affiliate and help defeat the legislative plot of our enemies. The Federal Labor Unions should receive a similar communication. We also advise the officials of the various central bodies to visit unaffiliated locals and explain the gravity of the situation to them.

We further note that the National Legislative Committee on instructions from the Federation officers has taken the first steps toward setting up a clearing house service on state legislation of interest to working people. We commend this effort and trust it will be strengthened in the year ahead. We also urge the closest possible cooperation of State Federations with the work of the National Legislative Committee in the Congress. Several requests sent out from the national office this past year brought a fine response. We are confident this joint effort can and will be increased.

We note with pride that this Federation conscripted a great State Federation president and elevated him to the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

And in conclusion, we recommend that under his leadership the International Union conventions that have not already done so take the necessary actions to establish the "Union Shop" for State Federations in local union affiliations.

Respectfully submitted,

Herman Winter, Bakery & Confectionery Workers; George L. Googe, Printing Pressmen; Phil Hannah, Ohio State Federation of Labor; Fred Scafidi, Barbers; W. S. Gross, Cleaning and Dye House Workers; Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor; Phil E. Zeigler, Railway Clerks; Gust Anderson, Portland, Oregon, Central Labor Union; J. S. Smith, Virginia State Federation of Labor; Ralph B. Williams, Post Office Clerks; J. Scott Milne, Electrical Workers; Jerry R. Holleman, Texas State Federation of Labor; Harry Cohen, Maryland State-District of Columbia Federation of Labor; William D. Gunn, Minnesota State Federation of Labor; Howard Coughlin, Office Employees; E. A. Carter, West Virginia State Federation of Labor; John J. Hurst, Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union; James Russo, Beaver County, Pa., Central Labor Union; William Finegan, Cleveland, Ohio, Central Labor Union; John J. Higgins, Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Union; Arthur Elder, American Federation of Teachers.

Committee on State Organizations.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Googe the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged, with the thanks of the convention.

COMMUNICATION FROM GENERAL GRUENTHER

PRESIDENT MEANY: I would like to read a message at this time to the delegates.

Mr. George Meany,
President of the AFL,
Ambassador Hotel,
Los Angeles:

Undersecretary of State Smith has explained to you why I must cancel my Los Angeles talk at the A. F. of L. Convention. I regret this more than you will ever realize because I looked forward to the meeting with enthusiastic pleasure and I was highly flattered to receive the invitation. I hope you will find it possible to ask me again some time. May your convention be a great success. With warm regards to you and to Irving Brown.

Sorrowfully,

Alfred M. Gruenther.

PRESIDENT MEANY: General Gruenther was supposed to be here with us, and unfortunately developments in Europe made it impossible. He has sent this telegram of regrets which I want to appear in the record.

ROSH HASHANA

PRESIDENT MEANY: Before calling on the next committee I would like to say that we are trying very hard to get the convention adjourned as early as possible this afternoon so that those of the Jewish faith can enter the observance of Rosh Hashana, which starts at sundown today.

I would like to say in passing that this represents the 300th Anniversary of the landing in America of the first Jewish community of 23 people in the city of New York in September, 1654, and to comment that this small community of refugees from religious persecution came here to this country as a place of hope and as a haven for those who were oppressed by discrimination of all kinds. They found here in America a place where they could give vent not only to their own feelings and practice their own religion, but where they could help others who were oppressed to establish religious, civil and political rights, and to express the hope that we can through this great American Federation of Labor see to it that America shall always be the haven of the oppressed and the hope of those seeking religious, political and civil liberties.

I would like to call on the Chairman of the Committee on Legislation, Brother MacGowan.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN MacGOWAN: President Meany and delegates, the Committee on legislation is now prepared to complete its report, which will be submitted by its Secretary, Brother Joe Keenan.

. . . Committee Secretary Keenan presented the report of the Committee as follows:

PROPOSED CHANGES IN CONGRESSIONAL RULES

(Executive Council's Report, p. 138)

The Executive Council's report shows that our officers are maintaining a close watch on proposals to change the rules of the House and Senate. Certain conduct of some investigating committees has left much to be desired and we urge that our Legislative Committee make every effort to obtain changes in the rules which will prevent unfair tactics on the part of self-seeking Senators and Representatives.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR MEDICAL FACILITIES

(Executive Council's Report, p. 138)

The American Federation of Labor has long urged the development of direct medical service plans. We note from the Executive Council's report that Chairman Wolverton of the House interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee made a strong effort to pass a bill that would provide mortgage reinsurance by the Federal Government on facilities needed for this type of medical plan. We believe that this proposal would be of great assistance in improving and expanding medical care for the working people of the country and recommend continued support of the legislation.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 138)

Your committee notes with pleasure that the Seafarers International Union with the support of the Federation was successful in main-

taining the Public Health Service Hospitals which provide medical care for merchant seamen.

The ill-considered plans of some Administration leaders to abolish this service is thoroughly defeated.

We note with pleasure that grants for research work in the national institutes for health were again increased. The valuable service rendered by these research institutions should be strengthened in every possible manner.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

REINSURANCE OF VOLUNTARY HEALTH INSURANCE PLANS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 139)

We regret that the Administration's proposals for reinsurance of voluntary health insurance plans, although well-intentioned, are very inadequate. We recommend continued support of the position previously adopted by the American Federation of Labor for a workable and sound insurance plan which will meet the needs of all the people.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ALASKA-HAWAII STATEHOOD

(Executive Council's Report, p. 140)

The question of Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska resulted in a great deal of political maneuvering in the 83rd Congress. The Administration refused to accept a Senate-passed bill providing Statehood for both territories and succeeded in having the measure bottled up in the House Rules Committee.

The 1953 Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorsed Statehood for both territories.

We believe the citizens of these territories are entitled to full participation in the Government of our country and recommend the Convention again go on record favoring Statehood for both Alaska and Hawaii.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS

(Executive Council's Report, p. 145)

This section of the Executive Council's report discloses the problems of the workers in the Panama Canal Zone.

We note that the recent study of the management consultant firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton makes recommendations which would improve the working and living conditions of employees of the Panama Canal Company.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report and continued cooperation of the American Federation of Labor with the Canal Zone A. F. of L. employees.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENT

(Executive Council's Report, p. 147)

Your committee notices with pleasure that the Executive Council reports that the distribution of our booklet entitled "Legislative Achievements of the American Federation of Labor" has grown.

The invaluable pamphlet carries a complete record of the legislative activity of the American Federation of Labor and should be given as widespread distribution as possible.

Your committee recommends that every effort be made to place this pamphlet in the hands of all interested people.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL ENVELOPE CO. (DAYTON PLANT)

(Executive Council's Report, p. 153)

This section of the Executive Council's report deals with the efforts of non-union newspapers to take work away from the International Envelope Company which employ members of the American Federation of Labor. Our officers successfully resisted this move. There is little doubt that this attempt to take work away from union workers will be renewed.

We recommend our officers and the Legislative Committee vigilantly fight any renewed effort.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

FINE ARTS COMMISSION

(Executive Council's Report, p. 154)

American Federation of Labor unions in the entertainment and fine arts fields are pushing for legislation to create a Federal Fine Arts Commission.

We believe this proposal has much merit and recommend that the American Federation of Labor continue supporting the efforts of our constituent unions in this field.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

BILLS ON PROHIBITION

(Executive Council's Report, p. 154)

This portion of the report of the Executive Council deals with a bill on prohibition.

The forces responsible for the passing of the Volstead Act are now operating in devious ways and through one device or another are attempting to bring about another program of national prohibition.

It is our hope that history will never repeat itself on this one question as we all know the passing of the Volstead Act brought about a breakdown of regard for all law. We strongly oppose any attempt to reinstate any form of prohibition.

On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SUGAR ACT

(Executive Council's Report, p. 156)

We recommend that the Executive Board continue to study the implications of the Sugar Act and to take proper action for the best interests of the American people.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SAFETY
(Executive Council's Report, pp. 157-160)

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 413.)

This section of the Executive Council's report—Industrial and Government, Diverting Mine Safety to the State, and Safety on the Railroads and Resolution No. 114 submitted by Delegate James A. Brownlow of the Metal Trades Departemnt show an alarming tendency on the part of some legislators to weaken safety legislation.

These moves made in the name of economy would seriously endanger the safety of the workers in many industries.

We further note that no action was taken by Congress on American Federation of Labor proposals to strengthen rather than weaken existing safety legislation.

We recommend that the Convention instruct its officers to continue their efforts to improve safety legislation and bills affecting occupational hazards and diseases and resist vigorously all moves that would endanger the health and welfare of workers.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT
(Executive Council's Report p. 160)

The Executive Council reports that the American Federation of Labor Railroad Unions succeeded in passing H.R. 7840 which makes notable improvements in the Railroad Retirement Act.

We congratulate our Railroad Unions on this signal achievement.

In this legislation, we were fortunate in having a united front of all the unions connected with the Railroad Industry, which no doubt was an important factor in the passage of this legislation.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

THE BRICKER AMENDMENT
(Executive Council's Report, p. 162)

The proposed Bricker Amendment to the Constitution, which was intended to limit Presidential power in the treaty-making field, failed passage by only one vote. Undoubtedly an effort will be made at the next Congress to pass this amendment.

We oppose the Bricker Amendment because of its infringement on proper presidential prerogatives and its implied attacks on the International Labor Organization.

Your committee recommends that the officers of the Federation continue to oppose similar constitutional amendments.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EFFECT OF PUBLIC LAW 841 ON CANAL ZONE EMPLOYMENT

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 389.)

The investigation by the private firm of Booz, Allen and Hamilton was made because of requests by members of the A. F. of L. to Congress and it substantiates reports of conditions as found by a Committee of Labor headed by President Brownlow of the Metal Trades Department.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPERVISION OF PANAMA CANAL AND PANAMA RAILROAD CO.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 389.)

Your committee is in sympathy with the purpose of this resolution and agrees that the Administration should be by some appropriate civilian department.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

EMPLOYMENT OF ALIENS IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 389.)

Your committee feels that as long as there is unemployment in the United States, all vacancies in the Canal Zone should be filled by American citizens.

With the approval of the committee, part of the first WHEREAS was deleted so that now it reads:

"WHEREAS aliens have for several years past been making a strong and concerted effort to replace citizens of the United States by process of infiltration."

Your committee recommends concurrence as corrected.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 390.)

Your committee feels that operating any organization at a loss and especially at the expense of the employe is wrong and we concur in the purport of this resolution that steps be taken to adjust the fees so that they will meet the cost of operating the canal.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT IN CANAL ZONE

Resolution No. 53 — By Delegate Walter Wagner, Balboa Central Labor Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 390.)

This resolution is in line with our policy of at least maintaining if we cannot improve our conditions of employment.

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DELIVERY OF MAIL

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 390.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ORGANIZATION OF POSTAL AND FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 55 — By Delegate Joseph McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 391.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Resolution No. 56—By delegate Russell M. Stephens, American Federation of Technical Engineers.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 391.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

INCREASE RESIDENTIAL POSTAL DELIVERIES

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Joseph A. McDonough, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 391.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

UNION RECOGNITION FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 407.)

Your committee recommends concurrence.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

REPEAL HATCH ACT

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 407.)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming Executive Council for further consideration.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SENIORITY BY LAW FOR POSTAL EMPLOYEES

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate C. J. Haggerty, California State Federation of Labor.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 407.)

Resolution No. 94 on page 407 of the first day's proceedings deals with a subject which is readily understood by trades union members. The establishment of the principles of seniority in the postal service has been a long-sought objective of the postal unions. In no other way can the evils of political and personal favoritism with all of the attendant evils be eliminated.

Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM NATIONAL FEDERATION OF POST OFFICE CLERKS

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Leo E. George, E. C. Hallbeck, Ralph B. Williams, Tom Quinn, Arthur Harriman and F. B. Marble, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 407.)

Resolution No. 95, page 407 of the first day's proceedings deals with the major legislative program of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks as adopted by the recent convention of that organization.

Your committee finds this resolution to be in complete harmony with the program of the Government Employes Council of the American Federation of Labor and believes that the enactment of that program is not only in the interest of postal and federal employees, but would in addition be in the interest of the postal service and of sound civil service principles.

The resolution requests the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in the enactment of the program set forth and your committee moves the adoption of the resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ENLISTED PERSONNEL

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Dept., A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 414.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

APPRENTICE TRAINING APPROPRIATIONS

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate James A. Brownlow, Metal Trades Department.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 414.)

The committee recommends that the last resolved of this resolution be deleted. The committee would also like to stress the importance of the necessity of carrying on the apprentice program that is now being administered in the Department of Labor. There has been contin-

ued efforts on the part of Congress to reduce appropriations. This is a device designed to reduce the effectiveness of the program. Many of the affiliated International Unions of the American Federation of Labor have spent much time, money and effort to develop their apprentice programs, all in conjunction with the apprentice training department of the Department of Labor.

We urge the officers and the legislative department of the American Federation of Labor to continue their efforts to secure necessary appropriations to carry out a well rounded program for Apprentice Training Program.

PRESIDENT MEANY: That is the resolution of Apprentice Training Appropriations, and the first resolve is that, the American Federation of Labor convention adopt this resolution, and through its Legislative Committee strive to have Congress allow a separate appropriation for apprentice training, and separate personnel ceilings be set for training instructors and apprentices.

That is the resolve that remains in the resolution.

It is the Committee's recommendation that the last resolve be dropped.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

TO AMEND FEDERAL EMPLOYEE RETIREMENT ACT

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates from Organizations in Government Employees Council.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 419.)

The Committee concurs in the Resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY KEENAN: This is a statement by the Committee:

The Committee has considered the progressive Legislative program that has been reported in the officer's report as well as the several resolutions submitted to this convention, and we believe that the program adopted by this convention, if enacted into legislation, will prove beneficial to the American worker and the economy as a whole. It therefore, is the desire of the committee to call particular attention of the legislative program to the International Unions and through them to their Local Unions. Also we make the same request to the Central Bodies and State Federations, and request their cooperation in year ahead to secure the legislation approved by this convention.

This completes the report of the Legislative Committee, which is signed by the following members:

Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers and Blacksmiths; Michael Fox, Railway Employees Department; Leo E. George, Post Office Clerks; Frank Hull, Potters; Edward Carlough, Sheet Metal Workers; James A. Campbell, Government Employees; Thomas V. Green, Stage Employees; Robert Ash, Oakland, California, C.L.U.; Daniel Bradley, Plate Printers; Edward P. Ringius, Musicians; Frank X. Martel, Detroit, Michigan, C.L.U.; Clifton Caldwell, Pittsburgh, Pa., C.L.U.; Marshall Shafer, Chemical Workers; George Heller, Actors & Artistes; J. Byron Merritt, Letter Carriers; Benedict Tantillo, Plasterers; George Hardy, Building Service Employees; Joseph D. Keenan, Electrical Workers; Harry Finks, Sacramento, Calif., Labor Council; Stanley T. Joers, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, C.L.U.; Julius Hochman, Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Legislative Committee.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Keenan, the report of the Committee was adopted as a whole.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes Chairman Leheney of the Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON UNION LABELS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LEHENEY: The Committee on Labels is ready with its report which will be made by Howard Hicks, the Secretary, member of the Office Employees International Union.

. . . Committee Secretary Hicks submitted the following report:

Your Committee is reporting on that portion of the Executive Council's Report commencing on Page 326 under the heading, Union Label and Service Trades Department, and on Resolutions No. 58, 119, 120, 121, 122 and 141 and submits the following report to the Convention:

Your Committee was particularly pleased at the attention given the ever-increasing tempo in the functioning of the Union Label and Service Trades Department in the Report of the Executive Council.

The Report of the Executive Council covers fully, yet concisely, the major achievements and operations of the Department during the period since our last Convention.

Particular emphasis was placed by the Executive Council on the value and success of the Union-Industries Show, held in the Pan-Pacific Auditorium, in Los Angeles, during April, 1954. The value of these shows to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations was reported upon in and excellent manner by the Executive Council. Its report brought home the numerous values of these shows including the promotion of the Union Labels, Shop Cards and Service Buttons and the associated publicity to the American Federation of Labor and the quality of union-made goods and services.

The Executive Council also touched upon the great value of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor and the prominent part which these auxiliaries play and can continue to play in promoting union-made goods and services. Your Committee was pleased to note reference to this most worthwhile activity by the Executive Council.

Attention was also given by the Executive Council to the observance of Union Label Week earlier this month throughout the entire United States. The Executive Council took note of the splendid job done not only by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and its affiliated organizations in promoting and publicizing Union Label Week through various means, but it also noted the extent and quality of the efforts put forth by State Federations, Central Labor Unions, State Label Departments and local Union Label Councils. It is through efforts such as these during Union Label Week that the greatest promotion of AFL Union Labels and services can be achieved at the local level.

Your Committee was pleased to note the report on the affiliation of the Building Service Employees International Union with the Union Label and Service Trades Department and the Executive Council's further report on the establishment of new Union Label Councils and Departments. The creation of these latter groups has been strongly supported by state federations of labor and city central bodies and your Committee wishes to pay particular commendation to these arms of the American Federation of Labor for the unstinting support and cooperation which they continue to give.

In its report the Executive Council graciously acknowledged the cooperation of all these rendering aid and service to the Union Label and Service Trades Department during the past year. President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler were singled out as two of our leaders who have rendered outstanding and conscientious service in this connection. Director of Organization Harry E. O'Reilly and his fine staff, Director Phil Pearl of the AFL Publicity Department, and Managing Editor Bernard Tassler, of the AFL New Reporter and the American Federationist respectively and their staffs, were also recognized as two vitally important segments of the AFL also rendering excellent service in behalf of the Department.

Your Committee strongly concurs in the Report of the Executive Council and the mention which it gave in its report to these and all others who so wholeheartedly supported the promotion of Union Labels and Union services through the Department.

Your Committee recommends concurrence of the Executive Council's Report in its entirety on this subject.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN LEHENEY: You heard the report of the Committee, carrying with it a motion to concur. Are there any questions?

DELEGATE STEFANI: Mr. Chairman, I am awfully glad the report is being made here by the Union Label Committee. However, may I say that when I first went into the labor movement in the year of 1928 as a hotel worker, I found that the rank and file of the workers were more indoctrinated in the purchasing of union label than they are this very day.

In the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, to be a delegate, you are supposed to carry five union labels. I know a few people in Boston that are in the union label section that probably haven't even got five union labels. I think it is our duty to start giving more than lip service to this union label and to carry into the rank and file of our workers a determination to see that they purchase union label. I know in some instances we have to send to Chicago to get the union label.

At their last Convention the Massachusetts Federation of Labor had 18 labels, and I will give anybody $100 if they can get a union label suit with the union label in Boston. Mr. Chairman, I say we should not give lip service, but should go down to the rank and file and insist at our conventions that our delegates have union label goods upon their person and that they patronize the employers that are trying to be fair with the union label.

I hope and pray that the Label Section of the American Federation of Labor and those who work in this department will see to it that they carry out the present resolution and that the delegates wear more label union goods for the A. F. of L.

. . . On Motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

SUPPORT OF UNION LABEL

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates John P. Redmond, George J. Richardson, S. H. Shawyer, the International Association of Firefighters.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 392.)

This resolution was introduced by delegates from the International Association of Firefighters and urges the American Federation of Labor to "go on record as favoring the practice of supporting cities that submit the endorsement of their local Central Labor Unions and State Federations of Labor for approval of the hotel being organized in which the official functions of the American Federation of Labor are conducted." Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

PARTICIPATION IN UNION-INDUSTRIES SHOW

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceeding—page 415.)

This resolution was submitted to this Convention by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and urges that each national and international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be encouraged to make every effort to take part in Union-Industries Shows and to invite their fair employers to participate in these annual exhibitions.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

AFFILIATION OF FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS WITH UNION LABEL COUNCILS

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 415.)

This resolution was also submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and urges Federal Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with and become a part of the Union Label Council in their respective areas.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and urges the Executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to encourage directly chartered Federal Labor Unions to subscribe to the intent of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's Report was unanimously adopted.

UNION LABEL WEEK

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 416.)

Resolution No. 121 was also submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department. This resolution urges that the next Union Label Week be established as the period commencing with September 5 through 11, 1955.

Your Committee urges adoption of this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

AFFILIATION WITH UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department, A. F. of L.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 416.)

Resolution No. 122, in the first day's Proceedings, was likewise submitted by the Union Label and Service Trades Department and urges that the American Federation of Labor encourage all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to align themselves with the Union Label and Service Trades Department by becoming active affiliates of the Department.

Your Committee strongly urges concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

LANHAM TRADE MARK ACT

Resolution No. 141—By Delegate Raymond F. Leheney, Union Label and Service Trades Department.

(Second Day's Proceedings—page 452.)

This resolution has to do with amendments to the Lanhan Trade Mark Act, as adopted by the United States Congress in 1946. Earlier recognized loopholes in the Act have been capitalized upon by unfair and unscrupulous manufacturers and printers in increasing numbers and who are engaging in a practice of violating the intent and spirit of the Act. If existing conditions are allowed to continue all Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons will lose their value as a means of identification of union-made products and union services, thus resulting in the destruction of one of organized labor's greatest assets. Your Committee knows that delegates to this Convention feel keenly that the Lanham Trade Mark Act should be amended and your Committee concurs in the expression of the resolution that the American Federation of Labor assist in drafting and securing a passage of adequate legislation to clarify and restore the original intent of the Lanham Trade Mark Act as a means of further protecting Union Labels, Shop Cards and Buttons.

Your Committee strongly urges concurrence in this resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

FOOTWEAR LABEL

Representatives of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union appealed to your Committee for assistance in promoting observance of their label in footwear purchased by American Federation of Labor members. Your Committee is cognizant of the difficulties experienced by this organization in its attempts to preserve the identity of its Union Label which has been imitated by independent and company unions. Your Committee feels that members of organized labor and their friends should be especially alert when purchasing footwear to look for the full name "Boot and Shoe Workers' Union" inscribed within the Union Stamp and to thus discourage the sale of products not bearing a bona-fide Union Label recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee urges adoption of this part of its report.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, that section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

COMMENDATION OF SECRETARY-TREASURER RAYMOND F. LEHENEY AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE UNION LABEL AND SERVICE TRADES DEPARTMENT

Your Committee wishes to commend Secretary-Treasurer Raymond F. Leheney, all other officers of the Union Label and Service Trades Department and the excellent staff of the Department for the noble work they have carried on so diligently over the years. Your Committee knows of some of the discouragement and disillusionments which have been associated with these worthwhile activities and it also is aware that the officers and staff of the Department have taken proper pride in accomplishments well done. We are convinced that all those associated with the Department are putting forth their very best efforts and talents in supporting the aims and purposes not only of the Department but all of the American Federation of Labor as a whole.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Hicks, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY HICKS: Mr. President, this concludes the Committee's report, and we recommend its adoption as a whole.

. . . The motion to adopt the Committee's Report as a whole was unanimously carried.

PRESIDENT MEANY: The Committee is discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Schnitzler for some announcements and communications.

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following communications:

Rome Italy, September 24, 1954.

George Meany, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Ambassador Hotel,
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear President:

On the occasion of the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor I am sending you and the delegates, on behalf of the free Italian workers organized in the

Italian Confederation of Trade Unions (CISL), the expression of profound and grateful friendship.

Italian workers regard the American Federation of Labor as a strong bulwark in the defense of freedom against the threat of Communist totalitarianism and a determining factor of world social progress.

I am sure your convention will reaffirm the strong determination of American labor to continue the fight for the firm defense of freedom throughout the world, which is a guarantee for the peaceful and civilized coexistence of the free nations.

In my name and in the name of Italian democratic workers I renew to you and the Convention delegates our fraternial solidarity and send you best wishes for success.

Giulio Pastore, General Secretary,
Italian Confederation of Trade
Unions (CISL)

Rome, Italy, 11 September 1954

Mr. George Meany,
President of the American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

Dear President Meany and Brother
Delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention:

The National Secretariat and all the members of the Union Italiana del Lavoro wish to send you their warmest fraternal greetings on the occasion of your Convention.

We know that the decisions you are going to make will be of great importance for American Labor and for your country as a whole. We feel, however, that the work you in the A. F. of L. are accomplishing does not affect your domestic problems alone.

In a world troubled by uncertainty and threatened by the imperialistic offensive of those who, while claiming to defend the rights of Labor, do actually enslave innumerable masses, organized Labor can effectively contribute to preserving genuine liberty and achieving true social justice.

This great task which confronts Labor the world over also engages all our energies here in Italy. We are fighting against the massive onslaught of totalitarian movements in the defense of fundamental political freedoms and in the name of unity of all forces in the free world against the disruptive attempts of Communism.

The UIL rallied since its beginnings to the free Labor forces in the I. C. F. T. U., in favor of the unity and the defense of Europe, in favor of human and trade union rights and against an imperialism which founds its strength on forced labor and on the negation of every trade union right.

In this struggle the A. F. of L. is at the head of the International Labor Movement and we wish the best success of our common efforts.

May this convention of yours bring a substantial contribution to the struggle of American Labor for a better and more prosperous future and to the struggle of world labor for bread, peace and freedom.

With best fraternal greetings,

Yours sincerely,
ITALO VIGLIANESI,
for UIL National Secretariat.

MEMORIAL TO DECEASED MEMBERS

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time I wish to have Secretary Schnitzler read the names of the officers of the various International Unions, State Federations and Central Labor Bodies who have passed to the Great Beyond during the past year. We have a list here based upon whatever information we have been able to get in the Washington Office, and at the conclusion of reading the list I will ask for any further names to be added to the list. Secretary Schnitzler.

. . . Secretary Schnitzler read the following list:

Death List

Jasper Davis, Sept. 27, 1953—Assistant President of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers.

William Hutcheson, Oct. 20, 1953—President Emeritus, United Brotherhood Carpenters & Joiners of America.

Col. Chas. I. Stengle, Nov. 1953—Former Congressman and Past President of A. F. G. E.

Mrs. Wm. Green, Dec. 13, 1953—Wife of William Green, former President of the A. F. of L.

Leo Abernathy, Jan., 1954—President, International Alliance of Bill Posters & Billers of America.

James Myles, Feb. 27, 1954—Vice President, Operative Plasterers' and Cement Masons, International Union.

Joseph Marshall, March, 1954—Former Vice President, Hod Carriers'.

Ed Shay, May, 1954—Vice President, International Association Retail Clerks.

A. W. Muir, May 30, 1954—General Executive Board Member, United Brotherhood of Carpenters & Joiners.

Hugo Ernst, July 22, 1954—President, Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders International Union.

John Pelkofer, Aug. 14, 1954—Former President of the Blacksmiths.

Felix D. Snow, Dec. 25, 1953—Third Vice President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

Roger M. Kennedy, March 19, 1954—Second Vice President, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

William P. Raoul, July 27, 1954—Former Secretary-Treasurer, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees.

E. B. Lambton, Sept., 1954—Former Vice President, International Brotherhood of Paper Makers.

Charles T. Joiner, May, 1954—General Representative, Barbers International.

Thomas Carlton, June, 1954—International Representative, United Garment Workers.

Michael Whalen, May, 1954—Vice President, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Ellis Libbles, July, 1954 — Glass Bottle Blowers Association.

C. E. Solander, Oct., 1953—President, Kansas State International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Arthur J. Evensen—First Vice President, International Association of Bridge Maintenance and Ornamental Ironworkers.

PRESIDENT MEANY: At this time will all the delegates please rise in commemoration of those who have departed, and we shall have a moment of silence.

. . . The delegates rose and stood in silence for one moment.

(Vice President Tracy in the Chair.)

CHAIRMAN TRACY: We shall now have the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN McSORLEY: Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the Committee on International Labor Relations is now ready to present its report to this Convention for their consideration and action. It will take, to present this report properly to the convention, about 40 minutes and it is necessary that it be read so that all the ramifications as well as our connections with the free labor movement all over the world be brought to the attention of our people so it may be more fully publicized. The report of the Committee will be made by President Lee W. Minton of the Glass Bottle Blowers, who is pinch-hitting for Vice President Matt Woll. Brother Minton.

. . . Acting Secretary Minton submitted the following report:

Your committee on international labor relations has examined thoroughly the sections of the Executive Council report dealing with the serious international situation as covered in pages 176 to 203.

We sincerely appreciate the comprehensive and instructive review made by the Executive Council of the complicating factors and the difficulties which have developed since our last convention to make the world crisis still more grave.

We recommend for your approval the incisive analysis made by the Executive Council of the dangerous illusions, differences and divisions which have arisen in the democratic world regarding the "new look" of post-Stalin Russia, policies towards Communist China, the problems and difficulties within the Soviet orbit, the Communist challenge and the Moscow-Peiping menace to the free world, the reduction of international tension through a new Locarno, "coexistence" and trade with the slave labor orbit, the role and future of Germany, the EDC, Chinese Communist aggression against the UN, the recent Geneva conference and the catastrophe it brought to the free world and especially to the people of Vietnam. We likewise urge approval of the section dealing with the promotion of peace and the problem of reducing armaments and securing effective banning of atomic warfare and the vital need of ending colonialism.

On the basis of the aforementioned presentation by the Executive Council, which we commend to all A. F. of L. affiliates for serious study, your committee on international labor relations places before you three basic resolutions. These are: (1) Towards a reappraisal of American foreign policy; (2) A program of practical proposals; and (3) A program for strengthening the UN through a number of revisions of the charter of the United Nations.

We suggest you consider each of these resolutions separately.

TOWARDS A REAPPRAISAL OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

The time has come for a basic reappraisal of the foreign policy pursued by our country since the close of World War II. In seeking to find the essentials of an effective American policy, we must consider nearly ten years of post-war experience. The revised foreign policy should meet the changed world situation growing out of the Soviet mastery of hydrogen and atomic weapons, the increased military strength of the Moscow-Peiping Axis, the role of the U.N. in its first decade, the illusions of the free world regarding the "new look" of the post-Stalin Russian regime, the growth of neutralism and appeasement, and the false sense of security generated among the democracies by their progress to date in economic reconstruction and military rearmament.

Effective foreign policy must have a sense of direction and urgency, with guiding principles. It should always be directed towards advancing the paramount goal—the development of a system of international relationships to maintain peace, protect freedom and national security, and promote economic progress in support of a growing population at a rising standard of living.

The world crisis is not due to a clash between America and Russia over some particular commercial or territorial issues. It is not a conflict between two giant powers, each of whom seeks world domination. It is only the Soviet Union which has seized vast areas and brought under its yoke scores of millions of people in Europe and Asia. America does not seek any territory or tribute from any nation. On the contrary, our country has generously aided both its friends and foes of the last war. The decisive struggle confronting mankind today is between democracy and totalitarian dictatorship, between human decency any Communist aggression and slavery. In this critical world situation, reappraisal of American foreign policy must be guided by the following:

1. The pursuit of a consistency progressive domestic policy is an absolute prerequisite for a sound foreign policy—in the furtherance of democracy, social justice, and peace abroad. Governments which pursue a policy of reaction (or war) against their own people cannot be progressive or peaceful towards other peoples. This is the lesson that Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Malenkov have taught us.

2. The specific historic development of our nation with its revolutionary origin and democratic traditions and values, the economic and military prowess and potential of our country, the comparative weakness of our present and potential allies, the numerous world responsibilities the United States bears at this critical juncture, the concentration of the Moscow-Peiping Axis hostility against the American people, necessitate much greater American initiative in policy and independent action in the international arena.

3. The settlement of specific issues with the Soviet regime should not be through so-called Big Four or other conferences limited to a few "select" Powers but rather through the regular diplomatic channels and the United Nations.

4. The security and freedom of our country demand the build-up of sufficient actual and immediately available rather than potential military strength to deter and defeat aggression and war by the Soviet imperialistic bloc.

5. The defense efforts should be meshed with the non-military productive efforts and coordinated into a common program for assuring social as well as national security. Full employment plus national security, power plus prosperity, are the best contribution America can make to world peace, freedom, and human well-being.

6. The moral, material, and diplomatic resources must no longer be used to aid and abet, directly or indirectly, colonialism in any part of the world. In line with America's ideals and traditions, these resources must henceforth be employed to further the colonial peoples' aspirations to national freedom with a view of helping them achieve full self-determination and complete national independence within a definite period of time and thus be enabled to take their rightful place in the ranks of the nations devoted to democracy and peace.

7. The present system of economic and military aid to other nations through protracted outright grants should be discontinued on the ground that it gives the false impression of a philanthropist-alms-recipient relationship and tends to breed envy and disappointment. It should be replaced by a policy of: (a) helping those democratic nations willing to defend their own freedom and independence and to join with the United States and other free countries in promoting human welfare, the fundamental rights of U.N. Charter, collective security and peace; (b) enabling these nations themselves to finance their maximum defense and collective security efforts without neglecting the needs of the people, through our government providing these countries with adequate economic and technical assistance for launching projects to eliminate illiteracy, reduce illness, increase agricultural and industrial productivity, and improve the working and living conditions of the people; (c) the nations thus aided, concurrently reciprocating with help to our country or to the common cause through services, supplies or mutual security arrangements; (d) distributing the benefits of American help justly through raising the purchasing power of the people.

8. The Korean stalemate, the debacle in Indo-China, the Mendes-France torpedoing of E.D.C., and the persistent efforts by some democracies to bolster the shaky Chinese Communist economy, help the Mao Tse-tung dictatorship consolidate itself and build a powerful aggressive war machine—all of these call for a new American approach to the problem of alliances. Unless this trend is halted, some European and Asian nations still free will be entrapped by the Moscow-Peiping "co-existence" maneuver, will isolate themselves from America and replace American aid and protection by Soviet subversion and domination. The illusion of coalition, when there is no real dynamic democratic coalition, can only promote among the American people false notions of strength and security with an inevitable recurrence of isolationism. Everything must be done to prevent both of these developments which could only spell Soviet world domination and Communist enslavement.

Our country wants and needs allies. America wants no satellites or vassals—no partners held together, as in the Soviet orbit, by force, fear and fraud. We want only self-reliant, independent nations, cooperating for peace, freedom, and human well-being. But, to be a source of unity and strength, the alliance must be based on common binding principles. While there can be differences in an alliance over tactics, there can be none over the binding principles. A common purpose, a common sense of urgency and machinery for permanent cooperation, are indispensible to an effective alliance of free nations. Such an alliance must grow and expand from its initial defensive military nature into an association for positive political and economic collaboration and mutual assistance. Obviously, such an alliance cannot be proclaimed. It requires patient preparatory measures to insure its gradual growth and success.

9. The establishment of non-aggression and mutual aid pacts between two or more free nations (United States and Republic of Korea, Republic of China, etc.) and regional collective security machinery (NATO) should be sought in preparation for and until such time as an agreement can be reached for organizing a world-wide collective security system to meet the global Communist challenge and deter its threat to world peace.

10. The exploitation and aggravation of the differences, difficulties and the hostility of the peoples of the satellite countries to the Moscow dictatorship, divisions within the entire Soviet orbit—within its ruling clique, its economic and political contradictions, the smouldering hostility of the people in the satellite lands and the Russian and Chinese peoples against their Communist oppressors and exploiters must be conducted systematically and energetically.

11. The categoric rejection of every economic or political measure which would help the Communist dictatorships overcome the economic and political difficulties brought on by their false policies or would aid them in consolidating their dictatorships and strengthening their war-economy and military machine is likewise essential to a consistent, coherent and effective global foreign policy.

12. The reduction to a minimum of trade with the Soviet orbit by our country and as many other democracies as possible should be a cardinal aim of our national policy. This should be effected through (a) establishment of a Free World Trade and Prosperity Area in which the economic relations among the participating countries are to be expanded, purchasing power and productivity raised, and prices of basic raw materials stabilized; (b) setting up by the participating countries of a special fund for compensating any nation which has suffered economic loss as a result of its loyal participation in such economic collaboration aimed at discouraging aggression and preserving world peace.

13. The marked expansion of cultural, political and economic relations among the nations of the Western Hemisphere with a view of raising living standards, strengthening democracy, and enabling the New World to play a unified and greater role in the world crisis.

14. The American government civilian and military agencies and private corporations employing labor abroad should (a) adhere strictly to policies aimed at strengthening the free trade union organizations; (b) utilize most efficient methods of production and administration so as to provide higher wages and better working conditions than those prevailing; (c) desist from any interference in the internal affairs of the country where they have such undertakings.

. . . On motion of Delegate Minton, this section of the Committee's report was unanimously adopted.

PROGRAM OF ACTION

In line with the fundamentals outlined for the revision of our nation's foreign policy and towards the protection of peace and the

promotion of freedom, we propose that our government should pursue the following course of action:

1. Full rearmament—military, political, and economic—to deter and defeat Communist subversion and Moscow-Peiping aggression against the free nations in every part of the world.

2. Towards reducing international tension and securing a peaceful solution of such issues as the national reunification of Germany, Korea and China, there should be held U.N.-supervised democratic elections in these countries for the purpose of choosing legitimate authoritative governments which are to enjoy full sovereignty and represent their peoples in the U.N.

3. Towards promoting prosperity in the free world, our government should call for an international economic conference of non-totalitarian countries, to join in a program of eliminating trade barriers among them, increasing their productivity, improving their standard of living, securing stability of prices and rational international utilization of the surplus manpower. At this conference, our government should seek the establishment of an international consumers' ten-year credit fund of ten billion dollars to facilitate long-term installment buying especially by the peoples of the economically underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

4. Towards exposing the fraudulent Communist peace campaigns and reducing international tension, our government should popularize its program for promoting genuine disarmament, the worldwide peaceful use of atomic energy, and the actual prohibition of all atomic and other weapons of mass destruction through effective control and rigid international inspection on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

5. Towards eliminating the vestiges of war bitterness and safeguarding elementary human rights and decency, maximum effort should be made to have the Communist dictatorships release the many thousands of World War II war prisoners (Italians, Japanese and others), forcibly detained in violation of international law and the U.N. Charter.

6. Towards testing Soviet readiness to engage in serious negotiations for reducing international tension, our government should insist that Moscow must first of all grant Austria a state treaty and withdraw its military forces from the territory of the Republic of Austria.

7. Towards strengthening peace and democracy in Europe, the German Federal Republic should be immediately accorded full sovereignty and admitted into NATO on the basis of equality. In the event of any future Four-Power negotiations regarding Germany, these should be limited to the question of its national reunification through democratic elections.

8. Towards strengthening Italian democracy and enabling it to play its appropriate role in the community of free peoples, Italy should be drawn into the top NATO leadership and, in line with the Potsdam Conference Decision of 1945, admitted into the U.N. Trieste should be returned to Italian sovereignty. American offshore orders to Italy should be increased substantially to help her utilize her vast reservoir of skilled workers and modern machinery for the production of arms and the advancement of collective security.

9. Towards demonstrating that henceforth our government will actively and consistently support the aspirations of the colonial peoples to full national freedom, the State Department should (a) espouse the national independence of Tunisia and Morocco and support their case before the U.N.; (b) provide generous moral, political and material assistance to the democratic Vietnamese forces determined to resist and defeat Communist enslavement and to build a Republic completely free of all colonial control; (c) favor self-determination for the people of Cyprus accompanied by full regard for the rights of minority populations; and (d) make sure that American military equipment sent to any government will not be used anywhere for suppressing the efforts of colonial peoples to achieve democracy and national freedom.

10. Towards promoting peace, stability and improvement of the economic conditions of the peoples of the Near East and thus enabling them to take their rightful place in the ranks of the free nations resisting Communist subversion and aggression, our government should (a) be unsparing in its efforts to secure peace between the Arab States and Israel based on mutual recognition of each other's existence and the overriding importance of cooperation; (b) reject every move to organize the Middle East as a pivotal defence force without taking into account every country in this area; (c) insist that before any arms shall be extended to any country in this region, said country must demonstrate its earnest desire to improve the lot and rights of its people and live at peace with its neighbors; (d) the free and undisturbed use of the Suez Canal for international commerce in line with the clear and unequivocal order of the U.N. Security Council and the best interests of the free world; (e) agree to enter into concurrent reciprocal commitments in the struggle against Communist expansionism.

11. Towards preserving the national independence and territorial integrity of India, Burma, Thailand, Pakistan and Indonesia, towards maintaining peace and advancing democracy and social progress in the Far East, our government shall: (a) spare no efforts to prevent the admission of the foreign-imposed Mao Tse-tung regime into the U.N., as well as oppose all moves which aid its consolidation and military buildup; (b) provide adequate help to speed the transformation of Formosa into a democracy that can serve as a model in Asia for human and labor rights as well as economic progress and military prowess; (c) aid the democratic Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macao with a view of rallying these valuable forces for the cause of freedom, and; (d) help Japan build its national defense forces, secure greater access to the markets of the free world, and provide for Japanese consultations and cooperation with our country and other free nations regarding the vital problems of the Far East.

12. Towards promoting better world understanding of America's peaceful, democratic aspirations and way of life, towards appealing to and distinguishing between the totalitarian dictatorships and their victims in Europe and Asia, the various government information agencies should be reorganized, improved and expanded.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

REVISION OF UNITED NATION'S CHARTER

We deplore the tendency in some diplomatic quarters to relegate the U.N. to the background as an institution for preserving peace and to by-pass it as a channel through which important issues like Korea and Indo-China can be settled. It is most regrettable that some statesmen see in the U.N. only an instrument of the cold war. Moreover, international peace and human decency are undermined by the disdain for the Principles and Purposes of the United Nation's Charter manifested by the Moscow-Peiping aggressors in Korea and in the extent to which this calculated contempt has been taken right-heartedly in certain democratic countries.

As trade unionists who cherish freedom and democracy, we are especially disturbed by the decline of efforts to insure the protection of fundamental human rights so vigorously proclaimed as a goal of the U.N. when it was founded in 1945. International relationships and events have not developed as hoped for by the founders of the United Nations.

On the basis of nearly ten years of U.N. experience and, in line with Article 109 of the Charter which provides for its review in 1955, it should be amended with a view of enhancing the role of the United Nations as a force for enduring peace. In this spirit, we recommend that the convention endorse the following amendments to the U.N. Charter. We urge that these proposals be sent to the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee now studying the problems of U.N. Charter review and revision.

No. 1—Clarification of Qualification for U.N. Membership

Since the foundation of the U.N. there have arisen a number of disputes as to the admission of new states into its membership and in regard to the eligibility of certain governments to be represented in the United Nations. Some countries entitled to membership in the U.N. have been unjustly denied membership. In other instances, frantic efforts have been made to smuggle into the U.N., governments which have no place in this world body dedicated to the preservation of peace and the promotion of human rights. These disputes have served to aggravate international tension. Towards removing this source of world friction through securing clarification to facilitate the admission of countries qualified and towards safeguarding the U.N. against the entrance of governments not entitled to admission, we propose that the U.N. Charter be so revised as to prohibit the admission into the United Nations of any regime which (a) has been imposed on a nation by a foreign power; (b) which exercises effective control of the country by denying its people the fundamental human rights specified in the U.N. Charter and (c) which is engaged in war or has been found guilty of aggression against the United Nations.

No. 2—For World Peace and Human Rights

The paramount purpose of the U.N., the maintenance of world peace, is today gravely threatened by the totalitarian powers. In order to be able to continue, without domestic popular restraint, their policies of aggression and offensive war preparations, these communist dictatorships have been systematically robbing their own people of their democratic and human rights. Communist police terror and aggression against their own people **at home** are unmistakeably bound up with communist subversion and aggression, with the Soviet drive of conquest and inslavement against other peoples **abroad.**

In view of this organic connection between the threat to human rights and the threat to world peace, we propose that our government should seek to have the U.N. Charter revised so as to provide for the establishment of A Permanent Commission On the Preservation and Promotion of Human Rights. This Commission shall be empowered to designate United Nations Human Rights Observation Committees charged with the same rights, powers and duties (investigations, surveillance, reports, etc.) in respect to the threat against and the need for the preservation of fundamental human rights which the present U.N. Peace Observation Commissions now have in regard to meeting and developing measures to thwart the threat against world peace.

No. 3—Promoting Security Through the Pacific Settlement of Disputes

The U.N. Charter should be so amended that the veto shall be abolished in respect to measures adopted for fostering a specific settlement of any particular issue in instances where these disputes between nations have not taken on the character of a military conflict.

In this connection, the Charter should be so amended that no veto could be cast against the carrying out of investigations by U.N. Commissions and their making recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

In line with the above proposal the U.N. Charter should be so amended as to incorporate the provisions of the Resolution on "Unity For Peace", Adopted by the General Assembly in October 1950.

No. 4—U.N.-Supervised Plebiscites for Promoting and Protecting Peace

In view of the acute danger to world peace in various parts of the world as a result of steps taken after the last war (arbitrary partition and multiple occupation of countries, etc.) and in view of the intense international civil war (cold war) now being waged on a global scale, it is most urgent that the U.N. improve its machinery and set up permanent means for relieving world tension emanating from areas under dispute and to settle such disputes through peaceful democratic processes. Towards this end, the Charter should be revised so that it should provide for the holding of U.N. supervised democratic plebiscites in such strife-torn areas in order to insure the constructive and just settlement of such vital issues with serious international implications through the use of the ballots rather than through the bullet, through peaceful means and not through war.

No. 5—Abolish Discrimination Against Former Enemy Nations

Nearly ten years after the foundation of the U.N. it is no longer just or sound to continue the discriminatory clauses (against former enemy nations) inserted provisionally in Chapter XVII of the U.N. Charter. The Charter should be so amended as to strike out these provisions. We particularly urge that the U.N. Charter be so amended as to abolish

the provision permitting the taking of measures against these countries without the authorization of the Security Council. In effect, this provision hurts the authority of the U. N. for it puts these countries at the mercy of the big powers, despite the existence of the United Nations.

No. 6—Permanent Commission on National Freedom

The present Charter of the U. N. declares that "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" and to prevent and remove "threats to peace" are basic aims of the United Nations Organization.

The U. N. experience to date with various efforts to aid the people of the economically underdeveloped countries to improve their living standards and with the efforts of the colonial peoples to achieve national freedom calls for Revision of the Charter:—to provide for the establishment of a Permanent Commission on National Freedom which shall be charged with the task of mobilizing the moral and material resources of the U. N. for the purpose of aiding these peoples to improve their conditions of life and labor, achieve increasing self-government, and fix a definite time within which their aspirations to national freedom are to be fulfilled in a peaceful manner, in a way which shall not lead to developments that might be exploited by aggressors in the furtherance of their plans for world war and imperialist conquest.

This Commission shall be further charged with the task of reporting to the Security Council annually, or more frequently as the situation may require, about any threats to the maintenance of national freedom—especially threats to countries which have gained their national independence only recently—since such threats are a menace to the maintenance of world peace.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

THE A. F. OF L. AND WORLD AFFAIRS

Your Committee on International Relations has given careful consideration to the sections of the Executive Council's Report dealing with "American Foreign Policy," "International Confederation of Free Trade Unions," "Free Trade Union Committee," "A. F. of L. Activities in Europe," and "A. F. of L. Activities in Germany and Austria" (pp. 203-217).

We propose your endorsement and adoption of these sections of the report. We are pleased to note the initiative of the Executive Council and its International and Free Trade Unions Committees in making constructive contributions to the development of an effective democratic foreign policy for our country. There can be no better guarantee for the American people playing their rightful role in the present world crisis than the interest in and activities in support of world peace, social progress, and human liberty by the voluntary organizations with great masses of members in their ranks, like the American Federation of Labor.

In this light, we point to the enduring importance and beneficial results of the expanding interests and numerous activities of the International Labor Relations Committee and Free Trade Union Committee, working under the direction of the Executive Council, in the realm of foreign affairs and international labor relations. Your Committee further urges that the convention commend Brothers Richard Leverall, Harry Goldberg and Henry Rutz for their fruitful efforts in promoting the policies of the A. F. of L. against subversion and Soviet aggression and in support of genuine free trade unionism as a pillar of world democracy, human well-being and lasting peace.

We, therefore, recommend that the convention calls upon every A. F. of L. affiliate to extend the most generous moral and material support for making possible not only the continuation but the expansion and improvement of the numerous activities of the International Labor Relations and Free Trade Union Committees.

President George Meany, First Vice-President Matthew Woll and alternate member Irving Brown through their energetic participation in the work of the Executive Committee of the I.C.F.T.U., Vice-Presidents David Dubinsky and Matthew Woll through their work as I.C.F.T.U. consultants in the United Nations and A. F. of L. European Representative Irving Brown through his vigorous and continuous services to I.C.F.T.U. activities and special missions have done valuable work in furthering the ideals and promoting the interests of free world labor at this critical hour.

Your Committee cannot emphasize too strongly the increasing urgency for strengthening the organization and enhancing the influence of the I.C.F.T.U. as a unifying and guiding force in the ranks of international free trade unionism so that they can score real achievements in (a) advancing the every day interests and standards and conditions as well as the larger aspirations of the workers without regard to race, creed, color or nationality; (b) defeating the varied attempts and maneuvers of the Communists who subvert and destroy the free trade unions and turn them into agencies of Soviet imperialism; (c) in playing a positive and decisive role for aiding the colonial peoples to attain national freedom and improve their conditions of life and labor; (d) and in becoming the most powerful factor for building a world free from the perils of poverty, the dread of despotism and dictatorship, and the horrors of war.

Your Committee recommends that this convention warmly approve the energetic resistance of the I.C.F.T.U. to the entrance of the subversive and destructive Soviet elements into the I.L.O. We likewise greet the timely I.C.F.T.U. survey and exposure of the W.F.T.U. as a military espionage agency of Soviet aggression. We sincerely appreciate I.C.F.T.U. progress in its campaigns to aid the colonial peoples striving for full national independence and a better life.

In recognition of these achievements and in furtherance of the great goals yet to be attained by the I.C.F.T.U., we propose that the convention should call upon the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to act favorably upon the following measures.

1. In furthering the valuable contributions made by the I.C.F.T.U. to date in the struggle against the grave menace of slave labor, to have all affiliates make maximum effort to secure the enactment of appropriate legislation by their respective countries for prohibiting the importation of all slave-labor-made-goods.

2. To expand its campaign against the destructive role of the W.F.T.U. as an agency of the Moscow-Peiping Axis and as a pliant tool of the Communist war lords now gravely menacing the peace, freedom, and social progress of all mankind.

3. Towards wiping out every vestige of W.F.T.U. influence in the free world, no effort shall be spared to aid the I.C.F.T.U. affiliates in France and Italy to become the representatives and spokesmen of the overwhelming majority of the French and Italian workers.

4. In furtherance of this aim, to take final positive action for achieving full unity of the free trade union forces in Italy.

5. To exert its fullest influence to have the various International Trade Secretariats enter into no association or arrangements whatsoever with Communist controlled so-called trade union bodies—whether these organizations be dominated by Communists of the Titoite or any other brand of totalitarianism.

6. Towards improving the position of the I.C.F.T.U. in the Far East and towards enabling it to counteract and defeat the subversive and aggressionist activities of the opium smuggling Communist so-called All-China Federation of Labor, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions should welcome into its ranks without delay the promising and genuine free trade federation of Japan (Zenro) and take steps to aid the growth of a solid free trade union movement in Indonesia and Formosa.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The A. F. of L. activities in Latin America, our relations with and active participation in the increasingly effective Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (O.R.I.T.) and the work of the Joint United States Mexico Trade Union Committee are described fully in the Executive Council report (pages 217-223). The Committee on International Relations recommends adoption of this part of the Executive Council report. We note with approval the alert and able direction by A. F. of L. representative Serafino Romualdi of the activities conducted by the A. F. of L. among the trade unions of our Latin American neighbors.

At this hour of peril to world peace and human liberty, the democratic ideals and most vital interests of our country necessitate greatly expanded relations between the United States and its Latin American neighbors. These relations should be based on a policy of positive friendship, closest cooperation, and the highest reciprocity and comprehensive mutual aid. No one can exaggerate the importance of the great role of the freedom-loving people south of the Rio Grande in promoting world relations based on human liberty, social justice and enduring international harmony. By the same token, no one can exaggerate how dangerous, to the future of freedom and peace, reaction and dictatorship in Latin America or mistakes made by the United States in its relations with Latin America might be and actually have been.

The men in Moscow directing the world-wide Communist conspiracy have been alert especially to the enormous political and economic potentialities of Latin America. This explains the years of persistent, patient and well-financed Communist infiltration of Guatemala, the Soviet policy of systematic expansion and growing intimacy of relationships with the Peron dictatorship, and the vast and varied Kremlin intrigue and subversion throughout the Latin American countries—particularly Brazil and Chile.

In this situation, the Committee on International Labor Relations calls upon our government and the American people to give first line priority of consideration to the problems and tasks of developing a policy of active good neighborliness towards the Latin American peoples in order to aid them generously in their aspirations to attain stable, strong and prosperous democracies, utilize their national resources most effectively with the paramount purpose of improving their standards of life and labor, their health, general well-being, and their positive contributions to the preservation and advancement of our common ideals of liberty, peace, and social progress. In the fulfillment of such a course the people of the United States and the peoples of the Latin American republics have much need of each other and have much to give to each other. A cementing of relationships based on full and genuine equality among the cooperating democracies of the Western Hemisphere would be of the greatest benefit not only to the participating nations but to the entire human race.

In this spirit, we propose the following course of action:

(1) At the forthcoming Inter-American Economic Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, our government should propose a concrete program for fostering economic progress and eliminating poverty through more effective joint utilization of the natural resources and industrial capacities of all the nations in the new world. In its final form, the execution and financing of this inter-American prosperity plan should not be a United States project but should rather be an operation of joint efforts, with reciprocal economic responsibilities and material contributions in accordance with the ability and resources of each participating country.

(2) As a demonstration of our country's strong desire to help the peoples of Latin America immediately better their conditions of life and in preparation for a more permanent and broader plan of close economic collaboration in support of our common welfare, collective security and freedom, our government should (a) appropriate at least fifty million dollars for technical aid to the Latin American democratic governments; (b) seek to have the International Bank adopt a more generous loan policy towards our neighboring Latin American democracies and the activities of the Import-Export Bank be expanded; (c) provide for guarantees to assure that the benefits of the United States aid shall accrue primarily to the great mass of underprivileged and impoverished people; (d) seek to have various Latin American governments discard all economic and political policies which have seriously hindered the raising of living standards.

(3) No political encouragement or any assistance whatsoever shall henceforth be given by our government to any dictatorial regime in Latin America, for such assistance is not only detrimental to the ideals and interests of the people of the Western Hemisphere but also helps the Communist enemies of world peace and freedom. On the contrary, active encouragement and generous assistance should be given to strengthen the position and influence of Latin American democracies like Costa Rica and Bolivia.

(4) Immediate steps for aiding Brazil and Chile to restore economic stability and political consolidation of their democratic forces.

(5) No efforts should be spared to help the people of Guatemala and its Carlos Castillo Armas government to overcome fully and speedily the ravages of the extensive insidious Communist infiltration and subversion of its economic, political, social, trade union, cultural and military institutions and to lay the foundation for a healthy and prosperous Guatemalan democracy. In line with this course, we urgently appeal to the government of Guatemala to pursue a vigorous and consistent policy of promoting sound social legislation and lending every aid to the development of democratic peasant organizations and a strong free trade union movement as a dynamic section of the O. R. I. T. and the I. C. F. T. U.

(6) In furtherance of this policy, we appeal to all American-owned enterprises in Guatemala and throughout Latin America to cease and desist from all economic policies and other practices which are in the least imperialist in character and which are not conducive to the development of free trade unions and other democratic institutions as well as genuine free enterprise in the best American tradition.

(7) Nothing should be left undone by our government to impress upon the government of Peru the absolute urgency of its lifting the restrictions preventing the existence and activities of free trade unions and eliminating all barriers to the return of the democratic Peruvian exiles to their homeland with full citizenship rights.

(8) To condemn vigorously the continued repression of trade union rights and the unrestrained violation of fundamental human rights perpetrated against the democratic trade union leadership whose most active spokesmen have been subjected to brutal violence and years of imprisonment by the dictatorship oppressing the people of Venezuela.

(9) Towards translating into life our solidarity with the peoples of Latin America, we reaffirm our determination to help build and to cooperate fully with the O. R. I. T. in its campaign to extend the benefits and influence of free trade unionism as the strongest safeguard against the Communist and every other brand of dictatorship and as the most effective force for winning the hearts and the minds, the devotion and support of the great mass of Latin American people whose wholehearted cooperation is indispensible to the entire Western Hemisphere playing its rightful role in aiding the decisive triumph of the forces of world peace and democracy over the enemies of human freedom and enduring, decent, and harmonious relations among the nations of the world.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

The section of the Executive Council report which reviews the situation in and the problems of the ILO and examines AFL participation therein (pages 223-231) has received the careful consideration of your committee on international labor relations.

We recommend your approval of this section and draw to your attention the energetic fulfillment of our responsibilities in this great world body throughout the year and at the recent significant Thirty-seventh Conference under the direction of the American workers' representative, George P. Delaney.

We particularly underscore our agreement with the Executive Council report in its stating that:

> "The participation of the USSR, which together with the other Soviet satellite nations, forms a considerable bloc in the ILO, calls for strengthening of the participation of all free nations of the world that are member states of the ILO—most especially the United States, which is expected to give progressive leadership to the other nations affiliated with the ILO. It in turn points out the need for strengthening of U. S. worker and employer participation, if the forces of freedom and democracy are to maintain effective leadership in the fight for economic and social justice."

To us, this is no wordy expression of pious wishes but a pledge to seek performance. The AFL realizes that the great import of the ILO, particularly today because the struggle against poverty, hunger, misery and despair, is an indispensible and vital phase of the fight against Communism and every other expression of reaction. Our determination in this regard is only steeled by the Soviet change of tactics, henceforth to bore from within the ILO in line with its cold war strategy against human peace, freedom and social progress. Here, as elsewhere, the aim of the Kremlin is to cripple the ILO constructive activities and paralyze its initiative at a time when it can be of the highest service, especially to the people of the economically underdeveloped countries. Hence, the fundamental ideals and highest national interests of our country demand that the President of the United States do all in his power to insure increased and improved vigorous American participation in every phase of ILO activity.

In this connection, we strongly urge the convention to declare its categoric opposition to any and every proposal which would, in effect, either directly or indirectly, limit or weaken the autonomy or initiative of the ILO and would bring it under centralized control of the United Nations and thus subject its activities to all obstacles and difficulties from which the U. N. is today suffering because of the acute international tension. Any revision of the U. N. Charter in this direction should be strongly opposed by our government on the ground that, under the banner of so-called economy and false notions of efficiency, it would seriously impair not only its organic tri-partite structure, in which the workers are assured a voice of their own, but also the basic technical program which the ILO has been carrying out effectively.

Towards preventing such a dangerous revision of the U. N. Charter we propose that the incoming officers and Executive Council of the AFL take all steps necessary to acquaint the United States government fully with our views and to secure its active support of the same.

Finally, we recommend that the convention empower the incoming Executive Council to take all measures required to secure the support of the delegations of our own and all other democratic governments, of the employers' representatives in the free countries and of the free trade unions to have the ILO secure the right to make a further survey of the slave labor menace—especially through a thoroughgoing investigation of the forced labor camps in the Iron Curtain countries (now represented in the ILO) which have to date refused the ILO the right and denied it the possibility of making such an unhampered and objective survey.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

FOREIGN OPERATIONS ADMINISTRATION

Your Committee has examined the section of the Executive Council Report (pages 231-233). We welcome the Foreign Operations Administration recognition of the importance of the contribution American labor can make in this phase of our nation's foreign relations and international activities.

The Committee on International Labor Relations recommends your adoption of this section.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

TRADE UNION ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

The Executive Council Report dealing with this Committee and its activities (pages 233-234) has been considered by the International Committee on Labor Relations. We propose that the Convention approve the Council Report and urge that action be speeded in the matter of filling the existing vacancies as labor attaches of the Foreign Service.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, this section of the Committee's report was adopted.

FOR FREEDOM OF ALL COLONIAL PEOPLES

Resolution No. 132—Introduced by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union: David Dubinsky, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Julius Hochman, Benjamin Kaplan, Jennie Matyas, Isidore Nagler, Charles S. Zimmerman.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 420.)

This resolution, presented by the delegation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, meets with the hearty approval of your Committee. We recommend its adoption.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

LABOR ISRAEL AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Resolution No. 9 — By Delegates International Handbag, Luggage, Belt and Novelty Workers' Union.

(First Day's Proceedings—page 373.)

Your Committee has considered this Resolution and notes that during previous conventions similar resolutions have been considered and acted upon. While the A. F. of L. cannot assume responsibility for indorsing the activities of other organizations which are not an organic part of the American Federation of Labor, we state that the spirit of this Resolution is in line with A. F. of L. policy. Furthermore, in so far as practical action in support of peace in the Middle East is concerned, your Committee points out that this problem has already been dealt with adequately by the Convention in its adoption of the Program of Action, Point 10.

With this comment, your Committee recommends that the Convention declare its sympathy with the spirit of the above Resolution.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

KENYA, SOUTH AFRICA

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, C. L. Dellums, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

(Third Day's Proceedings—page 469.)

Your Committee recommends the adoption of this resolution. It is in full accord with the traditional policy of our country and the position of the A. F. of L. against every form of colonialism and all imperialist practices. This resolution is in complete agreement with the Program of Action adopted by this Convention in respect to the UN engaging more actively in support of human rights and in furtherance of the aspirations of the colonial peoples to national freedom and improved conditions of life and labor, regardless of race, color, or creed of the people involved.

. . . On motion of Committee Secretary Minton, the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE SECRETARY MINTON: That completes the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations which is signed by the following members:

Wm. J. McSorley, Wood, Wire & Metal Lathers; Matthew Woll, Photo Engravers Union; D. J. Tobin, Teamsters; Joseph V. Moreschi, Hod Carriers; W. C. Birthright, Barbers; Robert E. Haskins, Bookbinders; Isidore Nagler, Ladies' Garment Workers; W. C. Doherty, Letter Carriers; Arnold S. Zander, State, County & Municipal Employees; George J. Richardson, Fire Fighters; Patrick E. Gorman, Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen; Harry C. Bates, Bricklayers; Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers; Alex Rose, Hatters; Dave Beck, Teamsters; Charles J. MacGowan, Boilermakers & Blacksmiths; Richard J. Gray, Building Trades Department; John R. Stevenson, Carpenters; James Suffridge, Retail Clerks; Paul Phillips, Paper Makers. Committee on International Labor Relations.

PRESIDENT MEANY: I want to thank the International Labor Relations Committee, Brother McSorley, Brother Minton, Brother Woll and all the other members of the Committee for a very, very fine report. However, I cannot discharge this Committee without bringing to your attention a very interesting fact. The Chairman of this Committee, Brother McSorley, Delegate to this Convention from the International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers, is attending his fiftieth consecutive American Federation of Labor Convention. I am sure we all congratulate him on his work and his long, long record with our organization.

. . . The Committee was discharged with the thanks of the Convention.

I wish to announce that the International organizations will receive within a period of ten days or two weeks a letter from our office in Washington enclosing a copy of the Internal Disputes Plan adopted by this Convention, with the request that they give consideration to the signing of this plan and participate in its work. I want to point out again, however, that while I urge every organization to sign the plan and to take part in this work, the question of signing is completely voluntary, that it is up to each and every organization to make its own decision. This, of course, will be explained in a letter accompanying the plan which will be sent to you in the next two weeks or ten days.

CLOSING REMARKS OF PRESIDENT MEANY

PRESIDENT MEANY: We have reached the hour of adjournment. I wish to say I express my sincere appreciation to the Delegates in attendance at this Convention for the very fine attendance we have had at all the sessions, the very rapt attention which has been given to the various speakers and to the Committee reports, and for the very fine way that you responded to the addresses that were delivered during this week. I think this has been an outstanding Convention, and I again thank the Delegates and also the local labor movement for the many courtesies and very fine reception of our group here in Los Angeles.

At this time we will have the traditional closing of the Convention with the singing of "God Bless America," led by Vice President William C. Doherty.

. . . Vice President Doherty led the Convention in the singing of "God Bless America," and at 4:10 o'clock p. m., Monday, September 27, 1954, the Seventy-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

Assistant Secretary.

Secretary-Treasurer.

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